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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM.

VOL. III.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS.

BY

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"In the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient, and even for the modern, history of the Hindu race, importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments, and especially inscriptions on stone and metal."—*Colebrooke's Essays*, Vol. II. p. 213.

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CONTENTS.

Preface	Page 1
Introduction	7
The Gupta Era	16
Table I.—Genealogy of the Early Gupta Kings	17
The Nomenclature of the Era	19
Albérûnî's Statements, as rendered by M. Reinaud	23
Albérûnî's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Sachau	24
The Results of the above Renderings	25
Albérûnî's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright	27
The Theories based on M. Reinaud's rendering of Albérûnî's Statements	31
Examination of the previous Theories	33
Table II.—Genealogy of the Kings of Valabhi	41
The Mandasôr Inscription of Mâlava-Saṃvat 529	45
The Determination of the Exact Epoch of the Era	60
The Scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi Year	60
Table III.—Comparative Table of the Vikrama, Śaka, and Gupta-Valabhi Years	71
The Calculation of Recorded Dates	80
The Êran Inscription of the year 165	80
The Verāwal Inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 945	84
The Verāwal Inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 927	90
The Kaira Grant of the year 330	93
The Nêpâl Inscription of the year 386	95
The Mōrâ Grant of the year 586	97
The Use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in Records of the Early Gupta Period	101
A.—The Khôh Grant of the year 156	104
Table IV.—The Saṃvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter	105
B.—The Khôh Grant of the year 163	110
C.—The Majhgawâm Grant of the year 101	114
D.—The Khôh Grant of the year 209	117
E.—The Bhumarâ Pillar Inscription	119
Summary of Results	124
The Origin of the Era	130
Appendix I.—A Note on the Epoch and Reckoning of the Śaka Era	137
Appendix II.—A Method of Calculating the Week-Days of Hindu Tithis and the corresponding English Dates. By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshî; Bombay Educational Department	145
Explanation of Technical Terms	145
To find the Week-Day of a given Tithi	149
Table V.—Calculation of the Week-Day of a given Tithi	151
Table VI.—The Times, after Sunrise, of the ending of a given Tithi	157
Table VII.—Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi	157
To find the English Date for a given Tithi	158

Appendix III.—The Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. By Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit; Bombay Educational Department	Page 161
Table VIII.—Regulation of the Names of the Samvatsaras from the Nakshatras	163
Table IX.—Longitudes of the Ending-points of the Nakshatras	165
Table X.—Details of two Twelve-Year Cycles of Jupiter	167
Appendix IV.—The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl	177
Table XI.—List of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl	189
Appendix V.—System of Transliteration	193

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS.

No. 1	Plate i	... Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta	1
2	ii A	... Érap inscription of Samudragupta	18
3	ii B	... Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II.—The year 82	21
4	iii A	... Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II.	25
5	iii B	... Sâñchi inscription of Chandragupta II.—The year 93	29
6	iv A	... Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II.	34
7	iv B	... Gadhwâ inscription of Chandragupta II.—The year 88	36
8	iv C	✓... Gadhwâ inscription of Kumâragupta	39
9	iv D	✓... Gadhwâ inscription of Kumâragupta.—The year 98	40
10	v	✓... Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumâragupta.—The year 96	42
11	vi A	✓... Mankuâr image inscription of Kumâragupta.—The year 129	45
12	vi B	... Bihâr pillar inscription of Skandagupta	47
13	vii	... Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta	52
14	viii	... Junâgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta.—The years 136, 137, and 138	56
15	ix A	... Kâhauri pillar inscription of Skandagupta.—The year 141	65
16	ix B	... Indôr plate of Skandagupta.—The year 146	68

THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

17	x	... Gaṅgihâr inscription of Viśvavarman.—The year 480	72
18	xi	✓... Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvvarman.—The Malava years 493 and 529	79

BUDHAGUPTA AND BHANUGUPTA.

19	xii A	... Érap pillar inscription of Budhagupta.—The year 165	88
20	xii B	... Érap posthumous pillar inscription of Gôparâja.—The year 191	91

THE PARIVRAJAKA MAHARAJAS.

21	Ni	... Khôh plates of the Mahârâja Hastin.—The year 156	93
22	xiii	... Khôh plates of the Mahârâja Hastin.—The year 163	100
23	xiv	... Majhgawân plates of the Mahârâja Hastin.—The year 191	106
24	xv A	... Bhumarâ pillar inscription of the Mahârâja Hastin and Sarvanâtha	110
25	xv B	... Khôh plates of the Mahârâja Samudragupta.—The year 209	112

CONTENTS.

THE MAHARAJAS OF UCHCHAKALPA.

No. 26	Plate xvi	... Kārtalāī plates of the Mahārāja Jayanātha.—The year 174	... Page 117
.. 27	... xvii	... Khōh plates of the Mahārāja Jayanātha.—The year 177	... 121
... 28	... xviii	... Khōh plates of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha.—The year 193	... 125
... 29	... xix A	... Khōh plate of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha	... 129
... 30	... xix B	... Khōh plate of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha.—The year 197	... 132
... 31	... xx	... Khōh plates of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha.—The year 214	... 135

CHANDRA.

... 32	... xxi A	✕. Mēharaulī posthumous pillar inscription of Chandra	... 136
--------	-----------	---	---------

YASODHARMAN AND VISHNUVARDHANA.

... 33	... xxi B	... Mandasōr pillar inscription of Yasōdharman	... 142
... 34	... xxi C	... Mandasōr duplicate pillar inscription of Yasōdharman	... 149
... 35	... xxii	... Mandasōr inscription of Yasōdharman and Vishnuvardhana.—The Mālava year 589	... 150

TORAMANA AND MIHIRAKULA.

... 36	... xxiii A	... Ēraṇ boar inscription of Tōramāna	... 158
... 37	... xxiii B	... Gwālīor inscription of Mihirakula	... 161

THE KINGS OF VALABHI.

... 38	... xxiv	... Māliyā plates of the Mahārāja Dharasēna II.—The year 252	... 164
... 39	... xxv	... Alīnā plates of Śīlāditya VII.—The year 447	... 171

THE RAJAS OF SARABHAPURA.

... 40	... xxvi	✕. Āraṅg plates of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja	... 191
... 41	... xxvii	... Rāypur plates of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēvarāja	... 196

✓ THE GUPTAS OF MAGADHA.

... 42	... xxviii	... Aphsāḍ inscription of Ādityasēna	... 200
... 43	... xxix A	... Shāhpur image inscription of Ādityasēna	... 208
... 44	... Nil	... Mandār Hill inscriptions of Ādityasēna	... 211
... 45	... Nil	... Mandār Hill inscriptions of Ādityasēna	... 211
... 46	... xxix B	... Dēo-BaraṅArk inscription of Jīvitagupta II.	... 213

THE MAUKHARIS.

... 47	... xxx A	... Asīrghāḍ seal of Śarvavarman	... 219
... 48	... xxx B	... Barābar Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman	... 221
... 49	... xxxi A	... Nāgarjuni Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman	... 223
... 50	... xxxi B	... Nāgarjuni Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman	... 226
... 51	... xxxii A	... Jaunpur inscription of Śivaravarman	... 228

Dumk THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

... 52	... xxxii B	... Sōnpat seal of Harshavardhana	... 231
--------	-------------	-----------------------------------	---------

THE VAKATAKA MAHARAJAS.

... 53	... xxxiii A	... Nachnē-kī-talāī inscriptions of the Mahārāja Prithivishēna	... 233
... 54	... xxxiii B	... Nachnē-kī-talāī inscriptions of the Mahārāja Prithivishēna	... 233
... 55	... xxxiv	... Chammak plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II.—(For the seal, see Plate xxxiii C.)	... 235
... 56	... xxxv	... Siwanī plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II.—(For the seal, see Plate xxxiii D.)	... 243

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

10. 57	Plate xxxvi A	... Pahlādpur pillar inscription	... ..	Page 249
.. 58	... xxxvi B	... Bijayagaḍh inscription of the Yaudhēyas	... ..	251
.. 59	... xxxvi C	... Bijayagaḍh pillar inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana.—The year 428	..	252
.. 60	... xxxvii	... Spurious Gayā plate of Samudragupta	... ..	254
.. 61	... xxxviii A	... Udayagiri cave inscription.—The year 106	... ..	258
.. 62	... xxxviii B	... Sāñchi inscription.—The year 131	... ..	260
.. 63	... xxxix A	... Mathurā image inscription.—The year 135	... ..	262
.. 64	... xxxix B	... Gaḍhwā inscription	... ..	264
.. 65	... xxxix C	... Kōsam image inscription of the Mahārāja Bhīmavarman.—The year 139	... ..	266
.. 66	... xxxix D	... Gaḍhwā inscription.—The year 148	... ..	267
.. 67	... xl A	... Tusām rock inscription	... ..	269
.. 68	... xl B	... Dēdriyā image inscription	... ..	271
.. 69	... xl C	... Kasiā image inscription	... ..	272
.. 70	... xl D	... Mathurā image inscription.—The year 230	... ..	273
.. 71	... xli A	... Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman.—The year 269	... ..	274
.. 72	... xli B	... Bōdh-Gayā image inscription of Mahānāman	... ..	278
.. 73	... xlii A	... Sāñchi pillar inscription	... ..	279
.. 74	... xlii B	... Calcutta Museum image inscription	... ..	280
.. 75	... xlii C	... Sarnāth inscription	... ..	281
.. 76	... xlii D	... Bōdh-Gayā image inscription	... ..	281
.. 77	... xliii A	... Lāhōr seal of the Mahārāja Mahēśvaranāga	... ..	282
.. 78	... xliii B	... Rōhtāsgaḍh seal-matrix of the Mahāsāmanta Śasāṅkadēva	... ..	283
.. 79	... xliii C	... Sarnāth inscription of Prakatāditya	... ..	284
.. 80	... xliv	... Nirmaṇḍ plate of the Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrasēna	... ..	286
.. 81	... xlv	... Rājim plates of the Rāja Tivaradēva	... ..	291

Index	301
-------	--------	-----

Errata	349
--------	--------	-----

INSTRUCTIONS TO BINDER.

INSTRUCTIONS TO BINDER.

Plate i. a folding Plate between	...	...	pages	8, 9
... ii. to face	...	...	page	20
... iii. ...	...	...	...	28
... iv. ...	...	...	...	36
... v. ...	...	...	...	44
... vi. ...	...	...	...	46
... vii. ...	...	...	...	54
... viii. a folding Plate between	...	...	pages	60, 61
... ix. to face	...	...	page	68
... x. ...	...	...	...	76
... xi. a folding Plate between	...	...	pages	82, 83
... xii. to face	...	...	page	90
... xiii. ...	...	...	...	104
... xiv. ...	...	...	...	108
... xv. ...	...	...	...	112
... xvi. ...	...	...	...	120
... xvii. ...	...	...	...	124
... xviii. ...	...	...	...	128
... xix. ...	...	...	...	132
... xx. ...	...	...	...	138
... xxi A. & B. a folding Plate between	...	...	pages	142, 143
... xxi C. to face	...	...	page	150
... xxii. ...	...	...	...	154
... xxiii. ...	...	...	...	160
... xxiv. ...	...	...	...	168
... xxv. ...	...	...	...	180
... xxvi. ...	...	...	...	194
... xxvii. ...	...	...	...	198
... xxviii. a folding Plate between	...	...	pages	204, 205
... xxix. to face	...	...	page	210
... xxx. ...	...	...	...	220
... xxxi. ...	...	...	...	226
... xxxii. ...	...	...	...	230
... xxxiii. ...	...	...	...	234
... xxxiv. ...	...	...	...	240
... xxxv. ...	...	...	...	248
... xxxvi. ...	...	...	...	250
... xxxvii. ...	...	...	...	256
... xxxviii. ...	...	...	...	260
... xxxix. ...	...	...	...	264
... xl. ...	...	...	...	270
... xli. ...	...	...	...	276
... xlii. ...	...	...	...	280
... xliii. ...	...	...	...	284
... xliv. ...	...	...	...	290
... xlv. ...	...	...	...	296

PREFACE.

JUST half a century ago, in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 663, Mr. James Prinsep, by whom the study of Indian archæology was first placed on a sound and critical basis, indicated the necessity of systematically arranging the epigraphical materials for the study of the ancient history of India, which were then being gradually found to exist in considerable numbers; and also suggested the name which the collective publication of them should bear, viz. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

For nearly forty years, however, owing to the manner in which the collection and publication of these epigraphical materials was left almost entirely to private enterprise, the scheme lay dormant; until it was revived, about ten years ago, by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., who in 1870 was selected by the Government of India for the newly-created post of Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and who, in 1877, brought out the first volume of this series, under the title of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume I., containing the Inscriptions of Aśoka.

At the same time, he announced that, in the continuation of the series, Volume II. would contain the Inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians and of the Satraps of Saurāshtra, and Vol. III. the Inscriptions of the Guptas and of other contemporary dynasties of Northern India. And, with the special sanction of the Secretary of State for India, in 1882 I was selected for the newly-created post of Epigraphist to the Government of India, with the primary duty of preparing the volume that was to contain the Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings. I joined that appointment on the 17th January, 1883; and held it up to the 4th June, 1886, when it was abolished.

At first sight, the principal task that lay before me seemed neither lengthy nor laborious; it being understood that the necessary materials had already been fully collected, and merely required to be critically examined and published. And the only practical difficulty that then appeared to lie in my way, was, that, as the intended volume of Indo-Scythian inscriptions, which had been entrusted to other hands and ought, for the proper consideration in due chronological order of all the questions concerned, to have appeared first, had not been previously published,—and, in fact, it has not even yet been issued,—and their dates had not been determined beyond dispute, the all-important question of the exact historical period to which the Early Gupta dynasty must be referred, would probably still be left undecided, save by historical and other inferences and arguments which might at any future time be proved, by further discoveries, to be unsound and erroneous.

My task, however, quickly assumed more ample proportions ; for I found at once that hardly any of the materials previously collected, in the shape of ink-impressions of the original records on stone and copper, could be relied on for purposes of critical editing ; and much less for the reproduction in facsimile Plates, which must always be an inseparable part of such researches, in order that scholars who cannot examine the original records themselves, may nevertheless be in a position to check the published results that are submitted to them. I found, in fact, that, with only eleven or twelve exceptions, it was unavoidable that I should have fresh impressions prepared of all the materials throughout ; and also that, as far as might be practicable, I should examine the original stone-records *in situ*, and the original copper-records by collecting them together again from the various owners of them. The arrangements entailed much correspondence, and a great deal of travelling, than which nothing is more obstructive of continuous and successful literary work. And it was not until April, 1885, that I found myself in possession of the last of the materials required by me, *viz.* an ink-impression and estampage of the Gang-dhâr inscription of Viśhvarman, No. 17, page 72.

Meanwhile, of course, a certain amount of progress had been made in the preparation of the Texts and Translations, and in the arrangement of the Plates and other subsidiary work ; subject always to the fact that no division of the work could be actually finished off, until it should be known that there were no more materials to come in. And the delay that was entailed by the necessity of collecting all the previously known materials afresh, has proved to be no matter for regret ; if only for the reason that it enabled me to obtain, amongst other perfectly new materials, the invaluable Mandasôr inscription, No. 18, page 79, which furnished the information that was required, to set at rest the long-disputed question of the epoch of the Gupta era. This inscription was only discovered, under my direction, in March, 1884 ; and even then the full value of it was not apparent, in consequence of some serious imperfections in the ink-impressions that were first brought to me. I myself visited Mandasôr at the end of February, 1885 ; and was then able to examine this record *in situ*, and to have proper ink-impressions of it made ; and thus to ascertain its full and conclusive bearing. And it was on this journey that, for the first time, by visiting Ujjain, I became aware of the almost equally important inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishnudevardhana, No. 35, page 150, which gave the key to the whole history of the period, by supplying a definite date for Yaśôdharman, who was known, from the Mandasôr inscription, No. 33, page 142, discovered under my direction in March, 1884, to have overthrown the well-known foreign invader and conqueror, Mihirakula, who, again, I had previously determined, must have effected the final downfall of the Early Gupta dynasty. Without these discoveries, the period of the Early Gupta supremacy would have still remained the subject of argument and doubt. Whereas, with them, I have been able now to set this question at rest, and thus to establish a starting-point from which we can work back in developing the Indo-Scythian history ; and, also, through fixing, for the first time,

the date of Mihirakula,—who, as we learn from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, played a most leading and important part in early Indian history,—to furnish the means of adjusting the chronology, before and after him, of the early history of Kāśmīr, as recorded in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, and also of testing the accuracy of the Chinese accounts of the same early period.

The collection of the required materials having been at length completed, the next step was the preparation of the photo-lithographic facsimile Plates. And this was one of the most special divisions of the work. My object throughout has been, to place before my readers, in these Plates, as good substitutes, as can possibly be provided, for the original records; in order that they may be in a position to satisfy themselves as to the correctness or otherwise of my readings, and, on any doubtful points, to adopt any improvements which future researches may indicate. Any lithographs prepared from hand-tracings, eye-copies, or any similar materials, or even from mechanical impressions subsequently worked up by hand, are, of course, of absolutely no value whatever for critical purposes; for the reason that, no matter what amount of personal learning, skill, and care, may be brought to the work, the results are, not facsimiles of the original records as they really stand, but only facsimiles of those records as they have presented themselves to the eye of the individual reader of them; and, as long as such pseudo-facsimiles are the only substitutes available, so long there cannot cease to be varieties of opinion, and doubts and speculation, as to what the readings might be found to be, if the originals could be examined again *in situ*. To avoid anything of this kind, such of the ink-impressions as have been prepared under my own direction, *i.e.* all save eleven or twelve in the whole series, have been made with the most particular care, by purely mechanical means, by a man whom I have for a long time employed on such work, and who has attained considerable proficiency in it. And, by special sanction, the reproduction of them was made over to the well-known Photo-lithographic Establishment of Mr. W. Griggs, at Peckham, in which a good deal of work of the same kind had been previously turned out; and I was allowed to proceed to England, in order to superintend this part of the work in person. My own share here has simply been to see that the photo-lithographic reproduction was a faithful and mechanical process throughout; but this, of course, entailed the minute examination of two or three Proofs of each Plate, up to the final printing, in order to guard against the occasional distortion and blocking-up of letters, which is always liable to occur in reproducing such materials; and anyone, who has had practical experience, will know that careful supervision of such work takes up no little time. The results, however, have fully compensated for all the time and trouble that were spent in attaining them. And, with the valuable co-operation given by Mr. Griggs himself, through the personal interest which he takes in the reproduction of inscriptions, I am now able to submit to my readers a series of as absolutely faithful reduced facsimiles, as could possibly be prepared, of the original inscriptions and all their surroundings.

This part of the work was finished in December, 1885. I then returned to India, to complete the volume; and the Texts and Translations were ready for the Press at the end of May, 1886; though not quite in the same form throughout, in which they now appear. It was, however, then found that a number of accented types had to be prepared specially for this volume; and, owing to this and other causes, the first proofs were not fairly in hand till the following November. That they were so far started then, and that the work has progressed so quickly since then, is due to the friendly and earnest personal co-operation of Messrs. E. J. Dean and A. Sanderson, the Superintendent and Deputy-Superintendent of Government Printing, India, in whose office the volume has been printed; and I think I may fairly say that the volume gives a most excellent specimen of the style in which, under intelligent direction, the printing of large and important books can be done in India. I would also acknowledge here much assistance given by my friend, Mr. W. Rees Philipps, in reading the final proofs; as, since the commencement of the printing, I have never been less than five days distant from the Press by post, and have been part of the time in England, the assistance given by him on the spot, in Calcutta, has been most valuable in saving time. The printing of the Texts and Translations was completed in July, 1887. And the delay since then is due to the large amount of important matter, which, while they were being taken through the Press, I found myself in a position to include in the Introduction.

It will doubtless be remarked that, in the notes to my Texts, I have but seldom referred to the readings given in previously published versions of the same inscriptions. It soon became apparent to me that, to make any such references throughout, would increase the bulk of the book to at least twice what it now is, and encumber the pages of it with hundreds of footnotes of not the slightest practical value. I therefore abandoned, almost at starting, any idea of such a course; considering that the point was one which could interest only a very limited class of readers, and that, by giving in the introduction to each Text every reference that I could find to previous versions of it by other hands, I should afford those few special readers every facility for making any comparisons that might be necessary; and I have confined myself to noting previous mislections, only when they have had a bearing upon some historical name or other point of special importance. I offer my present versions of the Texts, not as absolutely final ones throughout, but as the most reliable ones that have as yet been produced; and as rendering possible now, for the first time, a thoroughly critical start in all the lines of research connected with the epigraphical materials of the period with which I have dealt. To take one special line as an instance,—it is only now that we are beginning to know properly the correct processes by which Hindu dates may be converted into their English equivalents. Much, in connection with this, still remains to be made known. And, as our knowledge advances, many improvements will undoubtedly be made in the interpretation, for instance, of numerical symbols, and of the other particular details of recorded dates. As an apposite instance, I would refer to note 2 on page 274. In this line, as in any other, I shall be only

too thankful for any suggestions that may be made to me, with a view to improvements in any future edition.

A serious obstacle, hitherto, in the prosecution of epigraphical researches, has been the want of full and systematic indexes. To the Index of the present volume, special attention has been given; in order that it shall include an easy reference to anything in this series of inscriptions that can bear on any of the lines of research connected with epigraphy. And, to this point, I trust that full attention will be paid, in future volumes of this series by other hands.

The original sanction for this volume, limited by the heavy cost of the Plates, was for two hundred and fifty copies. Towards the end of my work, however, many gratifying intimations came from England, the Continent, and India, that the book was likely to be far more popular, and a far more general subject of study, than even I myself had ever anticipated. Under these circumstances, there has now been printed an additional issue of two hundred and fifty copies, without Plates, and thus procurable at a moderate price. The copies of this issue, of course, contain everything that is essential for general readers. And the complete copy, with Plates, in the nearest Public Library, Society's Rooms, or College, will always furnish special students with the means of prosecuting inquiries on particular points of interpretation of the original texts.

As I have indicated above, the volume does not appear in quite the form in which it was originally prepared for the Press. It will not be thoroughly complete, without the Historical Chapters that should form the second part of it. These, however, could not be even drafted to any considerable extent, until the Texts and Translations were all in print, in order to facilitate constant reference and quotation. And the writing of the Historical Chapters will entail so enormous an amount of miscellaneous reading and annotation, for the purpose of tracing to their origin, in order to explain and completely refute, all the erroneous theories, in every connected line of inquiry, which have been started during the last fifty years in order to support any epoch rather than the correct one, that, having now again to give all my principal attention and energy to the ordinary duties of official life in the Revenue Department, I doubt much whether those chapters will ever be written by me. It has, in fact, been difficult enough for me to finish, to my satisfaction, even the present part of the volume. I have, therefore, taken advantage of the delay in printing, to incorporate in this part of the volume a variety of notes and remarks which I should have preferred keeping back for the Historical Chapters. They will, however, I think, be found to be not altogether misplaced; even if I may subsequently have to modify the views expressed in some of them.

Another point in which the delay in publication has been turned to even greater advantage, is in respect of the valuable matter which I have been able to include in the Introduction through the kind co-operation of Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, of

the Bombay Educational Department. It was only at the end of December, 1886, that I made his acquaintance. But, since then, he has been most assiduous in making all the astronomical calculations, which were suggested by me to him as each new point developed itself in the special inquiries that, through his assistance, became possible. Two of his papers will be given in full in Appendices II. and III.; and the first of them will be found to explain thoroughly the process by which, with the late Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables, anyone may now be able to calculate correctly the week-day, and the corresponding English date, for any given Hindu *tithi* or lunar day. The second point to which he has given his attention, is the elucidation of the system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years of which form so important a part in some of the records of the Early Gupta period. I find it impossible to over-estimate the work which he has done for me during the short period of our acquaintance. His assistance has been simply invaluable. Without it, I must have left all these subsidiary points for future determination; and must, of course, have left the all-important subject of the epoch of the Gupta era still open, within the limits of one year before and after the true date, to doubt and argument. With it, I am now able to prove everything that I have sought to establish, from the time when I first became aware of the full purport of the Mandasôr inscription that gives the date of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman; and to present my case, as will be seen, in a thoroughly complete and satisfactory form.

J. F. FLEET.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE entering on the leading subject of this Introduction,—the determination of the epoch of the so-called Gupta era,—I would give a brief account of the scope of the book, and the arrangement of its contents.

The leading records are, of course, those of the **Early Guptas** themselves; ¹ from No. 1, the Allahābād posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, down to No. 16, page 68, the Indôr copper-plate grant of Skandagupta, who, as far as we know at present, was the last of the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty. The actual dates of these records extend from A.D. 401 to A.D. 466.

To the same period belong the two inscriptions of the **Rulers of Mālava**; No. 17, page 72, the Gaṅgadhār inscription of Viśvavarman, dated ² in A.D. 424; and No. 18, page 79, the Mandasôr inscription, dated in A.D. 474, which gives us the date of A.D. 437 for Kumāragupta and his feudatory, Bandhuvarman; and, in doing so, has supplied what was always felt to be the most urgent desideratum, *viz.* a date, for any one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in a standard era, capable of identification, other than the era which was habitually used by the Early Guptas themselves. With the exception of a few among the **Miscellaneous Inscriptions**, to be noticed hereafter, No. 17 is the last record that belongs specifically to the Early Gupta dynasty.

But, shortly after the time of Skandagupta, we meet with the two names of **Budhagupta and Bhānugupta**, with the dates of respectively A.D. 484, in No. 19, page 88, and A.D. 510, in No. 20, page 91. And, coupled with the fact that, in the inscriptions of the **Parivrājaka Mahārājas**, the Gupta sovereignty is distinctly stated to have continued down to A.D. 528, the termination of these names raises at least a presumption that these two kings were of the Early Gupta lineage, though possibly not connected by direct descent with Skandagupta. Budhagupta comes, chronologically, immediately after Skandagupta. Bhānugupta comes somewhat later; after Tōramāna, whose power meanwhile succeeded that of Budhagupta in Eastern Mālwa. But, under all the circumstances,

¹ I call the members of this family the "Early Guptas," by way of easily distinguishing them from the later Guptas of Magadha, whose genealogy is given in the Aphaś inscription, No. 42, page 200, and in the Dēo-Baṅgār inscription, No. 46, page 213.

² In respect of these three dates, I follow here the equivalents that I have given in my introductory remarks to the two inscriptions. But, when the proper value of expired years of the Mālava or Vikrama era can be determined, perhaps it may be found that these three dates, and any others of the same series, are each one year earlier than as at present given by me.

the most convenient arrangement has been, to place the record which mentions him, next after that of Budhagupta.

In No. 21, page 93, down to No. 25, page 112, we have some inscriptions, ranging from A.D. 475 to A.D. 528, which overlap, on one side, the time of Budhagupta, and on the other, the periods of Tōramāṇa, Bhānugupta, and Mihirakula. They are the records of a feudatory family, to the members of which it is convenient to give the name of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas.¹ And the extreme importance of them lies in the fact that they expressly shew that, though the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty itself may have become extinct, the Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power, down to A.D. 528. Another very special feature in them, as will be seen, is the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, in the records of the dates. As will now be shewn for the first time, this point really furnishes most valuable corroboration, if not actually independent and conclusive proof, of my general results as to the exact year from which the dates of the Early Guptas and their successors run.

Closely connected with the preceding, both chronologically and territorially, was another family, that of the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, whose records we have in No. 26, page 117, to No. 31, page 135; with also a mention of one member of this family, the Mahārāja Śarvanātha, in No. 24, page 110, which proves that, at the date therein referred to, he was the contemporary of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin. And the recorded dates of this family, if referred to the Gupta era, range from A.D. 493 to 533-34. That this is the proper interpretation of the dates, was assumed by General Cunningham who first brought all the Uchchakalpa grants, save one, to notice.² And my own view has been the same. But a later consideration of the question shewed that there are a few points in the inscriptions, which, if the existence of the Kalachuri or Chēḍi era, as a separate era, could be satisfactorily established, render it possible that these dates are recorded, not in the Gupta era, but in the Kalachuri era; which, even with General Cunningham's proposed epoch³ of A.D. 240-50, would suit all the requirements almost as well as the Gupta era, and, with an epoch about twenty-five or thirty years later, would suit them much better. Thus, in particular, the understanding that, while the Parivrājaka Mahārājas were feudatories of later members of the Early Gupta dynasty, the Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, whose territories evidently lay more to the east and south-east, were feudatories of Kalachuri kings, would explain at once why no era is quoted in the Bhumarā pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the reason being that the feudatories of the two rival dynasties could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used. Again, this same record shews that the Mahārājas Hastin and Śarvanātha were contemporaneous in the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara that is mentioned in it. Now, for Hastin we have the extreme dates

See page 95, note 1. ¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 9 ff. ² See *Indian Eras*, p. 60 ff.

of Gupta-Samvat (156 and 101), and for Śarvanātha, the extreme dates of the years 193 and 214, with the year 177 as the latest known date for his father Jayanātha. And, as it is unlikely that Hastin continued alive and in power for any length of time after Gupta-Samvat 191, it seemed, on the supposition that both the series of dates were to be referred to the Gupta era, that the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* in question was the one commencing in Gupta-Samvat 186 rather than that commencing in Gupta-Samvat 261; since, the former was easily obtained by adding only four years at the commencement of the period for Śarvanātha; whereas, to obtain the latter, we should have to add on ten years at the end of Hastin's already long enough period of thirty-six years. On the other hand, the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* occurred previously, in Hastin's period, in Gupta-Samvat 165 and 177. If the Uchchakalpa dates were referred to the Kalachuri era, with General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 240-50, Śarvanātha's latest date, the year 214, would be equivalent to A.D. 463-64, or Gupta-Samvat 144; and we should have to add on twenty-one years at the end of his known period, in order to make him the contemporary of Hastin in Gupta-Samvat 165. Whereas, if an epoch could be found for the Kalachuri era about twenty-five years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, the two Mahārājas would be naturally contemporaneous in Gupta-Samvat 165 or A.D. 484-85. By calculation, however, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit found that, though General Cunningham's proposed epoch might be very close to the real truth, yet it was certainly not the absolutely correct one. Also, though he found that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chēdi dates, given by General Cunningham,¹ would work out correctly with an epoch of A.D. 248-49, or just one year earlier than that proposed by General Cunningham, yet both he and I felt that the available data, in the shape of the published readings and lithographs of the dates, were not sufficiently reliable for any definite theory to be built up on the results obtained by him. Again, if the Kalachuri era really existed in that early time,²—in which case, of course, there were then actually kings of the Kalachuri dynasty,—it seemed strange that no distinct reference should be made to the dynasty in the Allahābād pillar inscription, which, with much minuteness of detail, claims for Samudragupta the conquest of the whole earth;³ especially since the Mahākūṭ pillar inscription of the Early Chalukya king

¹ *Indian Eras*, p. 61.

² I do not overlook the 'Pardi' grant of the Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Dahrasēna (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 346 ff.), which is dated in the year 207 of an unspecified era; or the Kanheri plate (see No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 57 ff.), which is dated "in two centuries of years, increased by forty-five, of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas." But it still has to be proved, either, on general grounds, that the era of these two records, is the Kalachuri era; or that the Trikūṭa whence these Traikūṭakas derived their name, is identical with Tripura or Tripurī, the capital of the Kalachuris of Central India.

³ Prinsep, indeed (see, for instance, *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 237), found the possible mention of a Tripura in the Kartipura which is spoken of in line 22 of this inscription. But he would have identified it with the modern 'Tipperah.' And the immediate connection of Kartipura, in the inscription, with Samatāṭa or Lower Bengal, Davāka (? 'Dacca,' if the correct spelling really is Dākā), Kāmarūpa or Assam, and Nēpāl, shews that the place was indeed very far away from Central India.

*Maṅgalīśa*¹ shews that the dynastic name was very well established in at least the sixth century A.D., and mentions it under the Sanskritised form of Kalatsūri. As, however, the Kalachuris, in their later records, represent themselves as descendants of *Sahaṣra-Arjuna*² or *Sahasrabāhu-Arjuna*,³ the required reference to them in the Allahābād inscription might be found in the *Ārjunāyanas*, who are mentioned in line 22; and no special objection need be taken on that ground. The real difficulty was to prove that the Kalachuri era, and, with it, sovereigns of the Kalachuri dynasty, really existed in early times; and that the era was not merely one of somewhat later invention, fitted to an early epoch. But, since the time when I first drafted the preceding remarks, Prof. Kielhorn has determined, quite recently,⁴ that, if we only take three of the ten dates in question as denoting expired years, all the dates will work out correctly with the epoch of A.D. 248-49. It is, therefore, really a question for consideration whether the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa were not indeed feudatories of early kings of the Kalachuri dynasty; and whether the dates of their records do not furnish the earliest instances of the use of the Kalachuri era. Unfortunately, these Uchchakalpa dates do not contain details for computation; and the question, accordingly, cannot at present be decided in that way.

The inscriptions contain various hints as to the causes which led to the downfall of the Early Gupta sovereignty. But, looking round on all these intimations, with the help of extraneous information, the person who accomplished their final extinction seems / undoubtedly to have been the great king *Mihirakula*, of *Śakala* in the Pañjāb, and subsequently of Kaśmīr, whose career in India is so graphically described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang. Among epigraphical records, his name had long been extant, though it had not been recognised, in an inscription at Gwālior, No. 37, page 161, where it occurs as the name of a son of *Tōramāna*. I myself, when I first recognised the word as a proper name, took it to be the appellation of a second *Mihirakula*, given in memory of his father *Tōramāna*'s former lord and master. The first discovery that militated against this view, was, my finding that the great *Mihirakula* himself is mentioned in the *Mandasōr* duplicate pillar inscriptions, No. 33, page 142, and No. 34, page 149, as having been overthrown by a powerful king of Northern India named *Yaśōdharman*; shortly after which I obtained for *Yaśōdharman* the date of A.D. 533-34, in the *Mandasōr* inscription, No. 35, page 150. From certain details in their *Ēraṇ* inscriptions, it was evident that *Tōramāna* came, in Eastern Mālwa, very shortly after *Budhagupta*; the proof of this is that *Budhagupta*'s inscription mentions a certain *Mahārāja* named *Mātrivishṇu*, and his younger brother *Dhanyavishṇu*, as being both then alive; whereas *Tōramāna*'s inscription mentions *Dhanyavishṇu* as still alive, but *Mātrivishṇu* as deceased; and these statements shew that *Tōramāna* followed *Budhagupta*, in Eastern Mālwa, within the remnant of the generation

¹ See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 22, 58.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, line 16.

³ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 92, verse 7.

⁴ See the *Academy* of the 10th December, 1887, p. 394 f.

to which the brothers Mātrivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu belonged. Putting everything together, in writing my paper on "The History and Date of Mihirakula,"¹ it soon became perfectly clear that the king who is mentioned in the Gwālior inscription, is the great Mihirakula himself; that he was the son of Tōramāṇa; and that his downfall was accomplished by Yaśōdharman within a very few years on either side of A.D. 533-34. In proper chronological order, therefore, Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula come next after Budhagupta; and Tōramāṇa certainly, and probably Mihirakula also, so far as Eastern Mālwa is concerned, before Bhānugupta. Plate xxiii A. and B. should, therefore, properly have been placed next after Plate xx. To my present brief notice of these two kings,—who belonged to a foreign race, which, whether best and most properly known as Indo-Scythians, Śakas, Hūpas, Turushkas, Shāhjs, Shāhānushāhis, or Daivaputras, had established itself in the Pañjāb at an early date, and continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta,—I will only add that, the first year of Tōramāṇa, which is recorded in his inscription, and which fell for certain after A.D. 484, which is Budhagupta's inscriptional date, and before A.D. 510, which is Bhānugupta's inscriptional date, is evidently only the first year of his possession of Eastern Mālwa. Coming down, as he did, from the extreme north-west corner of India, it is impossible that we should suddenly find him, fully established as the first of a new dynasty, in the very heart of the Gupta country, in absolutely the first year of his reign. His own dynastic date, which must correspond to just about the same year, is given in his silver coins, which follow the Early Gupta silver coins in general style, but differ from them in certain marked peculiarities that were evidently introduced for the express purpose of shewing that his power was hostile to theirs, and had superseded it. There are two excellent specimens of his coins, which I have examined, in the British Museum; and the date on them is the year 52 or 82, in numerical symbols. General Cunningham² has read the dates as 52 and 53; but the second symbol in each case is certainly 2; as regards the first symbol, I will not at present give a final opinion as to whether it is 50 or 80; since, though probably a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of horizontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin. Without doubt, it would make the case very simple indeed, if we could read the date as 182, as Mr. Thomas did,³—or even read it as 82, and, on the theory of "omitted hundreds," interpret it as 182,—and refer it to the Gupta era, with the result, now, of A.D. 501-502. But the date is either 52 or 82, and nothing else; without the slightest grounds for supposing that the symbol for 100 was stamped, but has now become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and, if it has to be interpreted as 152, on the theory of "omitted hundreds," then at any rate it cannot possibly be referred

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 245 ff.

² *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 26 f.; and see *id.* Plate v. Nos. 18, 19.

³ *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 340, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 66; see also *id.* p. 36, Plate vii. Nos. 27, 28.

to the Gupta era. I have shewn elsewhere¹ that Mihirakula's fifteenth year, which is recorded in his Gwālior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date of Yaśōdharman; and in all probability a year or two before it; so that we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career. If, then, the date on Tōramāna's coins is 52, and if we apply it as his regnal date, about which there need be felt no special difficulty, Tōramāna's reign must have commenced, roughly, about A.D. 460. This falls very near the latest date, A.D. 466, that we have for Skandagupta, who, up to A.D. 457-58, held the whole of Northern India, below the Pañjāb, from Kāthiāwād to the frontier of Nēpāl. And it was doubtless the death of Skandagupta, that enabled the Hūnas, who had been repulsed by him, to assume the aggressive again, under the leadership of Tōramāna; and, on this occasion, with such success as to hold even Central India for a short time. This view is also in perfect accordance with the statement of the Valabhi inscriptions,² that it was the founder of their family, the *Sēndapati* Bhaṭārka, with the date of about A.D. 500, who successfully fought, in Kāthiāwād, against the Maitrakas, i.e. the Mihiras, i.e. the particular family or clan, among the Hūnas, to which Tōramāna and Mihirakula belonged. If, on the other hand, the date on Tōramāna's coins is 82, then it cannot be applied as a regnal date; and, though it must then run from the period at which his own branch of the Hūnas rose to power, it cannot be used to fix the commencement of his own accession. The general outline of the history of the period, which I have briefly indicated above, would, however, remain much the same.

To some time or other in this early period belongs the mysterious emperor **Chandra**, of whom we have a posthumous record in the iron pillar inscription at Mēharauli, No. 32, page 139. I call him mysterious, because, though the inscription speaks of him as a powerful supreme monarch, who conquered the whole of Northern India, from beyond the river Indus down to the plains of Bengal, yet it makes no mention of his lineage, and gives no clue by which we can determine exactly his period and surroundings. All that we know for certain, is, that his inscription belongs, on palæographical grounds, to a fairly early date. In the palæography of it, there is, in fact, no real obstacle to our allotting it to Chandragupta I., the first paramount sovereign in the Early Gupta family; and the only objection that I can see, is, that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythian kings, unless they are here called **Vāhlikas**, by overthrowing whom Chandragupta I. must have established the power of his own family. But there is an interesting point in the fact that the name of the village at which this inscription stands, viz. Mēharauli or Mēmharauli, is an evident corruption of Mihirapurī, 'the city of the Sun, or of the Mihiras.' Mihira, as a proper name, is a Sanskritised form of the name of the family, clan, or tribe among the Hūnas, to which belonged Mihirakula and his father Tōramāna. And it is not

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 252.

² See page 167, and note 11.

impossible that this inscription may be shewn hereafter to be a record of the younger brother of Mihirakula, who, when Mihirakula was defeated by Balāditya of Magadha, usurped his throne in the Pañjāb, and whose own name is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

As has been indicated above, the Mandasōr duplicate pillar inscriptions, No. 33, page 142, and No. 34, page 149, which are brand-new discoveries, introduce us to a powerful king of Northern India, named **Yaśōdharman**, who is of extreme interest from being mentioned in them as the conqueror of Mihirakula. And the remaining Mandasōr inscription, No. 35, page 150,—again a brand-new discovery,—is another record of this same **Yaśōdharman**, coupled in this case with a king named **Vishṇuvardhana**; and it is of extreme value from the fact that, by supplying for Yaśōdharman a specific date, A.D. 533-34, it has completed the clue to the whole history of the period. Who Vishṇuvardhana was, cannot at present be determined; but he is at any rate not the feudatory Vishṇuvardhana, the Varika, who is mentioned in No. 59, page 252.

Next in chronological sequence, but slightly overlapping some of the preceding records, come the inscriptions of the **Kings of Valabhī**, ranging, so far as absolutely definite dates are concerned, from A.D. 426 to A.D. 766. Of the numerous copper-plate inscriptions of this family that have been discovered, I have given two, as specimens; No. 38, page 164, and No. 39, page 171. Apart from the full genealogical tree which they give, including twelve generations, they are of interest chiefly because they make known the historical fact that the *Sēndpati* Bhaṭārka, the founder of the family, successfully waged war against, and overthrew, a dynasty, tribe, or clan, called Maitrakas, which has already been the subject of comment; and because they shew that the Gupta era continued in use, in Kāthiāwāḍ and some neighbouring parts of Gujārāt, at least as late as A.D. 766, and thus explain, through its special connection with their own family, how it came to have, in later times, the name, in the same part of the country, of the Valabhī era. Otherwise, the inscriptions of this family contain but little of historical importance; though a full examination of them would throw much light on the ancient geography of the localities from which they come. It is a curious fact that no stone-inscriptions of this family,—at least, none that can be definitely attributed to them,—have as yet been discovered. Last year, it is true, Colonel J. W. Watson obtained at Walā, which is the modern representative of the ancient Valabhī, part of a stone-inscription, now in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the characters of which shewed me that it belonged to the earlier part of the Valabhī period. But it is the merest fragment; with no historical clue in it. It is, however, of interest, in shewing that the excavations at Walā are now reaching the level of stone-remains. When that level can be properly explored, discoveries of importance ought to follow; since, for some reason or other, inscriptions on stone nearly always contain much more historical information than copper-plate grants do.

In the Ēraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gôparāja, No. 20, page 91, mention is made of the family of the Śarabha kings. Two inscriptions of the **Râjas of Śarabhapura** are given in No. 40, page 191, and No. 41, page 196. There is nothing to shew the exact period to which they belong; much less to identify either of the *Râjas* mentioned in them with Gôparāja's maternal grandfather. But the characters indicate that they may perhaps be attributed to a period not far distant from that of Gôparāja; and the present place has been found a convenient one for introducing them. At the same time, they may possibly be found hereafter to belong to a period later by a couple of centuries than the time of Gôparāja. Another inscription of the *Rāja* Mahâ-Sudêvarāja has been published by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. page 195 ff.; but the original plates have disappeared, with several other valuable copper-plate grants that were presented to the Bengal Asiatic Society; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefore, not been able to include that inscription in this collection.

In No. 42, page 200, to No. 46, page 213, we have some inscriptions of the **Guptas of Magadha**, a family of which one member at least, the great Âdityasêna, played an important part in the history of the seventh century A.D., when the Kanauj kingdom was broken up on the death of Harshavardhana. From the way in which, through the eleven generations of this family that are recorded, every name, except that of Âdityasêna, has the termination *gupta*, there can be little doubt that the family is an offshoot of the original Gupta stock. And, reckoning back from the time of Âdityasêna, for whom the date of A.D. 672-73 is supplied by the Shâhpur inscription, No. 43, page 208, Kṛishṇagupta, from whom the descent is traced, has to be placed between A.D. 475 and 500. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Budhagupta or Bhânugupta, or of both of them, and came very shortly after Skandagupta. His exact connection, however, with any of these three kings, still remains to be determined.

The Aphaṣṭ inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42, page 200, introduces us to two important contemporaneous families. The first of these is that of the **Maukharis**, or Mukharas, of whom we have inscriptions in No. 47, page 219, to No. 51, page 228. The great antiquity of this family is shewn by a clay seal in General Cunningham's possession, obtained at Gayâ, which has on it, in Aśôka characters, the Pâli legend *Môkhalinam*, "of the Môkhalis, Maukhalis, or Maukharis." No. 47, page 219, gives us the names of three feudatory *Mahârâjas*, followed by two paramount sovereigns, of one branch of this family; and it is probably the *Mahârâja* Īśvaravarman, of this branch, of whom we have a record in No. 51, page 228. A connecting link between these Maukharis and the Guptas of Magadha seems to be established in Âdityavarman's wife, Harshaguptâ, who was probably the sister of Harshagupta of Magadha. Subsequently, the relations between the two families were less friendly. Thus, it can hardly be doubted that the king Īśanavarman of this family is the one who, as recorded in line 6 f. of the Aphaṣṭ inscription, was conquered in battle by

Harshagupta's grandson, Kumāragupta. Dāmōdaragupta, again, in the same inscription, is mentioned as breaking-up the forces of the Maukhari king, which had previously overcome the army of the Hūnas. And the Susthitavarman who was conquered in battle by Mahāsēnagupta, doubtless belonged to the same lineage. Other references to the Maukharis are to be found in the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, and in the Nēpāl inscriptions.¹ Nos. 48, 49, and 50, give us another minor branch of the Maukhari lineage, of evidently much less importance, belonging to the neighbourhood of Gayā.

The second of the contemporaneous families introduced by the Aṃṣad inscription, is that of the **Kings of Kanauj**, to which belonged the great Harshadēva or Harshavardhana. Of this king I am able to give a brand-new inscription, in the Sōnpat seal, No. 52, page 231. This is the first epigraphical record of this family that has ever been obtained; and it is of extreme interest in carrying back the genealogy to two generations before Harshavardhana's well-known father, Prabhākaravardhana; and in shewing that the latter was the first paramount sovereign in the family. The verse in the Aṃṣad inscription which mentions Harshavardhana, under the name of Harshadēva, is partly obliterated; but it refers to Mādhavagupta either as a feudatory of the Kanauj king, or as seeking an alliance with him. A connection between the two families appears to be established in Mahāsēnaguptā,² the wife of the *Mahārāja* Ādityavardhana, who was the grandfather of Harshavardhana; it can hardly be doubted that she was a sister of Mahāsēnagupta of Magadha, the father of Mādhavagupta. Another point of importance in this Sōnpat seal, is, that it shews that the father of Prabhākaravardhana was neither Pushpabhūti or Pushyabhūti, who is mentioned by Bāṇa, in his *Harshacharita*, in connection with this family; nor king Śīlāditya of Mālava, who is spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang, but the feudatory *Mahārāja* Ādityavardhana. That Śīlāditya of Mālava was the father of Prabhākaravardhana, was assumed by Mr. Fergusson.³ And Prof. Max Müller has asserted the same relationship in respect of Pushpabhūti;⁴ but Dr. F. E. Hall⁵ only speaks of Pushpabhūti as an ancestor, more or less remote, of Harshavardhana; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,⁶ who writes the name Pushyabhūti, only speaks of Harshavardhana as belonging to the Pushyabhūti dynasty.

No. 53, page 233, to No. 56, page 243, are inscriptions of the **Vākātaka Mahārājas**. Their date is determined by the marriage of Rudrasēna II. with Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Dēvagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Dēvagupta of Magadha,⁷ the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Dēō-Baraṇār inscription, No. 46, page 213, and belonging to the period of about A.D. 680 to 700. This brings

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.

² See page 232, note 3.

³ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. IV. p. 87.

⁴ *India; What can it teach us?* p. 288.

⁵ *Vāsavadattā*, Preface, p. 51; in his analysis of the *Harshacharita*.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 74.

⁷ See page 215, note 7.

the *Vākātaka Mahārājas* to a period later by fully two centuries than has hitherto been allotted to them ; but there is nothing in the palæography of their grants to oppose this result, even if it does not actually prove it. A clear instance of the comparatively long preservation of antique characters for official purposes, is furnished by the *Rājim* grant of the *Rāja* *Tivaradēva*, No. 81, page 291, which is undoubtedly almost, if not quite, the latest record in this volume, though at first sight its characters would seem to refer it to a much earlier period.

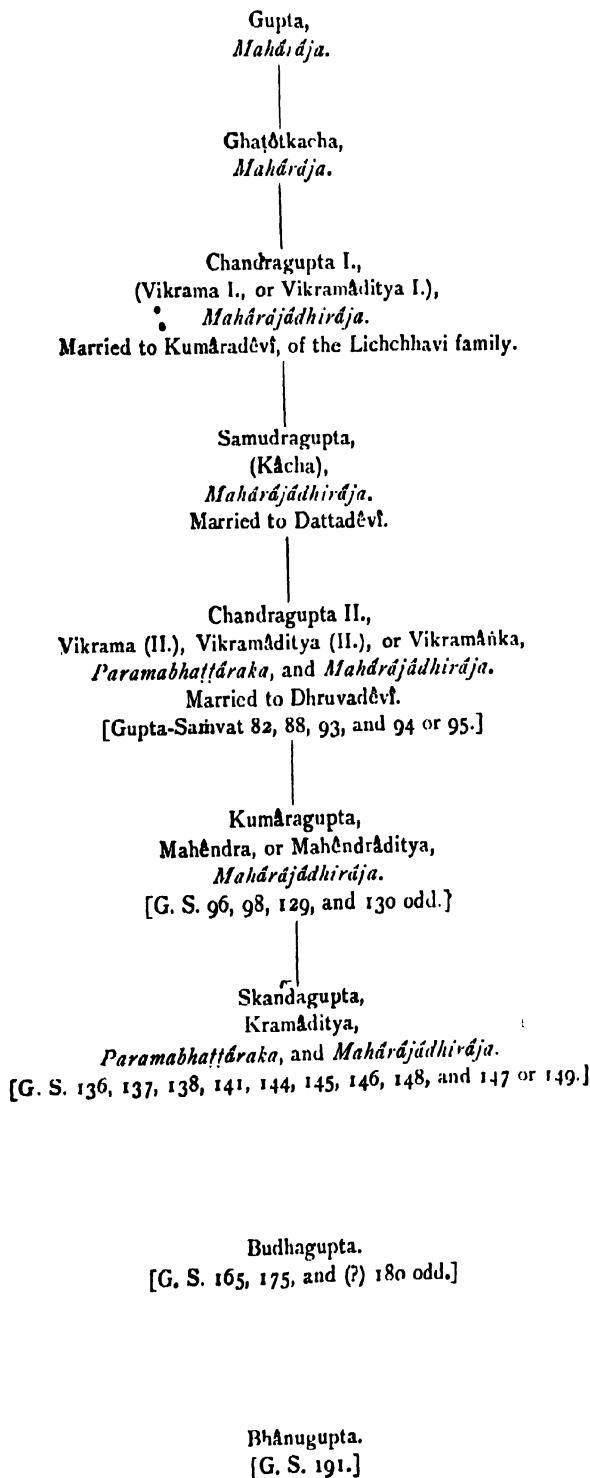
In No. 57, page 249, to No. 81, page 291, I have given a variety of **Miscellaneous Inscriptions**, which, either from their not mentioning the name of any particular king, or for other reasons, it was not convenient to introduce in other places in accordance with the chronological order that has been the chief basis of the arrangement of the volume. Of these, the most interesting are No. 60, page 254, which is a spurious grant purporting to have been issued by the Early Gupta king *Samudragupta* ; No. 61, page 258, which, apart from its recorded date, expressly refers itself to the Early Gupta period, and which also, like No. 15, page 65, furnishes interesting proof of the existence of the Jain sect in the fourth century, A.D. ; and No. 71, page 274, the *Bôdh-Gayâ* inscription of *Mahânâman*, dated in A.D. 588. This is another brand-new discovery, made by General Cunningham. And its extreme interest lies in the fact that, as the *Mahânâman*, whose record it is, can hardly be any other than the well-known person of that name who wrote the more ancient part of the Pāli *Mahāvamsa* or History of Ceylon, its date shews either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology, as hitherto accepted, are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be, or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working out those details ; and it furnishes a definite point from which the chronology may now be adjusted backwards.

THE GUPTA ERA.

We come now to the question which, for the last forty years, has been at issue among all scholars who have been interested in the ancient history of India, and which, from the impossibility, until the discovery of the *Mandasôr* inscription of *Kumārāgupta* and *Bandhuvarman*, of arriving at any sound and final settlement of it, has created the almost inextricable confusion that now prevails in every line of research connected with the Early Gupta period ; *viz.* the determination of the exact chronological point to which we must refer the commencement of the era that was used, for the purpose of dating their records and coins, by the Early Gupta kings and some of their successors.

For reference in the following discussion, I give, in Table I. page 17 below, a **genealogy of the dynasty**, with the official titles and recorded dates of the members of it. And, below the unbroken succession, I insert the names of *Budhagupta* and *Bhânugupta* ;

TABLE I.
Genealogy of the Early Gupta Kings.



because there is at least a strong possibility that they were descended from the same stock, though their connection with each other, and with Skandagupta, has not as yet been made clear; and because the date of Budhagupta, at least, has always been accepted as bearing on the chronological question. The dates are taken partly from the inscriptions, and partly from the silver coins, on which I have published a note in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 65 ff. Thus, the coins supply the dates of Gupta-Samvat 94 or 95, for Chandragupta II.; 130 odd, for Kumāragupta;¹ 144, 145, 148, and 147 or 149, for Skandagupta; and 175, and possibly also 180 odd, for Budhagupta. The secondary names of the kings are taken partly from the silver coins, and partly from the gold coins, on which a very exhaustive and valuable treatise has been published by Mr. V. A. Smith, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119 ff., noticed by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 92 ff. The names of Vikramāditya, Mahēndraditya, and Kramāditya, for respectively Chandragupta II., Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta, are supplied by the silver coins; and the first two, in the abbreviated forms of Vikrama and Mahēndra, occur also on some of the gold coins; as, also, perhaps does the full name Kramāditya, for Skandagupta. And Vikramānka, which is of constant occurrence as a synonym for Vikrama and Vikramāditya, occurs on a silver coin which seems undoubtedly to belong to Chandragupta II. As regards Chandragupta I., it is still a moot point whether certain gold coins, which bear the name of Vikrama and Vikramāditya, are to be allotted to him, or to his grandson; but I myself do not see any difficulty about allotting them to him, and in understanding, therefore, that he also had these same secondary names; I have, however, inserted them in brackets, as being open to the possibility of doubt. Kācha, as a possible second name of Samudragupta, is taken from some gold coins on which I have commented at page 27, note 4; this, however, is also bracketed, as being not yet quite certain. The coins, both gold and silver, present many other points of considerable interest, some of which I have briefly alluded to in my notes to the Texts and Translations; but the full consideration of them belongs to the Historical Chapters.

The genealogy, as given by Mr. Thomas in his edition of *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 245, includes the name of Dēvi, a daughter of Mahādaitya, as one of the queens of Samudragupta; and, as a son of Skandagupta, a young prince, whose name is suggested to be Mahēndragupta. The entry of Dēvi and Mahādaitya, appears also in the same list as republished by Mr. Thomas in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 19, and again in the *Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 533; in each of which places we also find, as another wife of Samudragupta, a queen, name unknown, the daughter of an independent princess 'Sanhārikā.' The second list repeats the name of Mahēndragupta; but, in the third, there are substituted the words "royal issue expected at the date of this inscription," i.e. of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta. The existence of the supposed

¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Plate v. No. 7.

Mahēndragupta, however, as pointed out by me on page 56, note 2, is due to nothing but Dr. Mill's original mislection of the Bhitari inscription, coupled with the real name of Mahēndrāditya on Kumāragupta's coins. And the existence of the independent princess 'Sanhārikā,' with her unnamed daughter, and of Mahādaitya, and his daughter Dēvi, is equally imaginary; being due, as indicated on page 1, only to early mislections of the Allahābād pillar inscription. In his first list, Mr. Thomas entered the *Mahārāja* Gupta, and his descendants, as belonging to the Solar lineage; and this mistake, though not repeated in his second and third lists, has not even yet been completely eradicated; but, as shewn on page 1, the statement rests on nothing but Dr. Mill's mislection of a passage in the Allahābād inscription.

The Nomenclature of the Era.

Before proceeding further, however, it is desirable now to draw attention pointedly to the fact that, though it is convenient to speak of the era in question as the Gupta era, yet we have no ancient authority whatever for connecting the name of the Guptas with it, as the establishers of it, and much less for accepting the early existence of any such technical appellation for it, as *Gupta-kāla*.

It is true that this term is used by Albērūni, who speaks of the *Gūbt-kāl* or *Gūbita-kāl*, i.e. *Gupta-kāla*. But, in just the same manner, he uses also the expression *Śaka-kāla* for the Śaka era. In each instance, his use of the word *kāla* is in perfect consonance with its meaning, 'time, or a space of time,' and with the application of it in the sense of 'an era.' And the Hindus who furnished him with the information that he recorded, but who can have known nothing certain about the origin of the era, save only that it had come down to them through the Gupta kings, would naturally speak of it as the *Gupta-kāla*. But Albērūni's statements belong to the eleventh century A.D.; and furnish no real authority, on such a point as this, for early times. ✓

It is true, also, that the words *Guptasya kālād*, "from the era of Gupta," were supposed by Dr. Bhau Daji¹ to exist in line 15 of the *Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta*. But the real reading there, as is quite clear even in the lithograph from which Dr. Bhau Daji worked, is not *Guptasya kālā[d]-ganandm vidhāya*, "counting from the era of Gupta," but *Gupta-prakālē ganandm vidhāya*, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas." And there can be little doubt that Dr. Bhau Daji's reading, and his translation, which was more or less unavoidable after the adoption of the reading, were suggested by M. Reinaud's previously published translation of the extract from Albērūni, in which, though translating *Śaka-kāla* by "the era of Śaka," he transliterated the original Arabic by *Gupta-kāla*, with the words "era of the Guptas" added in brackets.² Dr. Bhau Daji's

¹ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 207; Vol. VII. pp. 114, 123.

² *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 143.

reading was unfortunately accepted without further investigation; and has stood up to the present time. And, in particular, it was most emphatically endorsed by Mr. Thomas, who, in 1876, and again in 1881, stated that he had previously had doubts as to the correctness of the reading and translation, but had then become quite satisfied concerning it, from a personal comparison of Dr. Bhau Daji's materials with others.¹ It is undoubtedly only to this erroneous opinion, that we must attribute Mr. Thomas' later belief² that on certain coins of 'Syalapati,' he could read the syllables *Gu* and *Gupta*, with possible indications of even *Guptasya*, shewing, it was supposed, that the dates on these coins referred to an era of Gupta, or the era of the Guptas. These, however, are purely imaginary readings. And the fact remains that, in the Junāgaḍh inscription, the expression *Guptasya kḍa* does not occur. And,—apart from the obvious meaning of the words; and from the fact, which will be insisted on more fully further on, that the *Mahārāja Gupta*, the founder of the family, being only a feudatory *Mahārāja*, had not the power of establishing an era at all,—that, in the real reading *Gupta-prakḍiḥ*, we are to interpret the first member of the compound as representing the genitive plural, not singular, is expressly indicated by the use of the full genitive plural, *Guptānām*, governed by *kḍa*, in another date in line 27 of the same inscription. Of course, both these passages connect the era with the Guptas, as belonging to them, and as being used by them; which had then been the case, so far as their epigraphical records go, for at least three generations. But not either of them suffices to shew that it had been established by them; or even that it had, at that time, acquired the technical name of the "Gupta era." And what the first expression really shews, is, simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was new to Kāthiāwāḍ, and was not the customary era of that part of the country.

✓ In dated records, the genitive plural, *Guptānām*, occurs again in line 2 of the Kahāum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15, page 65. But there it is governed by *vamśa*, in *vamśa-jasya*; "of Skandagupta, who is born in the lineage of the Guptas." So, also, we have *Gupta-anvayānām* in line 1 of the Udayagiri cave inscription of the year 106, No. 61, page 258. But it is governed by *kulasya*; "in the augmenting sovereignty of the family of those who belong to the lineage of the Guptas." These two passages, therefore, do not bear on the question at all.

Again, in the grants of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas Hastin and Samkshobha, No. 21, page 93, to No. 23, page 106, and No. 25, page 112, we have the expression *Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau*, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." And this

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 22; and *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. XIII. p. 538.

² See Sir E. Clive Bayley's "Remarks on certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kābul," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff.

expression is of importance, in shewing clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing, and that the dates of these records are to be referred to the same era with the dates of the Early Guptas themselves. But there is nothing at all in the expression, tending to give the era the name of the "Gupta era."

✓ In the Môri grant of Jâinka, again, as read by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar,¹ we are supposed to have a very clear intimation indeed, that the era was then known as the Gupta era; his reading and translation being,—pañch-âṣṭya yutē-titē samānam śata-pañchakē | Gauptē dadāv=adō nripaḥ s-ōparāḡe-rka-mamḍalē,—of which a more literal translation than that given by him, would be "the Gupta fifth century of years, together with eighty-five (years), having elapsed, the king gave this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed." There is a difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of this inscription; for the reason that the first plate had been lost sight of, before the grant was obtained for examination at all; as the result of which, the genealogy of Jâinka is not known; and the second plate contains no name of a place, unless we are to find it in the verse that I have quoted. And now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid, and is not forthcoming. That the date refers in all probability to the Gupta era, I do not dispute. But the above reading of it, takes no notice of the fact that the real word, in line 17, is not gaupṭē at all, but gōṭṭē; the au being arrived at only by applying again, as a component of the vowel, a perfectly distinct and separate sign, which is in reality nothing but the single mark of punctuation after pañchakē, at the end of the half-verse, and which had already been properly interpreted as such. It is only by the deliberate correction of δ into au,² that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage; but even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, pañchaka, which it qualifies. We might, with just as much reason, correct gōṭṭē, into gōṭṭrē, 'to the protector, i.e. the local governor;' and this would be even more sustainable; for the word stands immediately before dadau, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative, or some other case. Or, again, without any correction at all, we might translate "the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gōṭṭa." And this, I expect, will be found to be the real meaning, if ever the first plate, which is said to be now at Gaṅgāsagar in Bengal, can be obtained for examination. As matters stand, there is at least nothing in this passage that compels us to connect the name of the Guptas with the date. And, at the best, even if a future discovery of the first plate should force us to adopt the reading of Gauptē in the date, the grant belongs to rather a late period, when, in Kāthiāwāḍ and Gujarāt, any knowledge of the real origin of the era must have been lost, and all that remained was that it was the Gupta kings who had introduced the era into those parts.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 258, line 16 L. ✓

² The mistake of δ for au does occur in the word svarbhānō, for svarbhānau, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word paurvva, the au is formed quite correctly and completely.

And, finally, in a curious passage from the *Achâraṭikâ*, which I give in full at page 32 below, note 3, we have the date "when there have gone by seven centuries of years of the Guptas, increased by seventy-two;" in which there is used again the genitive plural, *Guptâvām*. But the passage contains, as will be seen, a remarkable confusion, which cannot at present be cleared up, between the Gupta and the Śaka eras. And, like the Mōrbi grant, this record belongs to a late period, and furnishes no authority for early times.

In the records of the Early Guptas themselves, the date is always expressed simply by the word *saṃvatsara*, 'a year,' as in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II., of the year 82, No. 3, page 25, line 2; or by the abbreviation *saṃ*, as in the Sāñchi inscription of the same king, of the year 93, No. 5, page 32, line 11; or by the fuller abbreviation *saṃvat*, as in the Mankuār image inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 11, page 47, line 2. And such of their coins as are dated at all, give simply the numerical symbols, without the accompaniment of any word meaning 'year,' and much less of any dynastic qualification of it. For a reason which I indicate in Appendix I. below, these methods of expression, which are exactly analogous to the usages of other dynasties also, do not necessarily prove that the era was not established by the Guptas. At the same time, they contain no proof that it was established by them; and nothing to connect their name with it.

The fact remains, therefore, that **in no early record can we find any indication that the era was founded by the Guptas**; and much less that there ever existed any technical expressions analogous to *Śaka-nṛpa-kāla*, "the time or era of the Śaka king or kings," *Śaka-nṛpa-saṃvatsara*, "the years of the Śaka king," *Śaka-kāla*, "the Śaka era," *Vikrama-kāla*, "the Vikrama era," *Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṃvatsara*, "the years established by Vikramāditya," &c.,¹ or even analogous to the terms *Valabhī-saṃ* and *Valabhī-saṃvat*, which are of actual occurrence in later times. This fact will become of more importance, when we come to deal with the question of the probable origin of the era. Meanwhile, I have drawn attention to it, because it is a point that must be borne in mind throughout the whole discussion. It is necessary, however, in order to avoid periphrasis, to have some convenient name for the era; and therefore, as a simple matter

¹ See my notes "On the Nomenclature of the principal Hindu Eras, and the use of the word *Samvatsara* and its Abbreviations," in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 207 ff., 291 ff.; where, of course, owing to our advance in knowledge, my remarks on the Kaira grants (p. 208), and on the Kāvi grant, (p. 291 ff.) now require to be entirely recast.—I have shewn there that, as is now generally recognised, the use of the abbreviation *saṃvat* is in no way restricted, as was formerly held to be the case, to the Vikrama era; see also a pointed instance supplied by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 63. It is simply an abbreviation of the base *saṃvatsara*, 'a year,' or of any declensional case of it that can be used in expressing a date (see No. 5, page 30, note 3). And, bearing this in mind, such expressions as Gupta-Saṃvat, Śaka-Saṃvat, Vikrama-Saṃvat, &c., of which the two latter actually occur in original records (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 213, 293), give a uniform, convenient, and unobjectionable method of quoting the years of the different eras.

of convenience, I follow the custom of the last forty years, and speak of it as "the Gupta era." Also, as the era did certainly in later times, in Kāthjāwād, acquire the name of "the Valabhī era," I shall, according to the convenience of the moment, speak of it indifferently as "the Gupta era," "the Valabhī era," and "the Gupta-Valabhī era." Subject to the remarks that I have made above, this nomenclature needs no further apology, if I point out that, even by those who maintain that the Early Guptas were themselves anterior to A.D. 319, it is admitted that the Gupta era which has come down to us in the writings of Albêrûnî, had the same epoch with the Valabhī era; they only maintain that the Early Guptas used a Gupta era which was not this Gupta era.

Albêrûnî's Statements, as rendered by M. Reinaud.

Until the discovery of the Mandasôr inscription, No. 18, page 79, the only direct information available as to the epoch of the Gupta era, was the statement of Albêrûnî, who, writing in the period¹ between the 30th April and the 30th September, A.D. 1030, left on record the following notes, as taken from M. Reinaud's French translation in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, page 138 ff:—

"People employ ordinarily the eras of Śrī-Harsha,² of Vikramāditya, of Śaka, of "Ballaba,³ and of the Guptas. Ballaba, who also has given his name "to an era, was the prince of the town of Ballabha, to the south of Anhilwāra, at a "distance of about thirty yōjanas.⁴ The era of Ballaba is subsequent to that of Śaka "by 241 years. In order to make use of it, we set down the era of Śaka, and deduct at

¹ See Sachau's *Albêrûnî's India*, Preface, p. x.

² As is shewn by Albêrûnî's statement further on, this is not the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606 or 607, of which we have an instance in this volume, in No. 43, page 208; but an earlier era, commencing B.C. 457, of which we have no epigraphical record, and, in fact, no information of its existence beyond Albêrûnî's statement, which is accompanied by the remark that, in a Kāśmīrī almanac, he had read that Śrī-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya, and that he could obtain no explanation of the discrepancy (Sachau's *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation Vol. II. p. 5).

³ Reinaud's Arabic text contains no authority for his use of the double *l* throughout, and of the aspirated *bh* in the name of the town. So, also, Sachau's text contains no authority for his use, once of the form *Ballabha*, and once of *Balabha*. These forms can only be attributed to some fancied connection between the name of the city of Valabhī and the Sanskrit word *vallabha*, 'lover, husband, friend, favourite,' which was very often used as a proper name, but not in the case of any of the rulers of Valabhī. The word *valabhī* itself means 'the wooden frame of a thatch, a roof; a turret or temporary building on the roof of a house.' It occurs in No. 18, line 6, page 81; and, in the form *vaḍabhī*, in No. 66, line 2, page 268.—Albêrûnî himself, in treating the name as that of a person, as well as of a town, possibly wrote under some similar misconception. But, setting aside any such mistake as this, which is rather like that of his treating Śaka as the name of an individual, instead of a tribe, he is of course speaking of the era that was used by the well-known Kings of Valabhī.

⁴ The *yōjana*, a measure of distance, seems to have varied from 2½ to 9, or even 18, English miles; but with an average length of between 4 and 5 miles.—Walā, the modern representative of the ancient Valabhī, is about one hundred and thirty-five miles almost due south of Anhilwād.

"the same time the cube of 6 (216) and the square of 5 (25). The remainder is the era of **Ballaba**. This era will be discussed in its place. As to the **Gupta-kāla** (the era of the Guptas), we understand by the word *gupta* certain people who, it is said, were "wicked and powerful; and the era which bears their name, is the epoch of their extermination. Apparently **Ballaba** followed the **Guptas** immediately; for, the era of the **Guptas** also commences the year 241 of the era of Śāka. The era of the astronomers commences the year 587 of the era of Śāka. It is to this era that the *Kandakhātaka* Tables of Brahmagupta are referred. This work has among us the title of *Arkand*. Accordingly, placing ourselves in the year 400 of the era of Yazdajird,¹ we find ourselves in the year 1488 of the era of Śrī-Harsha; the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya; the year 953 of the era of Śāka; the year 712 of the era of **Ballaba** and of that of the **Guptas**."

Albêrûnî's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Sachau.

And to this we have now to add Prof. Sachau's English rendering of the same passages, in his *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation,² Vol. II. page 5 ff. :—

"For this reason, people have given up using them,³ and have adopted instead the eras of — (1) Śrī Harsha; (2) Vikramāditya; (3) Śāka; (4) **Balabha**;⁴ and (5) **Gupta**. The era of **Balaba** is called so from **Balaba**, "the ruler of the town **Balabha**,⁵ nearly 30 *yōjanas* south of Anhilvāra. The epoch of this era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śāka era. People use it in this way. They first put down the year of the Śākakāla, and then subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 ($216 + 25 = 241$). The remainder is the year of the **Balaba** era. The history of **Balaba** is given in its proper place.⁶ As regards the **Guptakāla**, people say that the **Guptas** were wicked powerful people, and that, when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that **Balaba** was the last of them, because the epoch of the era of the **Guptas** falls, like that of the **Balaba** era, 241 years later than the Śākakāla. The era of the astronomers begins 587

¹ This era dates from the accession of Yazdajird III., a Sassanian king of Persia, in A.D. 632 (see *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 302 and note). The "gauge-year," 400, selected by Albêrûnî for the comparison of dates, is one year ahead of that in which he was writing.

² It is not certain whether Prof. Sachau's Translation will have been actually published before the issue of this volume. But, as it will be the standard translation, he has kindly allowed me to make the necessary references to it, from advanced proofs.

³ i.e. the eras of the Bhārata war and of the Kaliyuga, and certain other methods of reckoning time, just previously detailed by Albêrûnî, who states that they had been abandoned because of the very large numbers involved in the use of them.

⁴ and ⁵ See page 23 above, note 3.

⁶ The reference appears to be to the story of the fruit-seller Raṅka and the king Vallabha; Translation, Vol. I. p. 192 f., in Chapter XVII., "on Hindu Sciences which prey on the Ignorance of People."

"years later than the Śakakāla. On this era is based the canon *Khundakhadyaka* by "Brahmagupta, which among Muhammadans is known as *Al-arkand*. Now, the year 400 "of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of "the Indian eras:—(1) to the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harsha; (2) to the year 1088 "of the era of Vikramāditya; (3) to the year 953 of the Śakakāla; (4) to the year 712 "of the **Balaba** era, which is identical with the **Guptakāla**."

The Results of the above Renderings.

The passages given above mention an era, connected with the names both of the Guptas and of the Valabhī family, in respect of which we have to notice the following leading points.

In the first place, **Albêrûnî** calls this era, both "**the Gupta era,**" and "**the Valabhī era.**" As regards its connection with the Guptas, he tells us, according to the above renderings, that it commenced at the time of the cessation of the Gupta sway, and seems to imply that, as a matter of fact, it was that event which led to the establishment of it; and, of course, the result of this would be, that the dates recorded in the inscriptions of the Guptas themselves, could not be referred to this Gupta era, but must belong to some era with a considerably earlier starting-point. And, as regards its connection with the **Valabhī family**, from the fact that their era had the same starting-point with this Gupta era, he infers that the members of this family came after the Guptas in chronological sequence; but he does not indicate any connection between them and the establishment of the era.

And secondly, in respect of the initial point, he seems first to state, very clearly, that the epoch of the era, under either name, was when Śaka-Samvat $216 + 25 = 241$ had expired; which, taking the expired Śaka year in the way in which it has to be used for the purposes of the present Tables,¹ gives us A.D. 319-20 current* for the epoch or year 0 of the era, and A.D. 320-21 current for its commencement or first current year. This is shewn, first by the rule for subtracting 241 complete Śaka years; and secondly by Gupta-Valabhī-Samvat 712 being quoted as equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 953, which is known to be intended as an expired year, since Albêrûnî gives it as the equivalent of the year 400 of Yazdajird, which is A.D. 1031-32 current. In his next mention, however, as rendered by M. Reinaud, he apparently speaks of the era as commencing with, i.e. as having for its first current year, Śaka-Samvat 241, which must be understood as an expired year; according

¹ e.g. those in Gen. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, and Prof. K. L. Chhatre's *Graha-sādhanaśikṣā Kōśhāṭmā*, or "Tables for calculating the Places of the Planets."

* Or, more accurately, the period from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320.—It is, perhaps, desirable to point out, for general readers, that the quotation of two years of the Christian era in this way, "A.D. 319-20," does not denote the whole period of the two years, but only the period from the commencement of the Śaka year in the first of them, to the end of it in the second.

to which its epoch would be when 240 years had expired. While, in a third passage, a little further on in the book,¹ in mentioning the "roundabout way" in which the Hindus computed the date (in January, A.D. 1026) of the destruction of Sômnâthpâṭan by Mahmûd of Ghaznî, which event took place "in the year of the Hijra 416, or 947 Śakakāla," he tells us that they first wrote down 242, then 606 under it, and then, again, 99; with the result, by addition of the figures, of Śaka-Samvat 947, which, as an expired year, brings us to the period A.D. 1025-26 current, inclusive of the month of January, A.D. 1026. And here the first figures would seem, at first sight, to indicate that, in this calculation, the epoch of the era was treated as being when Śaka-Samvat 242 had expired.²

¹ *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 9.

² This last passage is introduced by Albêrûnî in connection with his remarks on the Lōkakāla or popular reckoning by cycles of a hundred years. And he expresses himself as being inclined to think that the number 242 indicates the years which preceded the time when the Hindus commenced to use the cycle of a hundred years, and that they adopted this cycle together with the Gupta era; also that the number 606 represents the completed cycles, *vis.* six, "each of which they must reckon as 101 years;" and that the number 99 gives the expired years of the current cycle. He goes on to say that the rule, as found by him in the writings of Durlabha of Multân, was, to write down 848, and add the Lōkakāla; the sum of which would give the Śaka year. But, in proceeding to apply this rule to Śaka-Samvat 953 (expired), as corresponding to the year of Yazdajird which he had already used as a "gauge-year," he points out that, subtracting 848, there remained 105 for the Lōkakāla, while the destruction of Sômnâthpâṭan would fall in the 98th year of the cycle.—There are subsidiary difficulties here, which cannot at present be fully cleared up. One of them is, the reference of the destruction of Sômnâthpâṭan to both the ninety-eighth and the ninety-ninth years of a Lōkakāla cycle; with the addition, moreover, that the ninety-eighth year is indicated as current, and the ninety-ninth is inferred to be expired.—Another is, that, according to the only Lōkakāla reckoning the nature of which has been fully explained (*Indian Eras*, p. 6 ff.), *vis.* that used in Kāśmîr,—which, Albêrûnî tells us, had been adopted by the people of Multân a few years before his own time,—the event in question would fall in the first current year of a cycle. Thus, Kalhaṇa, in the *Rājataranginî*, i. 52 (Calcutta edition, p. 3), makes a very explicit statement regarding the equation between the Śaka era and the Lōkakāla of Kāśmîr. His words are — *laukikê=bdê chatur-vimê Śaka-kālasya sâmprataṁ sapṭaty=âtyadhikam yâtām sahasraṁ parivatsarâḥ*,—"at this present moment, in the twenty-fourth *laukika* (or popular) year, there have gone by one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Śaka era." In this passage, he quotes the Śaka year as expired, in accordance with the practice of astronomers; but the Lōkakāla year as current, as would naturally be the case in using a popular reckoning of that kind. He was writing, therefore, in Lōkakāla 24 current, and when Śaka-Samvat 1070 had expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1148-49 current. And this gives Lōkakāla 1 current of the same cycle, as corresponding to Śaka-Samvat 1047 expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1025-26 current. Now, that the scheme of each year of the Kāśmîrî Lōkakāla cycle was identical with the scheme of the Śaka years of Northern India, commencing with the first day of the month Chaitra (March-April), is shewn by Albêrûnî's statements, and by the notes put together by Gen. Cunningham in his exposition of this reckoning. And it follows that the first year, current, of each Kāśmîrî Lōkakāla cycle coincides exactly with the forty-seventh year expired, and the forty-eighth current, of each century of the Śaka era, and with part of the twenty-fifth and part of the twenty-sixth years, current, of each century of the Christian era. The month of January, A.D. 1026, therefore, fell in Lōkakāla 1 current, of Kāśmîr, which coincided with Śaka-Samvat 947 expired, and extended (see *Indian Eras*, p. 171) from the 3rd March, A.D. 1025, to the 21st March, A.D. 1026. And it is difficult to see how, in the

Albêrûnî's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright.

The leading historical item of Albêrûnî's information, as rendered by M. Reinaud,—*vis.* that the Gupta era commemorated the epoch of the extermination of the Gupta dynasty,—naturally at once attracted special attention; because of the *prima-facie* improbability of such a fact. And, as will be seen further on, various attempts were made, to find an explanation for it; and with very conflicting results.

application of a Lōkakāla reckoning introduced from Kasmīr, an event occurring in that month can be correctly referred even to Lōkakāla 99 expired; and, much more so, to Lōkakāla 98 current. To suit the former case, we require a cycle commencing one year later than the Kasmīr cycle; and to suit the latter case, a cycle commencing three years later than the same. And, that there were varying starting-points of this kind, as well as a want of uniformity in respect of the scheme of the years, is indicated by Albêrûnî's remark that the totally different accounts of the Lōkakāla reckonings, given to him, rendered him unable to make out the truth about it.—One point, however, seems clear. As to the number 606, given by Albêrûnî in his first illustration, it is impossible that a centenary cycle can consist of a hundred and one years. And Albêrûnî himself had previously said distinctly (*Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8) "if a *centennium* is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one." It is plain, in fact, that the odd six years do not belong to the cycles of the Lōkakāla. To that reckoning, only the six even centuries belong. I shall shew hereafter that the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhî era really was A.D. 319-20 current; which might be quoted either as Śāka-Samvat 241 expired or 242 current. If we add the odd six years to Śāka-Samvat 241 expired, we obtain Śāka-Samvat 247 expired, or 248 current, equivalent to A.D. 325-26 current; and this, as we have just seen, would coincide with the first current year of a Lōkakāla cycle, as reckoned in Kasmīr. But it is one year too early for the first current year of any cycle of a reckoning, in a subsequent cycle of which the event in question belonged to the ninety-ninth year expired and the hundredth year current. Now, I suppose that we must assume that Albêrûnî has quoted Durlabha correctly. And, if so, then the first current year of each cycle in the Multān reckoning really was one year later than in the Kasmīr reckoning; and coincided with the forty-eighth year expired, and the forty-ninth current, of each century of the Śāka era, and with part of the twenty-sixth and part of the twenty-seventh years, current, of each century of the Christian era. And, if the introduction of the reckoning, at Multān, could be carried back so far, it commenced with Śāka-Samvat 248 expired, and 249 current. This year might have been obtained by adding seven to Śāka-Samvat 241 expired. But, as will be seen hereafter, the real use of Śāka-Samvat 241 expired is only for obtaining the basis with which Gupta-Valabhî dates have to be calculated; and it only brings us to the beginning of the Gupta epoch. The difference between Gupta-Valabhî and Śāka years, both treated as current for purposes of comparison, is 242. And Śāka-Samvat 242 expired brings us to the beginning of the first current Gupta year. This is the starting point that was really wanted for a process of the kind shewn to Albêrûnî. And this is why that year was selected as the apparent basis of the computation; the true basis being Śāka-Samvat 848 expired.—It is evident, therefore, that the process illustrated by the figures given to Albêrûnî does involve a method of adapting the Lōkakāla reckoning to the Gupta era; or, more properly, of converting Lōkakāla dates into Śāka dates through the Gupta reckoning. So far, however, from the figures tending to support any inference that the Lōkakāla reckoning was introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Guptas, the fact that Durlabha of Multān would deduct 848, with a remainder, in the particular instance, of 105, or one complete Lōkakāla cycle and five years over, seems to indicate very clearly that the use of this reckoning in that part of the country commenced with Śāka-Samvat 848 expired, equivalent to A.D. 926-27 current; had it been otherwise, Durlabha's rule would surely have been worded in such a way

That the true solution was to be found, not in wrong information given to Albérûnî or in a mistake made by him in reporting correct information, but in an erroneous interpretation of his meaning, was first indicated to me by Mr. Rehatsek, who, in December, 1886, gave me, from M. Reinaud's published text, the following literal rendering of the crucial passage,—“and (*as regards*) the Gupta era, it was, as is said, a nation wicked (*and*) strong; and when they perished, dating was made according to them.”¹ Such a rendering as this would enable us to give to Albérûnî's words a meaning perfectly clear and consistent with the usual order of things; *vis.* that the Guptas, though wicked and inferentially unpopular, yet had exercised so powerful a sway that, even when their dynasty came to an end, the era, that had been used by them, still continued to be used.

So also, somewhat later, Mr. H. C. Kay, translating the words by, “dating was made by (or, according to) them,” added the following remarks on the interpretation of them:—“The author's meaning is not clear. But, taking the words as they stand, I think they “can most consistently be understood as signifying an adoption or continuation of the “method of dating that had been used by the Guptas. The preceding words ‘when they “came to an end’ suggest the possible meaning that the dating ran from that event. But “it seems to me that this construction can be properly preferred, only if there be something “else in the context, or in the known facts of the case, that would make it obligatory; or, “at least, that clearly points to it.”

I had the hope that, before it came to my own turn to write finally on the subject, Prof. Sachau's translation of the Arabic text would have removed all doubt as to Albérûnî's real meaning on this point. This, however, has not been the case; because of the introduction in his translation as in M. Reinaud's, of the word ‘epoch,’ which does not exist in the original text, and the use of which gives the translation a fixed obligatory meaning that, at any rate, a literal rendering of the original does not compel us to adopt.

that, in the particular instance, 948 must be deducted, with a remainder of only 5 years over.—Gen. Cunningham, in giving a somewhat similar explanation of the figures 606 (*Indian Eras*, p. 16), has assumed that in this process Śaka-Samvat 242 is a mistake for 241. But this, as I have now shewn, is not the case. And I do not agree with the manner in which he deals with the figures as a whole. Śaka-Samvat 241 expired or completed brings us to the end of A.D. 318-19 and the beginning of A.D. 319-20. If to this we add 6 and 600 and 99 complete years, it only brings us to Śaka-Samvat 946 expired, or to the end of A.D. 1023-24 and the beginning of A.D. 1024-25; and leaves us still one year short of that in which the event in question occurred.

¹Similarly, some thirteen years ago, Mr. Blochmann (see the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 368) proposed to translate—“as regards the Guptakāl, they were, as is related, a people wicked and powerful; and when they were cut off, it was dated in them (the era commenced?).”—This translator, however, is spoilt by the bracketed words “(the era commenced?).” the use of which shews why Mr. Blochmann, though giving a translation capable of a totally different meaning, expressed himself as not able to see any fault in Reinaud's translation.

' I am, therefore, glad to be able now to publish the following transliteration, with interlinear word-for-word rendering, and translation, which **Prof. William Wright**, of Cambridge, has recently been kind enough to give me, from Prof. Sachau's published text, of the original of the whole passages of which M. Reinaud's and Prof. Sachau's renderings have been printed above :—

Text and Literal Rendering.

{ Wa-li-dhālika	'a'raqū	'an-hā	wa-jā'ū	'ilā		
{ And for this	they have turned awa	from them	and have come	to		
{ tawārikh	Shrī-Hrīsh	wa-Bigarmādita	wa-Shaka	wa-Bilaba		
{ the eras of	[Śrī-Harsha]	and [Vikramāditya]	and [Śaka]	and [Valabhi]		
{ wa-Kūbita.	.....	Wa-'ammā	ta'rikh	Balba	
{ and [Gupta].	.....	And as regards	the era of	[Valabhi]	
{ wa-huwa	ṣāhib	madīnat	Balbah	wa-hiya	janūbiyah	'an
{ and he	lord of	the city of	[Valabhi]	and it	south	from
{ madīnat	'Anhlwārah	bi-ḡarīb	min	thalāthīn	jozhan	fa-'inna
{ the city of	[Anhlvāda]	by near	to	thirty	[yōjana]	behold
{ 'auwala-hu	muta'akhhir	'an	ta'rikh	Shk	bi-mi'atain	
{ the first of it	posterior	to	the era of	[Śaka]	by two hundred	
{ wa-iḥdā	wa-'arba'in	sanah.	Wa-musta'milū-hu	yaḍa'ūn	Shg-kāl	
{ and one	and forty	years.	And the users of it	put down	[Śaka]-era	
{ wa-yankuṣūn	min-hu	majmū'	muka'ab	'as-sittah	wa-murabba'	
{ and lessen	from it	the sum of	the cube of	six	and the square of	
{ 'al-khamsah	fa-yabkā	ta'rikh	Balba.	Wa-khabaru-hu	'ātin	
{ five	and remains	the era of	[Valabhi].	And his history	is coming	
{ fi	mauḍi'i-hi.	Wa-'ammā	Gūbt-kāl	fa-kānū	kamā	ḡila
{ in	its place.	And as regards	[Gupta]-era	they were	as	is said
{ kauman	'ashrāran	'akwiyā'a	fa-lammā	'inkaraḍū	'urrikha	
{ a people	wicked	strong	and so after	they perished	it was dated	
{ bi-him.	Wa-ka-'anna	Bib	kān	'akhīra-hum.	Fa'inna	
{ by them.	And as if that	[Valabhi]	was	the last of them.	And behold	
{ 'auwala	ta'rikhi-him	'aiḍan	muta'akhhir	'an	Shg-kāl	
{ the first	of their era	also	posterior	to	[Śaka]-era	

{ 241.	Wa-ta'rikh	al-munajjimīn	yata'akhkhar	'an	Shg-kāl
{ 241.	And the era of	the astronomers	is posterior	to	[Śaka]-era
{ 587	wa-'alai-hi	buniya	zlj	Kndkāt	li-Brhm̐gūpt
{ 587	and on it	is built	the canon	[Khaṇḍakāṭaka]	by [Brahmagupta]
{ wa-huwa	'al-ma'rūf	'inda-nā		bī'l-Arknd.	
{ and it	the known	with us (<i>chez nous</i>)		by (the name of) Al-Arkand.	
{ Fa-'idhan	sinū	ta'rikh	Shrī-Harish	li-sanatī-nā	
{ And so then	the years of	the era of	[Śrī-Harsha]	to our year	
{ 'al-mumaththal	bi-hā	1488	wa-ta'-rikh	Bkr̥mād	1088
{ that is used as an example		1488	and the era of	[Vikramāditya]	1088
{ wa-Shg-kāl	953	wa-ta'rikh	Balba	'alladhī	huwa
{ and [Śaka]-era	953	and the era of	[Valabhī]	which	it also
{ Gūbita-kāl	712.				
{ [Gupta]-era	712.				

Translation.

"And for this reason they have given them up, and have adopted the eras of Śrī-Harsha, Vikramāditya, Śaka, **Valabhī**, and the **Guptas**. And as regards the era of **Valabhī**,—who was the ruler of the city of **Valabhī**, which was south of the city of Aṇhilvāḍa by nearly thirty *yōjanas*,—its beginning was later than the Śaka era by two hundred and forty-one years. Those who use it put down (*the year of*) the Śaka era, and subtract from it the sum of the cube of six and the square of five; and there remains (*the year of*) the era of **Valabhī**. His history is coming in its proper place.¹ And as regards the **Gupta** era,—(*the members of this dynasty*) were, it is said, a race wicked (*and*) strong; and so, after they became extinct, people dated by them. And it seems as if **Valabhī** was the last of them. And so the beginning of their era also is later than the Śaka era (*by*) 241 (*years*). And the era of the astronomers is later than the Śaka era (*by*) 587 (*years*); and on it is based the astronomical canon (*named*) *Khaṇḍakāṭaka*, by Brahmagupta, which among us is known by (*the name of*) *Al-Arkand*. So, then, 1488 years of the era of Śrī-Harsha are in correspondence with the year (*of Yasdajird*) that we have taken as a gauge; and 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya; and 953 of the Śaka era; and 712 of the era of **Valabhī**, which is also the **Gupta** era."

96694

The essence of the whole matter, of course, lies in the precise meaning that is to be given to the words which follow the statement that the **Guptas** were wicked and powerful.

¹ See, however, page 24 above, note 6.

Prof. Wright states that, in the original, we have a vague impersonal passive, meaning "it was dated by them," "there was a dating by them," or "people dated by them;" but that this certainly does not expressly imply that this dating took place from the year of the extinction of the Gupta power, and in consequence of that event. That such an interpretation might, if found on other grounds to be justifiable, be given to this expression, may be admitted. But it is at the least equally open to us to interpret the expression as meaning that the Guptas had been so powerful that, even when they were dead and gone, people still used their era to date by. And we shall have to determine hereafter, from an examination of the details of the recorded Gupta and Valabhî dates, which of these two possible interpretations is the one that must be adopted.

There is also one other point in the revised translations, to which special attention should be paid. Prof. Wright's rendering, "(the year) 712 of the era of Valabhî, which is also the Gupta era,"—and Prof. Sachau's, "the year 712 of the Balaba era, which is identical with the Guptakâla,"—are essentially different, in their ultimate bearing, from M. Reinaud's, "the year 712 of the era of Ballaba and of that of the Guptas." They shew very clearly that Albêrûnî was speaking of absolutely one and the same era, under two names; not of two different eras, with the same, or almost the same, epoch.

The Theories based on M. Reinaud's rendering of Albêrûnî's Statements.

Up to the present time, however, the only rendering of Albêrûnî's statements that has been available, is that given by M. Reinaud. His translation has been taken as the basis of argument by all writers on the subject. And, for a full comprehension of the whole question, it will be necessary now to consider the matter from the light that was given by him.

According to his rendering, we had three years to choose between, for the epoch of the era,—Śaka-Samvat 240, 241, or 242, expired; involving a question, especially in respect of the exact determination of the corresponding date in the Christian era, that could only be settled by accurate calculations of the data available from the inscriptions, explained in detail, so that general readers might see that the processes were satisfactory.

But, whatever might be the final settlement of this point, the fact remained that Albêrûnî had information given to him of the existence of an era, coupled with the name of the Guptas and of the city of Valabhî, which began at some point in A.D. 319, or within a year on either side of that date, and which it is convenient to speak of as the Gupta, the Valabhî, or the Gupta-Valabhî era. And, that this era was actually used in connection with the name of Valabhî, at any rate, was proved by the Verāwal inscription of the Chalukya king Arjunadēva of Anhilwad,¹ in which the leading record of the year is

¹ Originally brought to notice, many years ago, by Tod, in his *Annals of Rājasthān*; but critically edited, for the first time, by Hultzsch, in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 241 ff.

Valabhī-Samvat 945, together with Vikrama-Samvat 1320, which is equivalent to A.D. 1263-64, and with the Hijra year 662, which ran¹ from the 4th November, A.D. 1263, to the 23rd October, A.D. 1264.

So much was certain. But it was felt to be highly improbable that the Gupta era should date from the extermination of the Guptas. And students of the subject divided themselves, almost at once, into two schools.

The first, represented most publicly and with undeviating tenacity up to the last by the late ⁽¹⁾Mr. J. Fergusson, accepted Albêrûni's statement as to the period of the commencement of the era, but,—on the analogy of the statement which, on the authority of Hindu tradition, he also makes, that the Śaka era, too, dated from the overthrow of the Śakas; a statement which is certainly wrong,²—rejected the addition that it dated from the downfall of the Guptas; and took A.D. 318 for the date of the rise of the dynasty, as well as the establishment of the era; selecting this particular year on the theory that the era did not date from the accession of a king, or from any particular historical event, but, for convenience of comparison, was simply regulated by the completion of four of the Sixty-Year Cycles of Jupiter from the commencement of the Śaka era.

The other school accepted A.D. 318, or thereabouts, for the downfall of the Guptas, and took the Valabhī era of Arjunadêva's inscription, which indisputably began at that period, as being separate altogether from the real Gupta era, and as having been established in commemoration of the overthrow of the Gupta power; and began then to look about for an earlier date for the rise of the Gupta dynasty, and for the starting-point of the era used by the Gupta kings, and also,—as was maintained, with some inconsistency, by the majority,—by the Kings of Valabhī, in preference to their own Valabhī era. The chief exponents of this school have been—the late Mr. E. Thomas, who held that the era was identical with that of the Śakas,³ with the epoch of A.D. 77-78;—General Sir Alexander

¹ See *Indian Eras*, p. 126.

² See Appendix I. below.

³ A curious instance of confusion between the Gupta and the Śaka eras, on the part of a Hindu writer, is furnished by the following two passages from the commentary named *Āchāraṭīkā*, by Śīlāchārya, on the Jain work called *Āchārāṅgasūtra*; I have taken them from a manuscript, supposed to be about three hundred years old, shewn to me in the early part of 1883 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.—This first passage, on pp. 207b and 208a, is in metre, and runs—*dvāsaptaty-adhikēshu hi śatēshu saptasu gatēshu Guptānām | samvatsarēshu māsi cha Bh[ā*]drapadē sukla(kla)-pamchamyām || Śīlāchāryēna kṛitā Gambhūtāyām sthītēna tīk=aishā | samyag-upayujya śōdhyā mātsarya-vinākṛitair=āryē (ryai)h ||* This passage gives Gupta-Samvat 772, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, as the date on which this portion of the Commentary was completed by Śīlāchārya, at Gambhūtā (? Cambay).—The second passage, on p. 256b, at the end of the whole book, is in prose, and runs — *Śaka-nripa-kāl-ātīta-samvatsara-śatēsashu(read śatēshu) saptasu | ashtānavaty-adhikēshu Vaiśākha-suddha-pamchamyām Āchāraṭīkā kṛit=ēti || Ba || Samvat* (page 256b ends here; and the next page, containing the repetition of the date in figures, and the last final words of the author, is lost). This passage gives Śaka-Samvat 798, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, as the date of the completion of the whole Commentary.—The two passages, indicating, as

Cunningham, who finally fixed on A.D. 166-67 as the epoch;—and the late Sir E. Clive Bayley, who selected A.D. 190-91.

Examination of the previous Theories. .

Mr. Fergusson's theory of A.D. 318-19 for the epoch of the era, and A.D. 319-20 for its commencement, is easily disposed of. It was wrong; but by one year only. The reason is, that, as has been said, his assumption,—based apparently on a suggestion thrown out by Dr. Bhau Daji in 1864,—was, that the commencement of it was regulated only by the completion of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Śāka era, in order that there might be always an even and convenient difference of two hundred and forty years between the Śāka and Gupta dates. This, however, could be arranged only by applying the Sixty-Year Cycle as used now in Southern India, where it is not in reality an astronomical cycle at all; since there the cyclic years run on in regular succession, without any adjustment of them to the motion of the planet, with reference to his sign-passing or his heliacal rising, by the omission of a year on certain occasions, and are taken as commencing and ending with the luni-solar years. According to the present southern system, Śāka-Saṃvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79) was the Bahudhānya saṃvatsara; and Śāka-Saṃvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19) was again the same cyclic year, Bahudhānya; and, by this means, some justification might be found for Mr. Fergusson's view. But I shall shew hereafter that the real epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 319-20, which does not correspond to Śāka-Saṃvat 241 current; so that there was, in reality, a completion of four cycles and one year, even by the southern system; and this, alone, is fatal to

they stand, that Śīlāchārya treated the Gupta and Śāka eras as identical, contain a mistake of some kind or another, which must be attributed to a pedantic desire on his part to introduce a mention of an era,—whether the Gupta or the Śāka, as the case may be,—with which he was only imperfectly acquainted. And the mistake cannot be cleared away, unless we can obtain some independent record of the real date of Śīlāchārya, sufficient to shew whether the *Āchāraśikā* was written during Gupta-Saṃvat 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 1092 to 1118), or during Śāka-Saṃvat 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 850 to 876). As to this, I can only say that the Śāka era was used so rarely, if at all, in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād, except by the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, that probably the Gupta era gives the real date for Śīlāchārya. And I would throw out a suggestion that possibly some mistake of the same kind may account for the dates, Śāka-Saṃvat 400 and 417, of the apparently spurious Umētā and Ilāḍ grants of Dadda II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 61 ff.; and Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff.).—The passages, however, are of some interest, in shewing that, in Śīlāchārya's time, there was still a recollection of the fact that the era,—which must have been known best from its use by the rulers of Valabhi, and which came eventually, in Kāthiāwād, to be called the Valabhi era,—was connected originally and specially with the Gupta kings, by whom it was introduced into Kāthiāwād and the neighbouring parts.—After writing this note, which appeared originally in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 188, I found an allusion by Dr. Bhau Daji, in 1864, to what is evidently the same manuscript, though he quoted only the Gupta date. He wrote (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 246) "I have a Jaina manuscript which is dated in the 772nd year of the Guptakāla; but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śāli-vāhana's year is not given; nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of the author from other sources."

the proposed epoch of A.D. 318-19. And, in addition to this, amongst other inscriptions, the Wanī grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., which records¹ that in Śaka-Saṃvat 730 the Vyaya *saṃvatsara* was current on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśākha (April-May), and the Rādhanpur grant of the same king, which records² that the Sarvajit *saṃvatsara*, the next in the cycle, was current on the new-moon day of the month Śrāvaṇa (July-August) in the same year, shew very plainly that the present arrangement was not the original one, even in Southern India.

If the Sixty-Year Cycle was in use at all at the time of the commencement of the Gupta era, then, in Northern India, and in connection with a northern era,—which the Gupta era emphatically was,—the only system that can have been followed, is the regular northern system, according to which the cycle is truly an astronomical cycle, and the *saṃvatsaras* are regulated entirely and only by the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac into another. By Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, from the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the *saṃvatsara* was Śukla, the third in the cycle; and it was followed by Pramōḍa, the fourth, on the full-moon day of the month Pausha, in December, A.D. 78. And, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the *saṃvatsara* was Āngiras, the sixth in the cycle; which was followed by Śrīmukha, the seventh, on the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna, in February, A.D. 319. Thus, four complete cycles and three *saṃvatsaras* over passed between Śaka-Saṃvat 1 and 241; and the epoch of the Gupta era, unless it were placed three years earlier, in A.D. 315-16, could not be determined by any consideration of this kind.

Nor can it have been determined by the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years of which may be regulated either by the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac to another; or, as was the more ancient custom, by his heliacal rising in a particular lunar mansion.³ Taking first the sign-passing system, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the *saṃvatsara* was Mahā-Āśvayuja, the twelfth in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Kārttika, the first of the next cycle, on, as before, the full-moon day of the month Pausha, in December, A.D. 78. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the *saṃvatsara* was Mahā-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Māgha, the fourth, on, as before, the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna, in February, A.D. 319. And, by the heliacal-rising system, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the *saṃvatsara* was Mahā-Bhādrapada, the eleventh in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Āśvayuja, the twelfth, on the twelfth lunar day of

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, line 46 f.

² *id.* Vol. VI. p. 68, line 53 f.

³ For an explanation of the systems of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, see Appendix III. below.

the bright fortnight of the month Vaisākha, in April, A.D. 78, soon after the commencement of the year. While, at the commencement of Śāka-Saṃvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the *saṃvatsara* was Mahā-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Māgha, the fourth, on the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa, in July, A.D. 318. Thus, between Śāka-Saṃvat 1 and Śāka-Saṃvat 241, there had expired twenty complete cycles and three *saṃvatsaras* over, by the sign-passing system, and twenty cycles and four *saṃvatsaras* over, by the heliacal-rising system; and the epoch of the Gupta era could not be determined by any consideration connected with this cycle, unless it should be placed in A.D. 315-16 or A.D. 314-15.

The other three theories, however, are more complicated; and, in order to understand them properly, and estimate them at their right value, it will be necessary to run briefly through the facts and supposed discoveries on which they are based, and the arguments by which they have been built up, so far as those facts, discoveries, and arguments relate to the recorded dates themselves, and the interpretation of them. Our object is not now to enter into a lengthy discussion of extraneous questions of palaeography, numismatics, architecture, contemporary history, &c., which, if a rational process is to be followed, have to be settled by the dates, instead of the dates by them; and which must be left for treatment at some future time, after the proper settlement of the Early Gupta chronology.

The first reference to the Gupta era that I can trace,—or, at any rate, the first suggestion of the existence of an era connected with the Guptas, apart from any general reference to the chronological period to which they might be referred,—is in Mr. James Prinsep's treatment of the Kaśāpī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15, page 65, in 1838, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 36 ff. By his rendering of this record, it was dated (*id.* p. 37) "in the year one hundred and thirty-three after the decease of Skandagupta;" on which he remarked (*id.* p. 38) "the death of this prince is here employed as an epoch in a somewhat enigmatical way." The supposed enigma refers to the actual manner in which the total of 133,—or, more properly, 141,—is arrived at. As regards the other point, the reference of the years to the death of Skandagupta is due only to a mislection of the last word in line 2 of the text. The real reading there is *śāntē*, the locative singular of *śānta*, in apposition with *rājyē* in the same line; "in the tranquil reign (of Skandagupta)." Mr. Prinsep, however, read *śāntēh*, the ablative or genitive singular of *śānti*, 'quiet, tranquillity, calmness, rest, repose;' and, with this reading, it was, of course, hardly possible to do otherwise than translate it by "after the decease," "of the repose, *i.e.* death," and "after the death," of Skandagupta, and to make the years that were recorded run from that event. No discussion of the question was then entered into. But Skandagupta then was, and still is, the last known king of the direct succession of the Early Gupta dynasty. And it is evidently the above rendering which first suggested the idea of an era dating from the extermination of the Gupta power at the

death of Skandagupta. All else, serviceable for our present inquiry, that I can find in Mr. Prinsep's writings, is his statement in the same volume (p. 354), that the dates recorded in the Valabhi charters must be referred to the Vikrama era.

In 1845, **M. Reinaud** republished collectively, under the title of *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, certain extracts, with French translations, from works relating to India, which he had previously published separately in the *Journal Asiatique*, in September and October, 1844, and February-March, 1845. In this book, as we have already seen, he renders Alḥarūnī (*id.* p. 143) as stating that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas. I do not find that he makes any reference to Prinsep on this specific point. But he shews, throughout, so good an acquaintance with Prinsep's writings, as also with those of other English scholars, that he must certainly have read Prinsep's translation of, and comments on, the Kāhāṁ inscription. And, though he may not have intentionally allowed himself to be guided by Prinsep's views, it can hardly be doubted that he had a reminiscence of the purport of them, when he was translating Alḥarūnī's remarks. In fact, in the face of Mr. Blochmann's, Mr. Rehatsek's, and Prof. Wright's versions, it is difficult to see how M. Reinaud can have arrived at the exact words used in his translation, except under some such predisposing influence.

After this, in a paper read on the 15th April, 1848, and published in 1850 in the *Jour. R. As. Soc. F. S.* Vol. XII. p. 1 ff., **Mr. Thomas** entered into an extensive disquisition on the history connected with the dynasty of the so-called 'Sāh' kings¹ of Saurāshṭra or Kāṭhiāwāḍ; in the course of which, it became incumbent on him to consider the Early Gupta dates. Accepting it as proved by M. Reinaud's rendering

¹ As I have had occasion to remark elsewhere (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 65, 325), this name of 'Sāh,'—and, with it, also an idea that these princes were Śakas or Indo-Scythians,—owes its origin to nothing but the fact that, on the silver coins of this series, as also on the silver coins, and even some of the gold coins, of the Early Guptas, it was the custom, as a rule, not to cut on the dies such vowels as, if engraved, would fall on or above the top line of the writing of the marginal legend. The reason, of course, was, want of sufficient space. This custom was observed uniformly in the Gupta silver coins; and hence such legends as (*id.* p. 65 f.) *paramabhaḡavata-maharajadharaḡa-sra-Chandragupta-Vakramaditya*, which represents *paramabhāḡavata-mahārājādhirāja-srī-Chandragupta-Vikramāditya*; "the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Chandragupta-Vikramāditya." On the Saurashṭra coins, the custom was observed almost uniformly, but not quite so; and hence, to select an instance of its partial observance, such legends as (*id.* p. 325) *rajñā mahākshatrapasa Rudradamna putrasa rajñā mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa*, in which the superscript vowel *ī* is exceptionally introduced in the last word, and which represents *rājñā mahākshatrapasya Rudradāmnah putrasya rājñā mahākshatrapasya Rudrasīhasya*; "of the *Rāja*, the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasīha, the son of the *Rāja*, the *Muhākshatrapa* Rudradāman." The word *sīha*, i.e. *simha*, 'a lion,' is the termination of the names of several of the Kshatrapas or Mahākshatrapas. And, because the long vowel *ī*, or the short vowel *i* with a following *anusvāra*, is usually omitted in the coins, thus giving the readings of *saha* and *sahasya*, these princes came to be invested with the imaginary family or dynastic name of 'Sah' or 'Sāh.' Owing to the same fact, also, the termination of some of the names in the list has occasionally been read as *sāna*.

of Albêrûnî's statements, and by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, that the Valabhi era commenced A.D. 319 (*id.* p. 4) or A.D. 318-19 (*id.* p. 4, note 1), and, by Albêrûnî's statements, that a family of Guptas reigned as paramount sovereigns in Gujarât shortly before that date, and were then exterminated, he arrived at the conclusions—(1) that this Valabhi era, commencing A.D. 319, may have been established by the Mahârâja Guhasêna of Valabhi, and may have dated from his accession, or from some striking event of his reign; (2) that there could scarcely be a doubt that these Guptas, who had reigned shortly before A.D. 319, were identical with the Guptas of the Allahâbâd, Junâgadh, and Bhitari inscriptions; (3) that the Guptas were the immediate successors of the Indo-Scythians in Saurâshtra, though traces of the latter might be found, west of the Indus, down to the end of the fourth century A.D.; and (4) that the so-called Sâh kings preceded the Indo-Scythians. His chronological results are tabulated on p. 48 of the same volume. Anterior to B.C. 157 he placed "one or more Sâh kings," who are represented on p. 49 by "Îsvaradatta, son of Varsha."¹ He is followed by thirteen Sâh kings, whose coin-dates are interpreted as being all dated in the fourth century of an era which was assumed to be Albêrûnî's era of Harsha commencing B.C. 457; and the result for the thirteen kings was from B.C. 157 to B.C. 57. Then comes the Indo-Scythic conquest; to which is allotted the date of B.C. 26. Then the Guptas. And then the Valabhi era, commencing A.D. 319. In this Table, curiously enough, no date is entered opposite the Guptas. But this was probably a printer's omission. For, referring to the note commencing on p. 4, we find it distinctly stated (*id.* p. 5) that the dates in the Gupta inscriptions, and in the Valabhi charters, are to be referred to the Śaka era. These results contained the first intimation that the rulers of Valabhi acted with such inconsistency as to invent an era of their own, dating from the extermination of the Guptas, and yet to continue to use the Gupta era in preference to their own; and also the first intimation of the exact epoch, anterior to A.D. 319, to which the Gupta dates were to be referred. One point on which Mr. Thomas was evidently inclined to lay some stress (*id.* p. 13 ff.), is Albêrûnî's statement,—based on, but in its application different from, Hindu tradition,—that the Śaka era commemorated the defeat and slaughter of a Śaka or Scythian king by a king named Vikramāditya, who, as Albêrûnî points out, is evidently not identical with the supposed founder of the Vikrama era; coupled with the occurrence of this last name, Vikramāditya, as a secondary title, on some of the Early Gupta coins.²

¹ *i.e.*, literally, "Îsvaradatta, son of a year"!! The legend on his coin is given, on *id.* p. 50, as ending with *Varsha putha*, in which *putha* is taken (*id.* p. 51) as a Zend substitute for the Sanskrit *putra*, 'a son'!! The two *aksharas* are in reality the first two syllables of the Sanskrit word *prathamê*,—*varshê prathamê*, "in the first year;" see Newton, in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 8, and Plate, No. 8; see also Plate i. No. 1, accompanying Thomas' paper, where the legend is almost equally clear.

² I myself think it not at all improbable that, hereafter, it may be shewn that the name of Vikrama, or Vikramāditya, came to be connected with the Mâlava era of B.C. 57, in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Chandragupta I. or II. But the establishment of the Śaka era is not concerned in this question at all.

And, in general corroboration of his views, he (*id.* p. 12, note 4) quoted some remarks by Major Kittoe to Colonel Sykes, that the grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 163, No. 22, page 100, shewed,—on the supposed identity of this *Mahārāja* with the Hastivarman, king of Veṅgī in the south, who is mentioned in line 20 of the Allahābād pillar inscription,—that one hundred and sixty-three years of the Gupta dynasty had passed in the time of Samudragupta, and thus proved that the Guptas reigned from the second to the fifth century A.D. This, however, hardly fits in with Mr. Thomas' reference to A.D. 172 (*id.* p. 5, note) of a Chandragupta whose date in the Gupta era is the year 93, and who could only be the father or the son of Samudragupta.

In 1854, **General Cunningham** published his *Bhilsa Topes*, in which, on p. 138 ff., he drew particular attention to the fact that Albérūnī three times mentions the Gupta and Valabhi eras, and identifies them with each other; and on each occasion specifies them as starting from the same date, A.D. 319. He proceeded to remark—"but it appears to me that the most important of these passages must be either corrupt or obscure; for the translation given by M. Reinaud makes the epoch of the Guptas commence from the date of their extermination! If this is a correct translation, there can be little doubt that the text of Abu Rihān must be erroneous; for we know positively that the Guptas were reigning during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. The statement made in M. Reinaud's version is so extraordinary, that, even without any direct proofs of its inaccuracy, I would have set it aside as erroneous. The era of the Seleukidæ began with the foundation of the Syrian empire by Seleukos; the Christian era is dated from the establishment of Christianity; and the era of the Guptas without doubt commenced with the settlement of their own dynasty. For the Guptas, as I have mentioned before, date their inscriptions in an era of their own; which, though not so named by them, was actually a *Gupta-Kāl*, and must, therefore, have been called such by the people." And he suggested a different translation of Albérūnī's statement; to the effect that the Gupta era became extinct with the Gupta dynasty, instead of dating from the extermination of it; and throughout the rest of his book, he applied the epoch of A.D. 319 to the Gupta dates. If General Cunningham, our leader in Indian archæology since the death of Prinsep, had continued to hold these views, and had worked out his other researches in accordance with them, we should probably have heard but little more of any theory assigning to the Guptas an earlier period. But, as we shall see, he soon adopted other opinions.

In 1855, in his paper "On the Epoch of the Gupta Dynasty," published in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXIV. p. 371 ff., **Mr. Thomas** made a special reply to General Cunningham's views and arguments as set forth in *Bhilsa Topes*. This paper, however, contains nothing at all worth quoting. And we pass on to 1858, when, under his own editing, he published a collection of the works of Mr. James Prinsep, then deceased, under the title of *Essays on Indian Antiquities*. Prinsep, in his account of

Hindu eras, had mentioned the Valabhī era (*id.* Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 158), to which, on the authority of the Sômnâthpâtan or Verâwal inscription of Valabhī-Samvat 945, he allotted the epoch of A.D. 318. But he had made no mention of a Gupta era. Mr. Thomas, however (*id.* Vol. I. p. 270 ff.), introduced his own previously expressed opinion that the Gupta dates had to be referred to the Śaka era; and supplied some further facts which seemed to give additional corroboration to this view. And, on this occasion, he wound up with the general conclusions (*id.* Vol. I. p. 276) that the dates in the Valabhī grants, if applied to the Valabhī era of A.D. 318-19, would give far too modern a period; that these dates did not appear to belong to the same consecutive series with the numbers employed by the Guptas themselves; and that, while still applying the Śaka era to the Gupta dates, the Vikrama era was probably the one which, "in spite of any apparent inconsistency involved," should apply preferentially to the Valabhī grants. Curiously enough he quoted (*id.* Vol. I. p. 271, note 1) a modification of meaning which one portion of Albêrûnî's original words would bear; *viz.* "again, the Kûbat-Kâl (Gupta era), "that was, as is said, a wicked and powerful family; when it ceased, it was dated from; "and, as it were (it would seem that), *Balab was the last of them*, for the first of their era "also is 241 years after the Śaka-Kâl." But, he still had not arrived at the absolutely literal translation of the words which he rendered by "when it ceased, it was dated from;" and, partly through this, partly through having his attention directed principally to the connection between the Kings of Valabhī and the Guptas, as described in the words italicised by him, he still failed to see the real bearing of this passage on the epoch of both the Gupta and the Valabhī eras. In this treatment of the question, he quoted Prof. Lassen's views (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II.), to the effect that the rise of the Guptas took place between A.D. 150 to 160; but I have not had the opportunity of examining that theory.

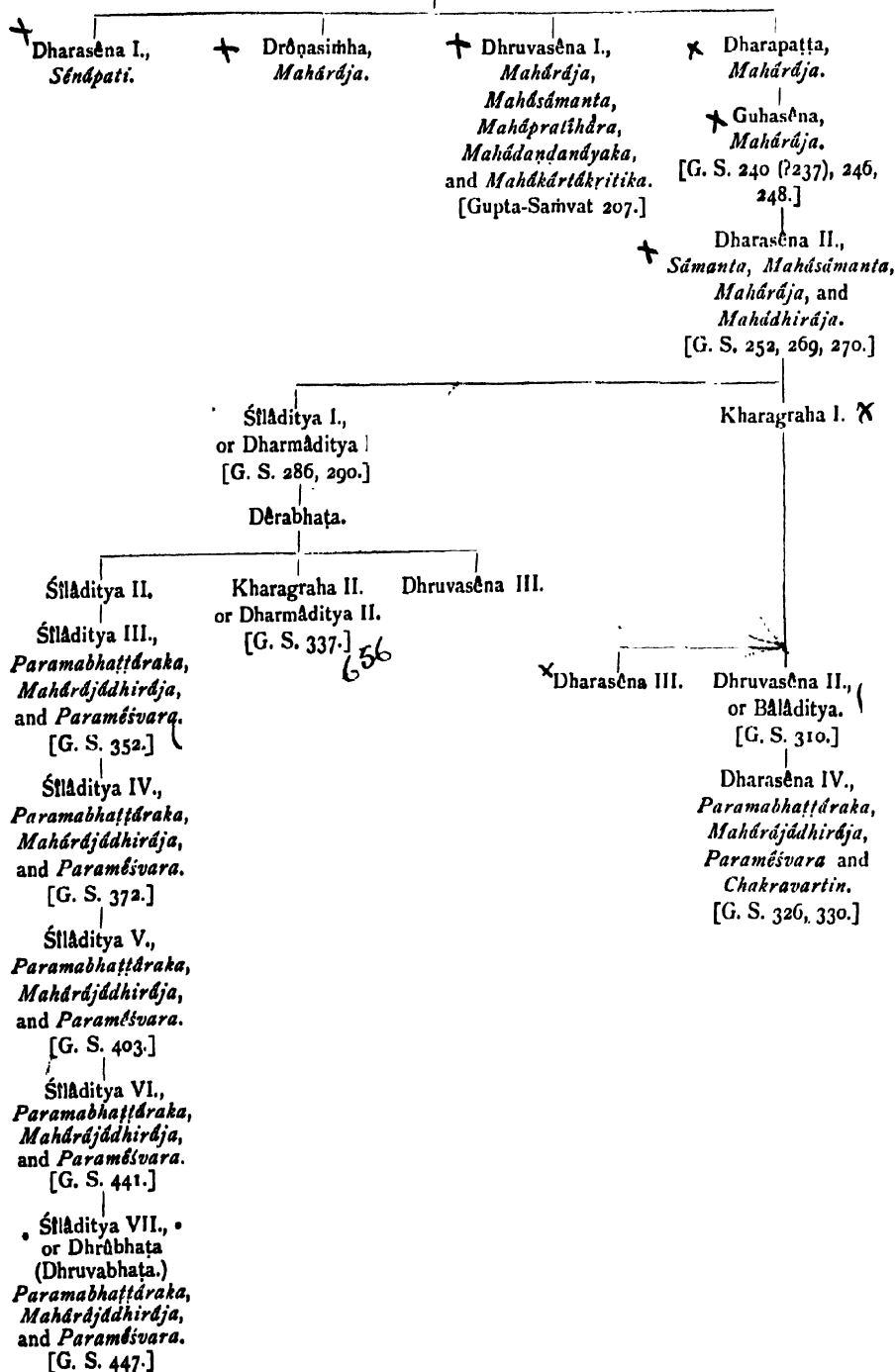
Meanwhile, in 1853, 1857, and 1858, there had been published **M. Stanislas Julien's** French translation of the Life and Travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, in which there is contained the important statement that, when the pilgrim visited Valabhī,—which was in or about A.D. 640,—the reigning king there, a nephew of Śīlāditya of Mâlava, a son-in-law of Śīlāditya of Kanauj, and a member of the Kshatriya caste, was named *Tou-lou-p'o-po-f'o* (*id.* Vol. I. p. 206), *Tou-lou-po-pa-tch'a* (*id.* Vol. I. p. 254), or *T'ou-lou-p'o-po-tou* (*id.* Vol. III. p. 163). Such were M. Julien's renderings of the Chinese transliteration of the original Sanskrit name; which latter he restored as 'Dhrouvapaṭou,' *i.e.* Dhruvapaṭu. And it had already been suggested that this name represented that of one of the Dhruvasēnas of the Valabhī family. Mr. Thomas himself (*Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 267, note 4) had attached no value to this supposed identification. But Hiuen Tsiang's statement had begun to be looked on, and very properly, as an important factor in the

general inquiry. And I, therefore, now give, for ready reference, in Table II. on page 41 below, a complete genealogy of the Valabhî family, with the official titles of the members of it, and their dates as far as I have been able to verify them. Here, however, in connection with Hiuen Tsiang's statements, I have to draw attention to one or two points which still remain to be cleared up. In his general account of the Life and Travels of the Chinese pilgrim, M. Julien (*id.* Vol. I. p. 206) represents him as telling us, in respect of the kingdom of Valabhî, that "the present king is of the race of the Kshatriyas (*Tsa-ti-li*); he is the son-in-law of Śīlāditya (*Chi-lo-o-t'ie-to*), king of Kanyākubja (*Kie-jo-kio-che*); his name is Dhruvapaṭu (*Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o*)." Whereas, in the more detailed account of the Travels, M. Julien renders the pilgrim as speaking, in the same connection, of not one king only, but more than one, and as saying (*id.* Vol. III. p. 163) "the kings of the present period are of the race of the Kshatriyas (*T'sa-ti-li*); they all are nephews of king Śīlāditya (*Chi-lo-o-t'ie-to*), of the kingdom of Mālava (*Mo-la-p'o*). Now the son of king Śīlāditya (*Chi-lo-o-t'ie-to*), of the kingdom of Kanyākubja (*Kie-jo-ko-che*), has a son-in-law named Dhruvapaṭu (*T'ou-lou-p'o-po-tou*)." While, in Mr. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, published in 1884, Vol. II. p. 267, this latter passage appears in the singular again,—“the present king is of the Kshatriya caste, as they all are. He is the nephew of Śīlādityarāja of Mālava, and son-in-law of the son of Śīlāditya, the present king of Kanyākubja. His name is Dhruvapaṭa (*T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu*),”—without any comment explaining the important difference between his rendering and that given by M. Julien. And again, according to M. Julien (*id.* Vol. I. pp. 254 f., 260), the pilgrim speaks of a Dhruvapaṭu (*Tou-lou-po-pa-tch'a*, and also simply *Pa-tch'a*), king of Southern India; but the kingdom of Valabhî can hardly be included in, and much less can it include, Southern India; and the statement is inconsistent with the fact that, at that time, the king of the greater part, if not of the whole, of Southern India, was Pulikēśin II., of the Western Chalukya dynasty, for whom we have on record no title that at all resembles the Chinese transliteration, unless it can be found in the second component of the name of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarmaṇ, the supreme lord or governor of four *viśayas* and *maṇḍalas*, stationed or resident at Rēvatīdvīpa, who is mentioned in line 4 f. of the Goa grant of Maṅgalīśa,¹ the uncle of Pulikēśin II., and the wielder of sovereignty during the minority of the latter. These passages present points which must be carefully considered, before any final opinion is arrived at in respect of the identity of the person, or persons, intended by Hiuen Tsiang; the more especially because the dates render it impossible that he should be Śīlāditya VII. of Valabhî, the only one in the family for whom as yet we have obtained the second name of Dhruvabhāṭa; and because M. Julien tells us (*id.* Vol. III. p. 163, note) that the Chinese translation of the name of Dhruvapaṭu of Valabhî was Tch'ang-jouî, 'constantly intelligent,' which of course supports the supposition that

¹ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365.—This person, however, may be a son of Maṅgalīśa; see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 22.

TABLE II.
Genealogy of the Kings of Valabhî.

Bhaṭṭārka, X
Sēnāpati.



the termination of the Sanskrit name, the first part of which, *dhruva*, means 'constant,' really was *paṭu*, 'smart, dexterous, intellectual,' rather than *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior.' It is to be hoped that some light will be thrown on these points by Mr. Beal's forthcoming translation of the Life of Hiuen Tsiang, corresponding to the first of M. Julien's three volumes.

In 1861 the question was taken up by the late **Dr. Bhaṭa Daji**, in connection with his paper "On the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa," published in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. pp. 19 ff., 207 ff. As regards the Gupta era, he here only expressed his opinion that it commenced, with the Valabhī era, in A.D. 319. But he brought to notice an important point (*id.* p. 207, note), in the fact that the Kahaṁ pillar inscription, of which he seems to have then had the opportunity of examining a more reliable version prepared for him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, was dated in the 141st year of the Gupta dynasty, and in the reign of Skandagupta; not after his death, as rendered by Prinsep. And he also announced his opinion (*id.* p. 208, note) that the *Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o* or *T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang was to be identified with the *Mahārāja* Dharapaṭṭa, the fourth and youngest son of the *Sēndapati* Bhaṭarka who founded the Valabhī family.

Also in 1861, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 1 ff., **Dr. FitzEdward Hall** edited the two grants of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin, dated in the years 156 and 163, No. 21, page 93, and No. 22, page 100, which, now that the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter that are quoted in them can be calculated with certainty, are of such extreme importance, because the records also state that they are dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." They had been previously brought to notice, in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Prof. H. H. Wilson's combined translation of the two inscriptions from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts; but they were first published in full by Dr. Hall. The crucial expression in them is *Gupta-nṛīpa-rājya-bhuktan*, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," which had been read correctly by Mr. Thomas, and had been suitably rendered by Prof. Wilson in the words "(in the 163rd year) of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." The same reading was adopted by Dr. Hall. But, without quoting any authority in support, he laid down the dictum (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 3 ff., note) that *bhukti*, which means literally 'the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, usufruct,' "if unqualified by a temporal particle, denotes 'possession' or "'fruition' only as a thing of the past;" and he translated the phrase (*id.* p. 7) by "(in the "year one hundred and fifty-six) of the extinction of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings;" and, again (*id.* p. 12), "(one hundred and sixty-three years) after the domination of the "Guptas had been laid to rest;" thus producing apparently conclusive evidence of an era that dated from the extermination of the Gupta kings; in support of which he quoted (*id.* p. 5, note) the Hindu tradition referred to by Albérûni, now completely refuted, that the Śāka era dates from the discomfiture of the Śakas. In the course of his remarks, he introduced his reading and revised translation of the first verse of the Kahaṁ pillar

inscription, in which, though he adopted the correct reading, *śantē*, at the end of line 2, he followed the general tenor of Prinsep's translation, and rendered the date (*id.* p. 3, note) by "the empire of Skandagupta being extinct for the hundred and forty-first year." To this he appended the remark, "in supersession of a proposal formerly put forth, and from which my present state of information would have withheld me, I now accede to the view that the Kahāṁ inscription is dated from the overthrow of the Guptas, of whom Skanda must have been virtually the last." These words referred to his previous treatment of the verse in 1859, in the *Four. Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 530, when he had rendered the date by "in the one hundred and forty-first year; the empire of Skandagupta being quiescent;" with the remark "there is, then, nothing here recorded concerning the death of Skandagupta, as Mr. Prinsep supposes. Being neither the first ruler of the Gupta dynasty, nor the last, nor of special note, it would be extraordinary indeed, if time had been computed from his decease." As regards the expression in the grants of the *Mahārāja* Hastin, it seems almost needless to comment further on its meaning; because any unbiassed Sanskrit scholar will see at once what the real purport of it is. But it is curious what vitality some mistakes possess. The suggestion has been made to me, quite recently, that possibly even Albérūnī's own apparent statement, as to the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the Gupta kings, may have originated in a misunderstanding, by the Hindus who supplied him with information, of this same expression *Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau*. I can only say that it is absolutely and utterly impossible that any Hindu, acquainted with Sanskrit, could interpret this expression as meaning anything except that, at the date connected with it, the sovereignty of the Guptas was still continuing. And it is equally impossible for any European Sanskritist to give it any other meaning; unless, as I have said elsewhere, under the influence of a preconceived bias, so strong as to preclude entirely the critical consideration which would at once shew the error.—In the same volume, page 14 ff., Dr. Hall published his own versions of the Éraṇ inscriptions of Budhagupta and Tōramāṇa, No. 19, page 88, and No. 20, page 91; and, in the course of his remarks, announced (*id.* p. 15, note) that the details of the date of Budhagupta's record were correct if referred to the Vikrama era, the English equivalent being Thursday, the 7th June, A.D. 108, New Style.—And the general question was taken up by him again in his "Note on Budhagupta," published in the same volume (p. 139 ff.); with the conclusion (*id.* p. 148 ff.) that Budhagupta was probably the first sovereign of a more ancient branch of the Gupta family which ended with himself; and that the dates in the records of Skandagupta and his ancestors possibly ran from an epoch in A.D. 278, which Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares had found, by actual calculation, to suit the details of the Bhēra Ghaut inscription of the Kalachuri king Narasimhadēva, dated in the year 907 (of the era used by his dynasty), and the Tēwar inscription of the same king, dated in the year 928.

In 1862, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 1 ff., Mr. Newton published a lengthy disquisition "On the Sāh, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kāthiāwāḍ

and Gujarât," based on their coins, which, in respect at any rate of the so-called Sâh coins, were then properly examined for the first time. And his conclusions were (*id.* p. 30) that the dates on the Sâh coins were to be referred to the Vikrama era, with the result that the kings of this dynasty extended from A.D. 30 or 40 to A.D. 240 or 250; (*id.* p. 36) that they were immediately succeeded, in Gujarât, by Kumâragupta and Skandagupta, without any intervention of the Indo-Scythians there; and that these two were followed by the Valabhî dynasty, in A.D. 319. His conclusions, however, were chiefly founded on the basis (*id.* p. 31) that "Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Thomas, and Prof. Wilson, agree that the "Sâhs preceded the Guptas; and it seems clear that the Guptas preceded the Valabhî "dynasty;" coupled with his acceptance of the fact that the Valabhî era,—and with it I conclude, the rise of the family after the last of the Guptas,—had been satisfactorily fixed at A.D. 319; though he also held the opinion (*id.* p. 30) that the dates in the Valabhî grants were probably to be referred to the Vikrama era.

In the same volume, p. 113 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published his readings and translations of the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, and of the so-called Sâh inscription of the *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudradâman on the same boulder. For our present purpose, this paper is chiefly of importance because, in line 15 of Skandagupta's inscription, instead of *Gupta-prakâlê gaṇanâm vidhâya*, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas," Dr. Bhau Daji read (*id.* pp. 123, 129) *Guptasya kâlâ[d*]=gaṇanâm vidhâya*, "counting from the era of Gupta." It is upon this mislection that we are entirely dependent in any supposition that the era dates from the time of the *Mahârâja* Gupta, who is given in the inscriptions as the founder of the family; and it is to this mislection alone that we have to attribute the supposition that the era had the technical name of *Guptasya kâlâ*, "the era of Gupta." Attached to Dr. Bhau Daji's rendering of these two inscriptions, there are a few general observations, promising a more ample inquiry afterwards; from which we learn that his views then were (*id.* p. 115) that the Gupta dates were evidently dated in the Gupta era and should be referred to the Valabhî epoch, which was known, from the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 945, to be A.D. 318; that accordingly, with his revised translation of the Kâhâum inscription, Skandagupta must be placed in the period A.D. 448 to 459, with a margin of five or ten years on either side; that the dates in the Valabhî grants themselves were to be referred to the Śaka era, with the result that such of them as were then known, belonged to the period A.D. 388 to 443; and that, accordingly, the Valabhî family, founded by the *Senâpati* Bhaṭârka, had its rise shortly before Skandagupta.

In 1864, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 236 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji took the matter up again, in his "Brief Survey of Indian Chronology, from the first century of the Christian era to the fifth;" giving, on this occasion, the more ample inquiry that he had previously promised. In this paper he brought to notice the spurious grant of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II. of Valabhî, dated Śaka-Samvat 400, which has now been edited by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 277 ff. Dr. Bhau Daji fully recognised the spuri-

ous nature of the grant. But, treating the date as being in the fourth century of the Śaka era,—not in specifically the Śaka year 400,—and expressing his belief that the grant though a forgery, was an ancient one, and was forged within fifty years of the latest of the Valabhī grants discovered up to that time, he recorded his opinion (*id.* p. 244) that “whether the grant be genuine or not, the evidence in regard to the name of the era does “not materially lose its value; as the forger has been careful not to give the exact year, “but simply to state the century of the era, which we must accept as correct, as this “forger may naturally be expected to avoid an error in date, which would vitiate the “document more than any other single error.” His general conclusions were much the same as those arrived at on the previous occasion; *viz.* (*id.* p. 247) that the dates in the Valabhī grants refer to the Śaka era, which, he held (*id.* p. 238), was the era “of Naha-pāna, in all likelihood a Parthian monarch, and a descendant of Phrahates;” (*id.* p. 246) that the Gupta era commenced A.D. 318, and Kumāragupta and Skandagupta succeeded the last of the kings of Valabhī; and consequently (*id.* p. 247 f.) that the Valabhī era of Albêrûnî, if identical with the Gupta era, was certainly not the era used by the Kings of Valabhī themselves, but was the Gupta era, introduced into Kāthiāwāḍ by Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. His results led him also to the conclusion (*id.* p. 249 ff.) that Hiuen Tsiang’s visit to India, must really be placed about sixty years earlier than the accepted and well-established period, about A.D. 630 to 643; a proposition which in itself almost ought to have shewn him that there was some radical error in his deductions. And on this occasion (*id.* p. 246) he put forward the suggestion, afterwards accepted and endorsed by Mr. Fergusson,—or at least he drew pointed attention to the apparent fact,—that the Gupta era commenced on the completion of four of the Sixty-Year Cycles of Jupiter after the commencement of the Śaka era; to suit this suggestion, however, he had to distinctly put aside Albêrûnî’s statement that the difference between the two eras is two-hundred and forty-one years, which, of course, by any arrangement, is one year over and above four cycles of sixty years each. These conclusions are, of course, about as good a sample as could well be sought, of the general state of confusion into which the question had then fallen.

Meanwhile, in 1863, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. pp. ii. to cxix., **General Cunningham** had published his Archæological Report for 1861-62, which was subsequently reprinted in 1871 in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 1 to 130, and which I shall notice again further on. In this, he laid aside his original opinion of A.D. 319 for the commencement of the Gupta era; and adopted, instead of it, the view that this year was really the date of the extermination of the dynasty, and that their recorded dates should be referred, as proposed by Mr. Thomas, to the Śaka era. Again, in 1865, in his paper on the “Coins of the pine Nāgas,” in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 115 ff., he stated that, from a comparison of the Gupta gold coins with their Indo-Scythian prototypes, and of the Gupta silver coins with the Sāh coins of Saurāshṭra, he had seen (*id.* p. 118) “that the first Guptas must certainly have been contemporary with the earlier princes of the

"Kushān Scythians, and consequently that their date could not possibly be later than the "first century of the Christian era." And, on the grounds that the only scheme, as far as he could see, that would suit all the known dates and other conditions of the dynasty, was to make Chandragupta I. the founder of the era; that Albérûn's information was that the Śāka era was established by a king named Vikramāditya, after a victory over the Śakas; that the name of Vikramāditya was found on coins which were properly assigned to Chandragupta I.; and that the Allahābād pillar inscription mentions Samudragupta, the son of Chandragupta I., as receiving tribute from the Śakas,—he expressed himself (*id.* p. 119) as "inclined to adopt the Śāka era, which began in A.D. 79, "as the actual era of the Gupta dynasty and to attribute its establishment to Chandragupta I."

In 1870, in the *Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. IV. p. 81 ff., Mr. Fergusson published his paper "On Indian Chronology," which had been read before the Society two years earlier, in February, 1869. In this paper, the facts were dealt with in considerable detail, and with a good deal of soundness, except for one serious and radical error, *vis.* that the Early and Western Chalukyas and the Kings of Valabhī belonged to one and the same family, of which the Chalukyas were the southern branch (*id.* pp. 89, 91); the grounds for this assumption seem to be nothing except the supposition that (*id.* p. 94) it was Dharasēna IV., the first paramount sovereign in the Valabhī family,¹ who overthrew the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II., the son of Pulikēśin II.; but this, again, is a purely mistaken supposition, in support of which there is not the slightest evidence whatever, and against which there is plenty, of the most conclusive kind. Setting aside this, and other important mistakes,—such as his endorsement of Dr. Bhau Daji's reading of *Guptasya kālāt* in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta, but his variation of the translation, so as to make it mean, not "from the era of Gupta," but (*id.* p. 112) "from the era of the Guptas;" such as his assumption (*id.* pp. 108, 126) that the Udayagiri cave inscription of the year 82, and the Sāñchi inscription of the year 93, belong to the time of Chandragupta I., with the result that his son Samudragupta could not have ascended the throne before A.D. 411; and such as (*id.* p. 118) his identification of the Budhagupta of the Êraṇ pillar inscription with the Buddhagupta of Magadha, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang,²—there is a good deal that is sound in the arguments employed and the results

¹ Mr. Fergusson says Dharasēna III.; but this is an evident mistake.

² On this point, Mr. Fergusson wrote—"I do not think the difference of spelling here indicated, of any importance. Hiuen Tsiang's name was translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French; and might easily have been more changed in the process."—The same mistake has been made in more recent times. And I will, therefore, now point out that the two names are utterly distinct, and belong to totally different persons. In respect of the king mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 168 ff.; Julien's *Hiouen Tsiang*, Vol. I. p. 149 ff., Vol. III. p. 41 ff.), we are not dependent on the correctness of the restoration in the French or English translation. Hiuen Tsiang gives, as the first component of this name, the well-known *Fo-fo*, which he uses so habitually for Buddha, the teacher, the holy Śākya-Tathāgata, and in respect of which he could not possibly be

arrived at ; but, of course, they were established only as matters of argument, and not by means of any definite proof. On the grounds that (*id.* p. 90) it was inconceivable that the Valabhi era should not have been used by the Kings of Valabhi themselves ; that (*id.* p. 89 f.), by applying the Valabhi dates to A.D. 318, we obtained a Dhruvasena, who would answer to the Dhruvapaṭu who was on the throne at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to India ; that (*id.* p. 104), in addition to the inherent improbability in Albérûni's statement about the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the dynasty, there was no battle, massacre, or other important event that could be placed in A.D. 318 ; that (*id.* p. 104), the latest date of the Guptas themselves being that of Budhagupta in the year 165, this, if referred to the Śaka era, with the result of A.D. 243, still left a gap of seventy-five years, with no names to fill it, before we arrived at the last of the Guptas in A.D. 318, and (*id.* p. 107) a still longer interval if referred to the Vikrama era ; on the general admission that (*id.* p. 121) the order of succession was, first the so-called Sāhs, then the Guptas, and then the Kings of Valabhi ; and on architectural grounds, and general historical and numismatic arguments which are not within the scope of my present remarks, Mr. Fergusson arrived at the conclusions that (*id.* p. 128 ff.) the Vikrama era of B.C. 57 was founded by the so-called Sāh dynasty ; that this dynasty continued down to A.D. 235 ; that there then rose the Andhra dynasty, in which Gôtamiputra was the king of Western India in A.D. 318-19 ; that the Valabhi era was established then, probably on the building of the city of Valabhi ; that the Mahārāja Gupta, the founder of the Gupta family, must have been the viceroy of one of the Andhra kings, but not necessarily at the time of the building of Valabhi ; and that the Early Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi thus derived the era which afterwards came to be known by the names of both of them. And, in the course of this paper, Mr. Fergusson first broached the theory (*id.* p. 131 ff.) that no such person as Vikramāditya, the traditional enemy of the Śakas and founder of the Vikrama era, existed anterior to the Christian era, or within some centuries of that time ; but that, "some time after Vikramāditya of Mālwa," whom he placed (*id.* p. 90) about A.D. 490 to 530, "had rendered the name so celebrated, the Hindus, on the revival of Brāhmaṇism, wished to possess an era which should, at least, be older than the Buddhist era of Śālivāhana," i.e. he Śaka era. "At that time, the Sāh era, established by Nahapāna, was vacant, having fallen into disuse on the destruction of that dynasty and its supersession by the era of Valabhi ; and that the Hindus then appropriated it, by attaching to it the name that it now bears, and inventing the history requisite to render its adoption feasible." This adaptation of the era was then allotted by him either to the time of Bhôja of Dhārā, about A.D. 993, or to the restoration of the Western Chālukya dynasty, in A.D. 973.

mistaken. Whereas, in respect of the king mentioned in the Êraṇ inscription, the metre, as well as the perfect clearness of the reading, shews as conclusively that the first component of that name is Budha, the planet Mercury. Sanskrit scholars will recognise at once the thorough difference between the two names.—For my own remarks on the date of Buddhagupta of Magadha, see the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 251 f.

In 1871, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 193 ff., **General Cunningham** attached a note to Professor Dowson's paper on "Ancient Inscriptions from Mathurā," in which (*id.* p. 196), on the grounds that both Kanishka and Huvishka must have preceded the establishment of the Śāka era, he referred the dates of their inscriptions to the Vikrama era; and he quoted the reference, in the Allahābād pillar inscription, to the Daivaputras and Shāhānushāhis, "who must have been the Turushka kings of the Pañjāb," as shewing that Samudragupta was "a contemporary of the Turushka kings, whose dominion, according to the Chinese authorities, had already passed away in the beginning of 'the third century after Christ.'" As to this last point, I will only say that what we have in reality, in the Allahābād inscription, is, not the means of fixing the date of Samudragupta through the Chinese accounts, but the means of correcting the Chinese accounts by the date of Samudragupta.

In the same year, 1871, **General Cunningham** published his *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., containing, in the first part of it, his Archæological Report for the season 1861-62, which, as already noted, had appeared originally in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. pp. iii to cix. In this (*id.* p. 94), he expressed the opinion that the Śāka era, for the Early Gupta dates, would accord best with the then general acceptance of the fact that the Gupta dynasty was overthrown in A.D. 319; and he consequently now interpreted the date of the year 141, in the Kaḥaṁ pillar inscription of Skandagupta, as equivalent to A.D. 219. And, incidentally, (*id.* p. 139 f.) in connection with the question of the Vikrama and Śāka eras, he identified the Vikramāditya, mentioned by Albérúni,—in commemoration of whose victory over the Śakas at Karūr, between Multān and Lōnt, one hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Vikrama era of B.C. 57, the Śāka era was supposed to have been founded,¹—with the Śālivāhana, whose name came subsequently to be connected by the Hindus with the Śāka era, as the founder of it. The same opinion, as to the dominion of the Guptas having probably commenced about A.D. 78, was also expressed by him in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 4; in which volume he also (*id.* p. 41 ff.) referred the dates of Kanishka and Huvishka to the Vikrama era; proposed to take the three kings Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, of the *Rājataranginī*, i. 168-73, as being represented by the Vikramāditya who, according to Mērutuṅga, reigned for sixty years; and fixed the Indo-Scythian rule, in India, as commencing B.C. 57 and ending A.D. 79, "at which latter date, according to Hindu belief, the dynasty of 'Vikramāditya was finally overthrown by Śālivāhana.'"

In 1872, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 72 ff., **Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar** threw in his adherence to the opinion held by Mr. Thomas and Dr. Bhau Daji, that the era to which the dates in the Valabhi grants refer, is the Śāka era, as affording "an intelligible starting-point for the Valabhi era, ascertained by Colonel Tod to have commenced in A.D. 319;" his own opinion as to the establishment of this Valabhi era

¹ *Albérúni's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 6.

being that it commemorated the coronation, as *Mahārāja*, of Dr̥ṇasimha, the second son of the *Sēndapati* Bhaṭārka, by a sovereign who, in the Valabhi grants, e.g. No. 38, line 5, page 168, is described as "the paramount master, the sole lord of the circumference of the "territory of the whole earth;" from the date of this event, he held, the members of the Valabhi family were independent kings. In 1874, however, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 303 f., on the grounds that the alphabet used in the Valabhi grants resembles very much that used in the Western Chalukya grants belonging to the early part of the eighth century, and for other reasons not fully specified, he modified this opinion, so far as "to think "that the Valabhi dates must be referred to an era other than the Śaka;" and he proceeded to join Mr. Fergusson in referring them to an era commencing A.D. 318. But he still maintained a verbal difference with Mr. Fergusson, to the effect that, since in the Valabhi family there was no individual named 'Ballaba,' or Valabhi, "it is doubtful whether the "era was really of Bhaṭārka's family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was "in use in Surāshṭra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabhi dates may be referred "to it. Or, more likely, since the Guptas, who preceded that dynasty, introduced their "era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era. But there is no difference in effect; since the initial dates of both are the same."

In 1873, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 313, **Col. J. W. Watson** published the following tradition, attributed to the bards of Kāthiāwāḍ:—"The bards relate that Vāḷā Rāma "Rāja, son of Vāḷā Warsingī, reigned at Junāgaḍh and Vanthali. He was famed for his "munificence; and it is told of him that, when his beard was shaved for the first time, he "gave in charity twenty-one villages, and distributed fifty *lakhs* of rupees¹ as alms to the "poor. Rāma Rāja was of the Vāḷā race. It is said in Saurāshṭra that, previous to the "rise of the kingdom of Junāgaḍh-Vanthali, Valabhinagara was the capital of Gujarāt. "The rise of Valabhi is thus told by the bards. The Gupta kings reigned between the "Ganges and Jamnā rivers. One of these kings sent his son, Kumārapālagupta, to "conquer Saurāshṭra; and placed his viceroy Chakrapāṇi, son of Prāṇadatta, one of his "Amirs, to reign as a provincial Governor in the city of Wāmanasthali (the modern Vanthali). Kumārapāla now returned to his father's kingdom. His father reigned twenty-three years after the conquest of Saurāshṭra, and then died; and Kumārapāla ascended "the throne. Kumārapālagupta reigned twenty years, and then died, and was succeeded "by Skandagupta; but this king was of weak intellect. His *Sēndapati* Bhaṭārka, who "was of the Gehlot race, taking a strong army, came into Saurāshṭra, and made his rule "firm there. Two years after this, Skandagupta died. The *Sēndapati* now assumed the "title of King of Saurāshṭra; and, having placed a Governor at Wāmanasthali, founded "the city of Valabhinagara. At this time, the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign invaders. The *Sēndapati* was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayōdhyānagarī, "until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhi, he established his rule

¹ Nominally, half a million pounds sterling.

"in Saurāshtra, Kachchh, Lātādēśa, and Mālava. The Vājās were a branch of the Gehlots. After the fall of Valabhī, the Vājā governor of Wāmanasthālī became independent. Rāma Rājā had no son; but his sister was married to the Rājā of Nagar Thāṭha," &c. This story was criticised by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 303; his opinion being that "the tradition itself, though interesting, as giving the truth generally, cannot be considered to be true in the particulars; it simply gives us what was known before, that the Valabhīs succeeded the Guptas." In reply to this, and in defence of the supposed tradition, Mr. Thomas¹ said that it "may be imperfect, as such old-world tales are liable to become; but there is an instructive confirmation of one obscure portion of the earlier history given by the Muhammadan inquirer,² and a clear explanation of the causes of the local transfer of power, combined with an important reference to the conventional imperial delegation of authority to a son, as well as an indication of the length of the reigns of two kings, to be found nowhere else; and, to complete the tale, we trace in its details, a fully reasonable accord with the more precise data furnished by inscriptions and coins." Of course, this supposed tradition is of that half-perfect kind which carries its own confirmation with it; if we could but accept it. Nothing is more natural, for instance, than the introduction of the termination *pāla* into the middle of the name of Kumārāgupta; and than the substitution of Prāṇadatta and Chakrapāṇi for the Parnadatta, and his son Chakrapālita, of the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, and of Bhaṭṭāraka for Bhaṭārka, as the name of the upstart *Sēndapati*. But no further attention need be paid to the matter; since I have it on the best possible authority,—that of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji himself,—that the supposed tradition has only sprung into existence within the last fifteen or twenty years, and owes its origin only to certain speculations of his, which found their way to the bards through an educational treatise! It simply furnishes an instance of the extreme suspicion with which we must view every Hindu historical legend.

In 1874, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 363 ff., the question was considered by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in then bringing to notice the Indōr grant of Skandagupta, No. 16, page 68. He introduced (*id.* p. 369 ff.) a new, and perfectly gratuitous, point in the Kaḥāum pillar inscription, by connecting the word *śāntā*, in line 3, with *varshā*, in line 4; and, hankering after the meanings given by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Hall, to the word *śānta* in particular, though he aimed also at giving to the whole verse a purport which should be more correct than that made out by them, and should be an improvement even on Dr. Bhau Daji's translation, he translated (*id.* p. 371) "in the empire of Skandagupta; the year one hundred and forty-one having passed away." The paper adds nothing of any value to the general discussion; beyond (*id.* p. 371) following, in contradiction to Dr. F. E. Hall, Prof. H. H. Wilson's rendering of the expression in the *Māhā-*

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 30.

² *i.e.* Albēruṇī,

rdja Hastin's grants as shewing that the supremacy of the Gupta kings was still continuing in his time; and beyond introducing (*id.* p. 368) Mr. Blochmann's proposed emendation of the translation of Albêrûnî's statement, which I have quoted at page 28 above, note 1. But Dr. R. Mitra failed to see the interpretation that might be put upon the emended rendering; and he expressed his own conviction (*id.* p. 372) that the Early Gupta dates, and those of Budhagupta and of the *Mahârâja* Hastin, are recorded in the Śaka era; and that Albêrûnî's Gupta era commemorates the expulsion of the Guptas from Gujarât by the Kings of Valabhî.

In 1876, in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 18 ff., **Mr. Thomas** published a chapter on the "Sâh and Gupta Coins, &c.," in which, as already noted, he included some strong remarks in support of the authenticity of the supposed bardic tradition from Kâthiawâd, that had been brought to notice by Col. Watson. In his tabular statement of the Early Gupta dynasty (*id.* p. 70), he referred the Gupta dates, as before, to the Śaka era, and, with them, the date on Tōramâṇa's coin, which he interpreted (*id.* p. 66) as 182; on the authority of the supposed tradition, he placed the *Sēndapati* Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhî family, specifically two years before the death of Skandagupta; and he added a remark indicating apparently that his opinion was, that the Valabhî era, commencing A.D. 319, was established by the *Mahârâja* Dharasēna II., "who seems "to have been the earliest monarch of any real pretensions."

In 1878, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., **Dr. Bühler** brought to notice the newly discovered Allā grant of Śīlāditya VII. of Valabhî, No. 39, page 171, which gives for him the date of Gupta-Saṃvat 447 (A.D. 766-67), and the *biruda*, or title or second name, of Dhrûbhaṭa or Dhruvabhata. Drawing attention (*id.* p. 80) to the pointed similarity of this name with the *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang's account, and suggesting that Hiuen Tsiang's translation of the name by 'constantly intelligent' might be due to incorrect information, or to some confusion between *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior,' and *bhaṭṭa*, 'a learned man,' Dr. Bühler expressed himself as inclined to believe that Śīlāditya VII. was Hiuen Tsiang's contemporary; the result of which would be that the era used in the Valabhî grants must have commenced either shortly before or shortly after A.D. 200. He pointed out, however, (*id.* p. 81) that the occurrence of the title of Dhrûbhaṭa or Dhruvabhata in this grant, was in reality only one point among many, requiring careful consideration, in connection with a question that was by no means a simple one.

In 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 9 ff., **General Cunningham** brought to notice the grant of the *Mahârâja* Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106; the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the *Mahârâja* Saṃkshôbha's grant, of the year 209, No. 25, page 112; and, with the exception of No. 28, page 125, the grants of the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa, No. 26, page 117, to No. 31, page 135, ranging from the year 174 to the year 214. And, in the grants of Hastin and Saṃkshôbha, he followed Prof. Wilson in giving to the expression *Gupta-nrîpa-râjya-bhuktau* interpretations which, though

not grammatically, were substantially correct, in shewing that it indicated that the Gupta sovereignty was still continuing when the grants in question were issued. To his notice of these inscriptions he annexed some remarks (*id.* p. 16 ff.) on the "Date of the Guptas," in which he arrived at the conclusion that the probable epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 194-95, and its commencement A.D. 195-96. Starting with accepting it to be almost certain that Śīlāditya VII. was the king of Valabhī who was reigning at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in A.D. 640, he pointed out (*id.* p. 17) that, as the year 447 of the grant might fall twenty-five or thirty years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit, the initial point of the Gupta era might lie anywhere between A.D. 163 and 223. Within this period, he found, the only year which would suit the conditions of the record in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and the Mōrbī grant of Jāṅkadēva, was A.D. 194-95 as the epoch of the era. Applying this epoch to the Êraṇ date, the result (*id.* p. 18) was A.D. 359; in which year the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, according to his calculation, was, as required, a Thursday; *vis.* the 24th June. And applying it to the solar eclipse mentioned in the Mōrbī grant, which he assumed to have occurred on the new-moon day of the month Māgha, five days before the writing of the grant, the result was the 10th February, A.D. 780, "on which very day there was an eclipse of the sun, "visible in Eastern Asia."¹ The fourth test, which, he indicated, should be applied, was the mention of some of the *samvatsaras* of Jupiter's Twelve-Year Cycle in the grants of the *Mahārājās* Hastin and Saṁkshōbha. Exact information about this cycle, however, was not then forthcoming; and, in making the Mahā-Vaiśākha *samvatsara* correspond (*id.* p. 19) with A.D. 350, which, with the epoch of A.D. 194-95, would be the equivalent of Gupta-Samvat 156, recorded in the *Mahārāja* Hastin's grant, No. 21, page 93, he seems to have acted on pure assumption; while, in order to make the Mahā-Āsvayuja *samvatsara*, recorded in the same *Mahārāja's* grant of Gupta-Samvat 163, No. 22, page 100, fit in with his view of the cycle, he had to alter² the original date from 163 to 173, with the result of A.D. 367. On this occasion, General Cunningham (*id.* p. 21) again referred the establishment of the Gupta era to Chandragupta I.; and he placed the foundation of the Valabhī era of A.D. 319 in the twentieth year of the reign of Kumāragupta. And, in connection with this Valabhī era, he expressed the opinion (*id.* p. 20) that it could have no connection whatever with the downfall of the Gupta dynasty; for the reason that, applied to the epoch of A.D. 194-95, the dates of 138 and 139 in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, shewed that the Gupta dominion was still intact, in Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwād, up to³ A.D. 333. And he expressed the opinion that the apparent incon-

¹ For the full details of this eclipse, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 308.

² See page 102, note 1, below my introductory remarks to this inscription, where I have shewn that a very material obstacle exists in the way of this alteration of the text. Also, as will be seen further on, from the correct point of view as regards the Gupta era, any alteration is quite unnecessary.

³ This is with the supposed date of 139. But the real dates in the record are 136, 137, and 138; they do not include 139.

sistencies in Albérûnî's statements arose from his finding that the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi had actually used one and the same era, and from his taking it for granted that that era must have been the era which he found to be called the Valabhi era, and to have commenced in A.D. 319. He placed the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka of Valabhi in A.D. 339 (*id.* p. 21), twenty years after the establishment of the Valabhi era of 319. And, interpreting the coin-dates of Tōramāna as 52 and 53 (*id.* p. 27), he referred them (*id.* p. 21) to the Valabhi era of A.D. 319.

The subject was taken up again by **General Cunningham** in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 111 ff., in his Appendix on "The Gupta Era;" and on this occasion he arrived at the final conclusion, that (*id.* p. 126) the commencement of the era was probably in A.D. 167 and, therefore, its epoch was A.D. 166-67. Of the leading general facts on which he relied (*id.* p. 116), the first was that Samudragupta's date seemed to be fixed approximately, within rather narrow limits, by two facts; *viz.*—(1) "his own mention" (in the Allahābād pillar inscription) "of the tribute received from "the Daivaputra, Shāhi, Shāhānushāhi, which we now know to be the titles of the Yue-chi "Indo-Scythians, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva, and their successors, shews him to "have been a contemporary of some prince of this race;" and (2) "according to "Chinese authority, the Yue-chi, during the period between A.D. 220-80, put their kings "to death, and established military chiefs." From a comparison of these two statements, General Cunningham inferred that Samudragupta must have reigned before the time when the Yue-chi put their kings to death, or not later than some time between A.D. 200 and 250; and that his father, Chandragupta I., must be placed towards the end of the second century A.D. But, with regard to this, I have only to repeat a remark which I have already had occasion to make; *viz.* that what we really have, is, not the means of fixing the period of Samudragupta through the Chinese accounts, but the means of correcting the Chinese accounts through the Early Gupta chronology. The second leading point was that, as already indicated by him, the Alinā grant of Śīlāditya VII. shewed that the initial point of the Gupta era must fall between A.D. 164 and 224. Putting these two approximate results together, he inferred that the beginning of the Gupta era must have been not very far from A.D. 180 to 200. Meanwhile, he had obtained certain information regarding the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, from Bapu Deva Shastri, Professor of Mathematics in the Benares College, which enabled him now to take this test also into consideration; with the result that, subject to the approximate limits which he had already arrived at on general grounds, and having regard also to the week-day recorded in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, the only years that would meet all the requirements of the case were A.D. 166-67 as the epoch, and A.D. 167-68 as the commencement, of the Gupta era. In order, however, to make all the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, mentioned in the grants of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Samkshobha, tally with this epoch, he had still to maintain the alteration of the date of

Gupta-Samvat 163 into 173. Accepting this alteration, his theory and arrangement of the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle, and his general results, have seemed sound, consistent, and reliable. But it is now known that his process for determining the *samvatsaras* is wrong, and cannot give satisfactory results. This part of the subject will be explained fully further on. Meanwhile I will only state here that General Cunningham's theory of the Twelve-Year Cycle is based on the assumption, the incorrectness of which can now be proved, that the *samvatsaras* of it begin and end with the luni-solar years; and that his process for determining the *samvatsaras* (*id.* pp. vi. 114 f., and *Indian Eras*, p. 27 f.) only gives the *samvatsara* that is current, according to the sign-passing system, at the commencement of any given luni-solar year; it does not provide for the really essential point, even of this system, which is the determination of the *samvatsara* that is current on any given date in a given year after the commencement of it. On this occasion (*id.* p. 112) General Cunningham fully accepted Albérûnî's apparent statement regarding the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty, in the Valabhî country, in A.D. 319, in which year he now placed the *Sēndapati* Bhaṭārka of Valabhî. And he recorded the opinion (*id.* p. 126) that the foundation of the Valabhî era of A.D. 319 might very probably have been brought about by the opportunity afforded by the death of Skandagupta, for whom the latest recorded date, supplied by a coin of the year 149, would be, according to his new theory, A.D. 315. In general support of his results, he also quoted certain numismatic facts, such as (*id.* p. 112) that a comparison of the gold coins of the Guptas with those of the Indo-Scythian king Vāsudēva, shewed that they must have followed him very closely; while a comparison of their silver coins with those of the Satraps of Saurāshṭra,—formerly called the Śāh kings,—and those of the Valabhî family, proved distinctly that the Guptas must have followed the Satraps of Saurāshṭra and preceded the Valabhî family; but this is a line of study with which we are not concerned in the present inquiry.

In the same year, in the *Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XII. p. 259 ff., **Mr. Fergusson** issued his paper "On the Śāka, Samvat, and Gupta Eras," as a supplement to his original paper "On Indian Chronology," which has been noticed at page 46 f. above. In his previous paper, he had adopted General Cunningham's view that Kanishka died A.D. 24. Now, however, on arguments based (*id.* p. 264) on the comparative state of decay exhibited by coins of Kanishka and by some belonging to the Roman Consular period, found in Kanishka's *Stūpa* at 'Manikyala,' on the understanding (*id.* p. 265) that the legend of St. Thomas having visited the East in the reign of a certain king Gondophares,—which visit, if it really occurred, must have been after A.D. 33 and probably before A.D. 50,—is at any rate admissible so far as to shew that the inventors of the legend must have known that the king of 'Taxila' at that time was Gondophares, whose name occurs, on coins, among a series of kings "who reigned in the north-west of India, certainly subsequent to the fall of the Greek dynasties, and as certainly anterior to Kanishka;" and

on similar grounds, he arrived at the conclusion (*id.* p. 261) that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka, and took the name of the Śalivāhana era from having been introduced into India in the reign of Śātakarṇi II. of the Andhra dynasty, the "chief of the Śātavāhana or Śalivāhana race." As regards the Gupta era, Mr. Fergusson took this opportunity of recording his impression (*id.* p. 285) that his view of it "would never have been considered doubtful, had it not been that the chronology of that period had hitherto been based almost exclusively on numismatic researches." And, in repeating his conviction (*id.* p. 281) that the commencement of the era was in A.D. 319, and (*id.* p. 270) that it was established in the reign of the Andhra king Gōtamiputra, he also now maintained (*id.* p. 271) that the era did not necessarily date from the accession of the king, or from his death, or from any specific event in his reign, but that, in order that dates in the new era might be easily convertible into the old era, the commencement of the new era was simply fixed by the expiration of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era. In respect of his theory that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka, and of some others of his general results, I see no reason, at present, to dispute them, apart from the arguments on which they were based. But a few words seem necessary in connection with the key-note to his whole paper, which is plainly to be recognised in his desire to find for the Vikrama era some origin other than its actual establishment in B.C. 57, and, according to tradition, by a king Vikrama or Vikramāditya, actually reigning at that time. He had already thrown out this suggestion in his previous paper. And now he claimed that, granting the correctness of his other conclusions, there could be found (*id.* p. 271) no direct evidence for the existence of a Vikrama era in the first century B.C., nor for a very long time afterwards; for so long, in fact, that it was impossible to establish any connection between a king Vikrama and the original establishment of the era. Referring to two passages in the *Rājataranginī*, one of which¹ speaks of Pratāpāditya, who was brought from another country to be crowned king of Kaśmīr, as a kinsman of a king Vikramāditya who, the book states, was wrongly thought by some to be the Śākari or 'enemy of the Śakas,' and the other of which² states that, at the time of the death of Hiranya of Kaśmīr, there reigned at Ujjain a powerful king Vikramāditya, who had the second name of Harsha, and who also had destroyed the Śakas; and quoting also Albēruṇi's explanation that the Vikramāditya who, according to the tradition given to him, conquered the Śakas a hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Vikrama era, could not be identical with the founder of that era,—the conclusions at which he arrived were (*id.* p. 274) that the Vikramāditya who conquered the Śakas at the battle of Karūr, was Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain; that his death took place about A.D. 550, and the battle of Karūr, in A.D. 544; that, about or before A.D. 1000, when "the struggle with the Buddhists was over, and a new era was opening for the Hindu religion," the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time, to

¹ Calcutta edition, ii. line 6; page 15.² Calcutta edition, iii. lines 125, 128; page 26. •

supersede the Buddhist Śāka era of Kanishka ; that, the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi having then passed away, and having also been insignificant and of doubtful orthodoxy, in looking back for some name and event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of a new era, they hit on the name of Vikramāditya, as the most illustrious known to them, and his victory at Karūr as the most important event of his reign ; and that then, since the date of that victory, A.D. 544, was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years, thus arriving at B.C. 56 for their Vikrama era, and also, not content with this, devised another era, which they called the Harsha era, from the other part of his name, and the epoch of which was fixed in B.C. 456, by placing it ten even centuries before the date of the battle of Karūr. It is an actual fact, that the name of Vikrama does not occur in connection with the era of B.C. 57 until a comparatively late date.¹ But Mr. Fergusson's arguments are vitiated throughout by the undue reliance which he placed on the quasi-historical records of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The early chronology of Kaśmīr has still to be fixed ; and the means of adjusting it are to be found in A.D. 533 as the date of Mihirakula, who, according to the book itself, reigned in the eighth century B.C. And, if the date of Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain is really dependent on the date of Hiranya of Kaśmīr, it certainly cannot be placed as early as the sixth century A.D.

In 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 213 ff., Dr. Oldenberg published his paper "On the Dates of ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins," the whole of which well deserves careful study. Holding (*id.* p. 214) as the result of Herr von Sallet's numismatic researches, that Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, cannot be placed earlier than the first century A.D., and must be placed before A.D. 200 ; quoting the Bādāmi cave inscription of the Western Chalukya king Maṅgalīśa,² dated Śāka-Samvat 500 expired, as proving conclusively that the Śāka era ran from the coronation, not the defeat or death, of a Śāka king (or kings) ; finding (*id.* p. 214 f.), from the coins, that Kanishka belonged undoubtedly to the Śāka tribe ; and finding also (*id.* p. 215) that, at the time to which Kanishka must be referred, there was no Indian king who at all equalled him in power and fame, he arrived at the primary conclusion that the era used in the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, is the Śāka era, and that the event from which it dates, is the accession of Kanishka. Working from this starting-point, after indicating very correctly (*id.* p. 217) that the fundamental mistake which vitiates the researches of Mr. Thomas and others "consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct "and very clear ancient tradition," preserved by Albérūnī, "which we possess regarding "the Gupta era, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground, and of "systematically discussing the question whether any serious objections can be opposed

¹ I am not prepared at present to specify the exact date. But the 'Gyāraspur' or 'Gyārāspur' inscription (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33, and Plate xi.) shews that the era was still known as the Mālava era, in Central India, down to about A.D. 880.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363 f. and Vol. X. p. 57 ff.

"to it," he arrived, by a series of historical, numismatic, and palæographical arguments, at the conclusion that the rise of the Early Guptas must be placed in A.D. 319, and their downfall about A.D. 480. In the course of the paper, he suggested (*id.* p. 219) that the *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang may be Dêrabhaṭa of Valabhî, or may indicate one of the Dharasênas or one of the earlier Śîlādityas of that family; and that, at any rate, the occurrence of the title Dhrûbhaṭa in the Alinâ grant, as only a secondary title, furnishes no conclusive evidence against the commencement of the era in A.D. 319. He announced (*id.* p. 220) that, with the epoch of A.D. 319, the record of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, that the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha of Gupta-Samvat 165 was a Thursday, was quite correct by the Tables and formulæ in Warren's *Kala-Sankalita*. And (*id.* p. 222), referring to the supposed tradition of the bards of Kāṭhiāwāḍ, he gave perfectly good reasons for holding, even without further proof, that it was nothing but "a very poor compilation, pieced up of what those "bards" knew by hearsay of the results of modern epigraphical and numismatical investigation."

In the same year, the general question was taken up again by Mr. Thomas, in his paper on "The Epoch of the Guptas," published in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 524 ff. On this occasion (*id.* p. 524) he abandoned the opinion that the dates on the Sâh coins were to be referred to the supposed Harsha era commencing B.C. 456; and expressed himself as inclined to accept Mr. Newton's theory that they are recorded in the Vikrama era of B.C. 57. But, as regards the Gupta era, he still (*id.* p. 549) adhered to the view that it was identical with the Śaka era, or, at any rate, that the Gupta dates were to be referred to the Śaka epoch. In this paper (*id.* p. 529 f.) he introduced some other passages from Albêrûnî, shewing that eras had been established from the death of 'Alexander the Founder' and of 'Yazdajird ben Shahryâr,' which were used by him as indicating that Albêrûnî must have exercised due deliberation before making the (supposed) statement that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas; and he brought forward a discovery (*id.* p. 545) that certain signs in front of the horse's head on the reverse of some coins of 'Syalapati,' Sâmantadêva, 'Khadavayaka,' and Bhîmadêva, of Kâbul, represented, in various degrees of legibility, the syllables *Gu*, *Gup*, and *Gupta*, which were consequently held to refer to the Gupta era the conventional date, 617, which these signs introduced. He had previously suggested A.D. 935 for the accession of Sâmantadêva.¹ And, pointing out that the conventional

¹ Or, rather, of Gupta-Samvat 166; since he treated the record as meaning the year 165 expired and 166 current. But the epoch would then be A.D. 318, not 319. It was probably through an oversight that Dr. Oldenberg spoke in this connection of A.D. 319 as the epoch. Elsewhere (*id.* pp. 215, 227) he distinctly specifies A.D. 319 as the beginning of the Gupta era; according to which, A.D. 318 would be the epoch selected by him.

² *Jour. R. As. Soc.* F. S. Vol. IX. p. 179.

date of 617, if added to A.D. 319, gave A.D. 936,—within one year of his date for Sāmantadēva,—he quoted these coins (*id.* p. 544) as proof of “the practical survival of “the method of dating from the extinction of the Gupta rule.”

Closely connected with the preceding, is Sir E. Clive Bayley's paper “On certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu kings of Kābul, expressed in the Gupta Era and in Arabic (or quasi-Arabic) numerals,” published in 1882, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff. This paper was issued in support of his theory of A.D. 189-(90) or 190-(91) for the epoch of the Gupta era; which was based to a great extent on the apparent deduction from the Alinā grant of Śilāditya VII., noted at page 51 above, that the era cannot have commenced later than A.D. 200; coupled with his reading of “698 Gupta” on the earliest of the coins of ‘Syalapati,’ which, as he placed ‘Syalapati’ between A.D. 887 and 916, would shew that the Gupta era commenced after A.D. 180. As regards the era of A.D. 319, his suggestion, based on the weakness attributed to Skandagupta in the supposed tradition of the Kāthiāwāḍ bards, was (*id.* p. 155 f.) that it might date from the death of Kumāragupta, and might memorialise a rebellion against Skandagupta by the members of the Valabhī family. The latter dynasty, he held, still continued, in spite of any such circumstances, to use the Gupta era. The key-note to the whole theory is to be found in Sir E. Clive Bayley's agreement with Mr. Thomas, that the specified abbreviations of a full legend, which must be taken as ‘*Guptasya Kāl*,’ were really to be found in the dates on the Kābul coins. But in details he differed widely from Mr. Thomas. Thus (*id.* p. 145) he read the signs in the opposite way to that in which Mr. Thomas would read them; and, instead of accepting the conventional date of 617, he found in the figures various values, to suit the period, A.D. 887 to 916, which he assigned to ‘Syalapati.’ The question of the true interpretation of the dates on the coins in question, depends chiefly on the real period, still to be proved, that is to be assigned to ‘Syalapati’¹ and the other kings in ques-

¹ In connection with this, I would draw special attention to the coin of ‘Syalapati’ figured in *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 304, Pl. xxv. No. 2, which, as now explained by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, gives the unmistakable date of 814, traces of which are also discernible in No. 1 on the same Plate. This No. 2 has behind the horseman the same monogram, *u u*, (not *£ £*), as Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 have; also, as explained by No. 1, it has in the upper corner, in front of the horseman, the same symbol (interpreted by Sir E. Clive Bayley on his No. 20 as a rude imitation of *adal*, ‘just [weight or value]’) that appears in the same position on others of these coins, and resembles a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle. These points of similarity suggest that possibly Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 (and others) belong really to ‘Syalapati,’ though his name is not on the obverse. And the unmistakable date of 814 on at any rate *Prinsep's Essays*, Pl. xxv. No. 2, further suggests that the figures on Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, should not be read as 707 and 727.—Sir E. Clive Bayley placed ‘Syalapati’ in A.D. 887 to 916; which would agree very satisfactorily with the date of 814 on Prinsep's coin, if we might refer it to the Śaka era, with the result of A.D. 891-92. Mr. Thomas (*Jour. R. As. Soc. F. S* Vol. IX. p. 179) placed him about the same time; *vis.* “early in the tenth century.” On the other hand, General Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 45) has placed him rather earlier, about A.D. 800; but he quoted no authority for this. I have not been able to find any other information as to the probable date of ‘Syalapati.’

tion. And, without attempting any full discussion of the matter here, where it would be out of place, I will only bring forward a few points to shew that, at any rate, Sir E. Clive Bayley's interpretation of the dates is quite untenable. Of the coins in question, those that have the clearest dates on them (*id.* Plate vii. Nos. 24 to 27), belong to some unnamed king. They are not attributed to 'Syalapati;' but are considered to be rather more recent. It is admitted, however, that they belong to the same series; and I take them first, because they are so very clear. If we examine them with the help of Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table of Numerals (*id.* Plate vii.), it is evident at once that No. 24 reads, not "802 Gu," but simply "804," with nothing after it; and that Nos. 25, 26, and 27 read, not "812 Gu," but simply "814," again with nothing after it; the figures being, in fact, absolutely identical with those which Sir E. Clive Bayley himself read as simply "814" on Nos. 19 to 23, 29 to 31, and 34. In these instances, the supposed *Gu* is nothing but the sign that makes the difference in these numerals between a 2 and a 4. And Sir E. Clive Bayley's reading further involves the peculiar anomaly that the figures have to be read in one direction, from the rim of the coin, and the supposed *Gu* in the opposite direction, from the inside of the coin; which results in the curious arrangement of "802 nḡ" and "812 nḡ." We have here to note that Sir E. Clive Bayley reported (*id.* p. 145 f.) that Mr. Thomas, reading the signs that were supposed to mean *Gu*, *Gup*, and *Gupta*, in the opposite way to that in which he himself read them, read the whole date in one direction, from the inside of the coins, and interpreted all the figures as giving only one uniform and conventional date, *viz.* "Gu 617," denoting the initial date of Sāmanta's dynasty according to the Gupta era. Allowing for the possibility of the first sign being capable of meaning *Gu*, this way of interpreting the figures seems to be equally well borne out by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table. But the first sign cannot mean *Gu*, and does not mean *Gu*. And a reference to the Table will shew immediately that the figures have to be read, as Sir E. Clive Bayley read them, from the rims of the coins; and that the dates are in reality nothing but 804 and 814, as I have pointed out above. Of the coins of 'Syalapati' himself (Plate i. Nos. 3 to 5, and 7 to 10), No. 7 is read as "707," and Nos. 8, 9, and 10 as "727," without any supposed reference at all to the Gupta era; and these readings are in accordance with the Table of Numerals, if the dates are read from the rim of the coins, like the dates of Nos. 19 to 27, 29 to 31, and 34, referred to above. On the other hand, if we might read the figures on these seven coins from the inside, there appears no particular objection to interpreting them as respectively "808" and "868." There remain Nos. 3, 4, and 5, which are read respectively as "Gupta" with two doubtful figures, "98 Gu," and "99 Gu," meaning (6)98 and (6)99, on the principle of "omitted hundreds." And these, unfortunately, are not so easy to deal with; since, though the signs that are supposed to mean *Gupta* must be in reality numerals of some kind or another, there is nothing in Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, and I can obtain nothing elsewhere, to explain their value as numerals. But, in attempting to find a proper reading of them, we must in the first place notice that the sign which,

on Nos. 4 and 5, Sir E. Clive Bayley interpreted as the figure 9, and entered as such in his Table, occupies exactly the position which is filled in Prinsep's coin No. 1, referred to on page 58 above, note 1, by a symbol resembling a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle; and this suggests that the sign in question is not a figure at all. I give here a reproduction of Sir E. Clive Bayley's representation (*id.*

Plate vi. No. 6) of the signs in question, which were supposed by him, and by Mr. Thomas, to represent the word *Gupta*, and were claimed by him (*id.* p. 127) to be "a fair rendering of the usual form of the word." What they really



Gu-pta.

mean, I will not attempt to decide; beyond pointing out that, as I have said above, they must be numerals of some kind or another. But it will be admitted at once, by any qualified palæographer, that they answer in no way whatever to the usual form of the word *Gupta*, and cannot be so interpreted in accordance with any known alphabet; even though we should follow Mr. Thomas (*id.* p. 128) in looking upon them as "a degraded and contracted form of the word," or Sir E. Clive Bayley (*id.* p. 145) in holding them to be "a gross corruption of it." And to these remarks I will only add that, as I have shewn at page 19 ff. above, the very expression *Guptasya kâla* or *Gupta-kâla* is a purely imaginary one, without any real epigraphical existence; and, therefore, abbreviations of it cannot possibly exist on the Kâbul coins, or on any others. As a Postscript to his paper, Sir E. Clive Bayley shortly afterwards issued some remarks on the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, as used in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Samkshôbha. His views on this point, however, were radically vitiated, in the first place, by his following General Cunningham's mistaken assumption that the *samvatsaras* of this cycle always begin and end with the luni-solar years; and, further, by a series of mistakes which it is really difficult to know how to criticise properly. He took the *samvatsara* that is mentioned in the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110, to be Mahâ-Mârgaśira, instead of Mahâ-Mâgha; a mistake which threw this record out by two *samvatsaras*. He proved General Cunningham's results to be right only in one instance out of the five, *viz.* in the case of this supposed Mahâ-Mârgaśira *samvatsara* of the Bhumarâ record, by himself making them gratuitously wrong, in assuming that General Cunningham's epoch for the era was A.D. 167-68, instead of A.D. 166-67. And he entirely overlooked the fact that, as there are ordinarily twelve years in each cycle, and as his own proposed epoch was exactly twenty-four years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, his own results could be neither any more nor any less correct than General Cunningham's under ordinary circumstances; but would, in the particular case, be less correct than General Cunningham's, because, by General Cunningham's Table, which he accepted as correct, there was an expunction of a *samvatsara* between A.D. 394 and 395, which, while it did not affect General Cunningham's results, did affect his own, in making Gupta-Samvat 209 coincide with the Mahâ-Kârttika *samvatsara*, instead of Mahâ-Āśvayuja (for which, by the way, Sir E. Clive Bayley again wrote Mahâ-Mârgaśira) as recorded in the grant itself, No. 25, page 112. In fact, a full examination of the original

paper and its Postscript, will shew that, for the proposed epoch of A.D. 190, there are absolutely no grounds whatever; and that the theory has no importance at all, except in introducing one of the side-issues which, endorsed by a name that carries authority, have to be disposed of, before any settlement of the main question will be accepted as final by general readers.

In 1883, General Cunningham published his *Book of Indian Eras*, in which he recast, with some additions, his treatise on the Gupta era and the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, that had appeared in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 111 ff.; and with the same results as on the former occasion. He admitted (*id.* p. x.) that the question of the Gupta era had still not been quite finally settled. But, of the two dates, A.D. 167-68 and 262-63, to which his investigations seemed to limit him for the commencement of the era, he still (*id.* p. 57) much preferred the earlier date, both as contrasted specially with A.D. 262, and also as having (*id.* p. 58) "a better claim for acceptance than any other that has yet been proposed." And, accordingly, in the column for the Gupta era in his Table XVII., we find (*id.* p. 142) the epoch entered as A.D. 166-67, and the commencement as A.D. 167-68. The *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter are shewn in another column of the same Table; and, from his detailed remarks on this cycle (*id.* p. 26 ff.), we find that his method of determining the *samvatsaras* was the same as that applied on the previous occasion. In respect of the Valabhî era, he still held (*id.* pp. 53, 63) that the Verāwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 945 proves that A.D. 319 was its commencement; not its epoch. And he also (*id.* p. 50) seems to indicate very clearly that, in his opinion, the scheme of the years of this era was identical with that of the years of the southern Vikrama era, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). He also held (*id.* p. 57) "that the era used by the Valabhî kings "was that of the Guptas, seems to be almost certain; as the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka, the founder "of the Valabhî dynasty, is said," in the supposed tradition of the bards of Kāthiāwāḍ, "to have been the governor of Surāshṭra during the last two years of Skandagupta's reign." And he suggested (*id.* p. 53) that it is to this use by the Valabhî family, of the Gupta era of A.D. 166-67, instead of the Valabhî era itself, that we must attribute all the existing confusion. Of the new points brought forward on this occasion, the most important is (*id.* pp. x f., 47 ff., 58) the reference to the Dhiniki copper-plate grant of king Jāikadēva of Saurāshṭra, published by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 151. This grant is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 794, equivalent to A.D. 736-37; and, on the assumption that it is genuine, and that this Jāikadēva is identical with the Jāinka of the Mōrbi grant, the date of which, (Gupta)-Samvat 585 expired, by General Cunningham's view would represent A.D. 751-52, the synchronism established by the two grants would, of course, lend strong support to his theory. Upon a full examination, however, of the details of the date, which from the first evidently contained elements of doubt, I think that this Dhiniki

grant must certainly be rejected as spurious.¹ If not so, then it can only be held that Jāiṅka and Jāikadēva were distinct and separate persons. Under any circumstances, this grant is of no use in connection with the question of the Gupta era.

¹ In this grant, the date (from the published lithograph; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 155, and Plate, line 1 ff.) runs—*Vikrama-saṃvatsara-satēshu saplasu chatur-navaty-adhikēshv-amkatah 974 Kārt-tikamās-ūpara-pakshē amāśyāyām Ādityavārē Jyēshthā-nakshatrē ravigrahaṇa-parvaniasyām saṃvatsara-māsa-paksha-dīvasa-pūrvāyām tithāu=ady=ēha Bhūmilikāyām &c.*—"in seven centuries, increased by ninety-four, of the years of Vikrama, (or) in figures, 974 [the interpretation of the figures, however, with the exception of the 4, depends purely on the preceding expression in words; the first two of them present anything but the appearance of 7 and 9]; in the latter fortnight of the month Kārttika; on the new-moon *tithi*; on Sunday; under the Jyēshthā *nakshatra*; on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun; on this lunar day, (specified) as above by the year, and month, and fortnight, and (solar) day; to-day; here, at Bhūmilikā," &c.—This gives us for calculation, Vikrama-Saṃvat 794, current according to the literal meaning of the text; the month Kārttika (October-November); the second, and as shewn by the following mention of the new-moon day and a solar eclipse, the dark fortnight; the new-moon *tithi*; Sunday; an eclipse of the sun; and the Jyēshthā *nakshatra* or lunar mansion. And, as the details of the inscription connect it specifically with Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwād, we have to understand that the Vikrama year quoted is the southern Vikrama year, commencing with Kārttika śukla 1, and having the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the months (see Table III., page 71 below), in which the second fortnight of each month is the dark fortnight. This is, in fact, proved by the record itself, in allotting to the second fortnight of the month the new-moon *tithi*, which of course belongs to the dark fortnight. And, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me, it is also shewn by the mention of the Jyēshthā *nakshatra*, which can never occur on the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pūrṇimānta* northern Kārttika.—As belonging to southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 794, the given *tithi* belonged, according to the Tables, to Śaka-Saṃvat 659, expired; and, if it belonged to southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 795, it would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 660, expired. With the basis of these two Śaka years, taken as expired, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit gives me the following English equivalents of the recorded date;—for Vikrama-Saṃvat 794, Monday, the 28th October, A.D. 737, when there was the Anurādhā *nakshatra*, and most probably no eclipse of the sun (none, at least, is recorded in *Indian Eras*, p. 211);—and for Vikrama-Saṃvat 795, Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738, when there was the Jyēshthā *nakshatra*; but there cannot have been an eclipse of the sun, since there was one on the preceding new-moon *tithi*, on Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 738, or, by the English Tables (*Indian Eras*, p. 211) Saturday, the 18th October (the difference in the day is because the conjunction of the sun and the moon occurred late towards sunrise; and, for the same reason, the eclipse was not visible in India). This, of course, was the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pūrṇimānta* northern Kārttika that fell in A.D. 738; but the supposition that this is the day intended, is barred by the facts that I have mentioned above, which prevent our understanding that the month recorded is the *Pūrṇimānta* northern month at all; and also by the fact, ascertained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, that on the 17th October, A.D. 738, the *nakshatras* were Svāti and Viśākhā. To complete the details, I would add that he finds that the English equivalent of the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pūrṇimānta* northern Kārttika, which fell in A.D. 737, was Saturday, the 28th September, A.D. 737, when the *nakshatras* were Chitrā and Svāti, and there was no solar eclipse.—The only English date, therefore, which at all answers to the record, is Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738; and this is the date that was accepted by Dr. Bühler, in publishing the inscription, on calculations made by Prof. Jacobi. In order to arrive at it, however, he translated the record as meaning Vikrama-Saṃvat 794 expired and 795 current. And in dealing with the eclipse, which, according to the same *Amānta* reckoning, occurred one lunation earlier, on the new-moon *tithi* of the preceding month Āśvina, he arrived at the conclusions, that the

In 1884, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar issued a note on the question in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, Appendix A. p. 97 ff.; and announced his acceptance of the theory of A.D.

grant was actually made on the new-moon *tithi* of Āśvina, because, though the eclipse was not visible, yet the occurrence of it was known, and therefore the occasion was one of special merit; but that the actual drafting of the charter was done a month later, on the new-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, and the person who drafted it was careless, and omitted to draw a distinction between the two occasions.—This date has also been discussed by Gen. Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, p. 48 f. His conclusions were, that the date belongs to Vikrama-Saṃvat 794, not 795; but that the eclipse intended really is that of the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738. In order, however, to arrive at these conflicting results, he assumed that the year commenced, not with the month Kārttika, but with the month Mārgaśīrṣa (November-December), in accordance with a custom which Albēṛūnī tells us, was current among the people of Sindh and Kanauj and other localities, and had been followed at Multān up to a few years before his own time.* By this arrangement, of course, the month Kārttika of Vikrama-Saṃvat 794 would belong to the end of the year, and would therefore fall in A.D. 738, not 737. But, by the southern reckoning, the new-moon day of Kārttika in A.D. 738 would be the 16th November, which was not the day of the eclipse. Accordingly, there remained something still to be explained; and Gen. Cunningham proposed to complete the arrangement by reading Āśvina, instead of Kārttika; which would agree with the real eclipse-day, viz. the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738. "But, as that day was a Saturday, a very inauspicious day, the writing of the grant was probably made on the following day, or Sunday, which was the first day of Kārttika; and this might have led to the substitution of the name of Kārttika, for that of Āśvina, as the actual day of the eclipse." There was, really, no reason at all for proposing this alteration of the text; for, from the localities mentioned by Albēṛūnī, a year commencing with Mārgaśīrṣa could only be coupled with the *Pārṇimānta* northern arrangement of the months; and, by that arrangement, the 17th October, A.D. 738, on which day, as we have seen, the eclipse occurred for India, actually was the new-moon day of Kārttika. The *Pārṇimānta* northern arrangement, however, is barred in the present case by the points to which I have drawn attention above.—Gen. Cunningham's proposals, therefore, will not do, Nor will Dr. Bühler's interpretation of the date. For, though it remains to be finally decided whether the given date in the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 794, current, or expired, belongs to Śāka-Saṃvat 659 expired, or to 660 expired, yet the eclipse selected by him, as by General Cunningham, was not visible in India; and the assumption that it is the one referred to, also entails a greater variation between the facts and the recorded statements than could possibly occur in a genuine charter.—I confess that from the first, I have thought that the Dhiniki grant is not genuine; partly from the type of the Dēvanāgarī characters used in it, which, though they present some apparently antique characteristic, are much inferior to those used in certain early palm-leaf MSS., and are also rude, even as compared with the characters of the Sāmāgaḍ grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga, of Śāka-Saṃvat 675 expired (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 108 ff. and Plate), which belongs to just about the alleged period; and partly from its giving so much earlier an instance than can be found anywhere else, of the use of the name of Vikrama in connection with the era. My impression has been that the grant was made spurious by substituting the word Vikrama for Valabhī. This view, I find, cannot be upheld; as the recorded details are not correct for Valabhī-Saṃvat 794 (A.D. 1113-14), or a year before or after. But, that the grant really is spurious, is, I think, now certain, from all the results that I have recited above. And judging by the characters, I should be inclined to refer the fabrication of it to about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. As the Jyēṣṭhā *nakṣatra* appears to occur always on, or within two days after, the new-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, this detail was probably selected as a fairly safe one; the others being purely fictitious.

318-19 for the epoch of the Gupta era.¹ He held (*id.* p. 97) that Albêrûnî's statement regarding the era dating from the extermination of the Guptas, was to be attributed to nothing but the fact that, as in the case also of the Śaka era, the Hindus had repeated to him a mistaken tradition; and that the only reasonable course was, while accepting his initial date for the era, to reject his explanation of the circumstances under which it was established; and he held (*id.* p. 98) that the fact that this era came to be known in later times by the name of the Valabhî era, was due only to its having been introduced into Saurâshṭra by the Valabhî family, who were originally dependents of the Guptas, and the dates in whose grants could, at any rate, plainly not be referred to the rise of the family under the *Sēndpati* Bhaṭārka. The principal tests applied by him were, the record of the week-day in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta; and the names of the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, as recorded in the grants of the, *Mahārâjas* Hastin and Samkshôbha. In respect of the Êraṇ record, he announced (*id.* p. 99) that Prof. K. L. Chhatre had found that it was correct for Śaka-Samvat 406, as an expired year,² and equivalent to A.D. 484-85, *i.e.* for the Śaka year for which it should be correct according to the initial date given by Albêrûnî; and his grounds so far were correct. In respect, however, of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter (*id.* p. 99) he went quite astray; partly through accepting the view that the *samvatsaras* of the cycle begin and end with the luni-solar years; partly through assuming, evidently in order to apply General Cunningham's Tables of the *samvatsaras*, that the Gupta dates denoted expired years, with current *samvatsaras*, which led to the result that Gupta-Samvat 156 should be the Mahâ-Chaitra *samvatsara*, instead of Mahâ-Vaiśākha as recorded; and partly through his acceptance of General Cunningham's alteration of the date of No. 22, page 100, from Gupta-Samvat 163 to 173. In the course of the arguments which occupy the rest of his paper, he suggested that the *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang was Dhruvasêna II. of Valabhî. But on this point it is hardly possible to endorse any part of his statement (*id.* p. 100) that "nothing important is involved in the suffix *bhaṭa*. It was a mere title or honorific termination, "as *pant* and *rdv* are among us, the Marâṭhâs. *Sêna*, *simha*, and *bhaṭa* were the Vala-
"bhî honorific endings; and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in
"the plates as Dhruvasimha, may have been called Dhruvabhata by ordinary people, from
"whom Hiuen Tsiang must have got the name." But the name of Dhruvasimha does not

¹ He seems to quote A.D. 319-20 as the epoch (*e.g.* p. 99, line 15). But, since he treated the Gupta years as expired years, the epoch that he apparently proved is A.D. 318-19.

² It was from this that he inferred that the Gupta-Samvat 165 of the record, was itself an expired year. But this does not follow at all. The equation between the Gupta date and the corresponding English date, is not intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all; only, in using Hindu Tables, we have to arrive at it through a Śaka year, and to use as the basis of the calculation, the last Śaka year expired before the current Śaka year corresponding to Gupta-Samvat 165 current.—A most curious confusion between current and expired years of the Śaka era runs through his remarks. Thus, though quite rightly taking Śaka Samvat 406 expired to be equivalent to A.D. 484-85, with a difference of 78-79, he also, with the same difference, took, *e.g.*, A.D. 511-12 as the equivalent of Śaka-Samvat 433 current.

occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhi grants that have come to light; nor does any one of them furnish the slightest grounds for the assertion that there was ever any confusion between the terminations *sēna*, *simha*, and *bhaṭa*. And, though Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar pointed out that Hiuen Tsiang seems to be referring to more than one king of Valabhi, whom he held to be the two brothers Dharasēna III. and Dhruvasēna II., yet I cannot find any authority, either in M. Stanislas Julien's translation, or in Mr. Beal's, for his assertion that Hiuen Tsiang was speaking of only two kings, and that it was the younger of them whom he denoted by the name of *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu*. This, however, as I have indicated at page 40f. above, is a point which cannot be finally cleared up, until we have some more explicit and reliable exposition of the words actually used by Hiuen Tsiang.

And finally, in 1885, in the *Centenary Review* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1784 to 1883, **Dr. A. E. R. Hoernle**, after a brief résumé of the results of the work of preceding investigators, arrived at the opinion (*id.* Part II. p. 111) that "the terminal "date," A.D. 319, "of the Gupta empire, as determined by Mr. Thomas, may now be considered as one of those great historical landmarks, the truth of which is admittedly no "more open to question;" and (*id.* 113) that General Cunningham's theory of A.D. 166-67 for the epoch¹ of the Gupta era, "has every prospect of ultimately meeting with universal assent, and being the final verdict of the historic researches regarding the Gupta "dynasty."

The Mandasor Inscription of Málava-Samvat 529.

The summary that I have given above will shew sufficiently well the curious ingenuity that was displayed from time to time, in aiming at any settlement of the question rather than the correct one; and also the insufficiency of the arguments used in support of the true solution, even by those who perceived it.

But of course it may be claimed that, as long as M. Reinaud's translation of the statement regarding the circumstances under which the era of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts was established, remained without correction, there was something to be said from the point of view that we had to deal with a mistake made by Albêrûnî, lying in a confusion between a true Gupta era, anterior to A.D. 319, used by the Early Gupta kings themselves, and another Gupta era, or more properly a Valabhi era, with an epoch of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts, established, whether used or not, by some member of the Valabhi family; and that he was right in respect of the historical event, from which, as he appeared to assert, this latter era took its origin. And, in default of definite evidence, settling the question one way or the other, perhaps the strongest argument against the views held by Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, was to be found in the fol-

¹ Dr. Hoernle called A.D. 166 the initial year of the era; but this is not an exact representation of Gen. Cunningham's results.

lowing anomalous position, which had occasionally been noticed more or less directly, but had never been disposed of. It was held by all that the Valabhî family came immediately after the Guptas. It was also held that in A.D. 318 or 319, some member of this family founded the city of Valabhî; and, in commemoration partly of that event, and partly of the Gupta rule having then ceased and the power having passed into his own hands, established the Valabhî era dating from then. And yet,—as is proved by, amongst other things, the fact that Bhaṭārka, the founder of the family, came only one generation before the year 207, the earliest date that we have in the era used in their own charters, —the founder of this era, and his successors, did not allow this era of their own, established under such memorable circumstances, to supersede the Gupta era; but continued the use of the Gupta era for, in accordance with the three earlier starting-points given on page 32 f. above, respectively 205, 294, and 318 years at least, (as is shewn by the Alinā grant of Śīlāditya VII., dated in the year 447), after the establishment of their own era! This surely involves an improbability far greater than any other, of whatever kind, that can be imagined in connection with the whole subject.

In order to arrive at any prospect of a final settlement of the question, what was wanted was a date for one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in some era, capable of identification, other than that which was specially used by them in their own inscriptions. This has now, at length, been found in my new **Mandasôr inscription**, which, composed and engraved when the year 529 had expired from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, gives us, through his feudatory Bandhuvarman, the date of the year 493, expired, of the same era, for Kumāragupta.

This was not the first instance that had been obtained of the use of this era, which may for convenience be called the Mālava era. For, it is obviously identical with the era which is alluded to in the Kaṇaswa inscription¹ dated when the 795th year of the Mālava lords had expired; and is also mentioned, under the specific name of the Mālava-kāla, i.e. 'the Mālava era,' or 'the time of the Mālavas,' in a fragmentary inscription at 'Gyārspur' or 'Gyārspur' in Central India, dated when the 936th year had expired.² But

¹ Edited by Dr. Kielhorn, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 162 ff. The date (from the published text; p. 164 f.; line 14 f.) runs—*saṃvatsara-śatair=yātaiḥ sa-paṇcha-navaty-argalaiḥ saptaḥvir=Mālav-śīśādm mandiraṃ Dhurjaṭh kṛitam*,—" (in the year that is denoted) by seven expired centuries of "years, coupled with ninety-five, of the Mālava lords, (this) temple of (the god) Dhurjaṭi has been "made."

² *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33 f., and Plate xi. The date, part of which is broken away, (from the Plate) runs — *Mālava-kālāch=chharaddm shaṭ-trimsat-samyutṣhu=attitṣhu navasu śatṣhu*,—"when nine centuries of autumns, joined with thirty-six, have gone by, from (the commencement of) the Mālava era (or, from the time of the Mālavas)."—The counting of the era by autumns is followed also in line 21 of the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, of Mālava-Saṃvat 589 expired, No. 35, page 150. And it is worth noting, as being one of the points which identify the Mālava era with the Vikrama era. It can hardly be doubted, that the

though, in commenting on this latter inscription, General Cunningham expressed the opinion¹ that this Málava era must be the same as the era of Vikramáditya of Ujjain, commencing in B.C. 57, this point has not hitherto been capable of proof; for the reason that neither of these two dates gave sufficient details for actual computation, or any other available grounds for historical identification. Nor does the Mandasôr inscription, now brought to notice, furnish any details for calculation. But, in its mention of Kumāragupta, it answers the purpose equally well.

✓ Turning to the Gupta inscriptions and coins, the earliest and latest dates that we have for Kumāragupta are, respectively, Gupta-Samvat 96 and 130 odd. The first is established by his well-known Bilsad pillar inscription, No. 10, page 42; and the latter, by one of General Cunningham's coins.² Best, however, the coin-date should be looked upon as at all doubtful, we must note also his Mankuwar inscription, No. 11, page 45, dated Gupta-Samvat 129. And, of these extreme dates, we may take Gupta-Samvat 113 as the mean.

Applying this mean year to the various theories regarding the epoch of the Gupta era, it represents—(1) according to Mr. Thomas, A.D. 190-91; (2) according to General Cunningham, A.D. 279-80; (3) according to Sir E. Clive Bayley, A.D. 303-304; and (4) according to my own view, A.D. 432-33.

Next, applying to these figures the date of Málava-Samvat 493 expired, recorded for Kumāragupta in the inscription under notice, we find that the initial point of the Málava era must lie within a few years on either side of—(1) B.C. 301; (2) B.C. 214; (3) B.C. 190; and (4) B.C. 61-60.

The first three results, however, each entail the supposition of a brand-new era, hitherto unheard-of, and entirely unexpected. At the same time, as regards the second possible result of about B.C. 214, we must not overlook the existence of certain coins, found in large numbers at Nāgar in the north of Málwa, about forty-five miles north of Kōṭā, and originally brought to notice by Mr. Carlleyle,³ which have on them the legend *Mālavāndam jayah*, "the victory of the Málavas," in characters ranging, in General Cunningham's opinion, "from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250." These coins shew that the Málavas existed, as a recognised and important clan, long before the time when, as I consider, their "tribal

original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika (October-November). And Kārttika is still the second month in the Hindu autumn, according to the usual division of the six seasons. It seems, however, to be more properly the first autumn month, according to the true southern division of the seasons. And it appears also to have been the first month of a season, when the year was divided, in ancient times, into only three seasons.

¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 34.

² *id.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Plate v. No. 7.

id. Vol. VI. pp. 165 f., and 174 ff.; see also *id.* Vol. XIV. p. 149 ff., and Pl. xxxi. Nos. 19 to 25.

constitution," which led to the establishment of their era, took place; and so also, in the other direction, does the mention of them in the Allahābād pillar inscription, among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta, shew that, down to his time at least, they maintained their tribal constitution and importance. And, if we were compelled to have recourse to a new era, these coins might justifiably induce us to select, as its epoch, B.C. 223, the date fixed by General Cunningham for the death of Aśoka;¹ which would make the date of Mālava-Saṃvat 493 correspond with A.D. 270, or well on into the first decade of Kumāragupta's reign according to General Cunningham's theory. But this entails, as I have said, the supposition of the existence of an era, of which not the slightest indication has ever yet been afforded by the very numerous inscriptions that have now been examined from all parts of the country; and this is an expedient that must by all possible means be avoided. And, further, it forces the Kaṇaswa inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 795, and the 'Gyāras-pur' inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 936, back to respectively A.D. 572 and 713; periods to which, from their alphabets, they cannot possibly belong. And thus,—since, within certain limits, palæographical evidence must be followed,—it creates a palæographical difficulty that is insuperable. So also does the third result, to practically the same extent; and the first, to a still more marked degree.

The fourth result, on the contrary, satisfies all the palæographical requirements of the case. And it brings us so very close to B.C. 57, the commencement of the well-known Vikrama era,—which, by the tradition of later times, is closely connected with the country of the Mālavas, through the name of its supposed founder, king Vikramāditya, whose capital, Ujjain, was the principal city in Mālwa,—that we are compelled to find in it the solution of the question, and to adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-Saṃvat 113 (the mean date for Kumāragupta) + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Mālava-Saṃvat 493 - B.C. 57-56 = A.D. 436-37; which, of course, falls well within the seventeen years of Kumāragupta's reign, remaining after his mean date.

My new Mandasôr inscription, therefore, proves — (1) that any statement by Albérûni that the Early Gupta power came to an end in or about A.D. 319, must certainly be wrong; —(2) that, on the contrary, Kumāragupta's dynastic dates,—and, with them, those of his father Chandragupta II., and his son Skandagupta, which belong undeniably to the same series; and also any others which can be shewn to run uniformly with them,—must be referred to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, or thereabouts, brought to notice by Albérûni and substantiated by the Verāwal inscription of Valabhī-Saṃvat 945;—and (3) incidentally, that, under another name, connecting it with the Mālava tribe, the Vikrama era did undoubtedly exist anterior to A.D. 544, which, as we have seen, at page 55 above, was held by Mr. Fergusson to be the year in which it was invented. These results are, of course, independent of the question whether the Early Guptas established an era of their own, with the above-mentioned epoch, or whether they only adopted the era of some other dynasty.

¹ *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.

The Determination of the Exact Epoch of the Era.

I have shewn, so far, that the Early Gupta dates, and, with them, any others that can be proved to belong to the same uniform series, are to be referred to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, or thereabouts, brought to notice by Albêrûnî and substantiated by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 945.

It now remains to be shewn why, out of the three possible epochs of A.D. 318-19, 319-20, and 320-21, current, which appear, at first sight, to be deducible from Albêrûnî's statements, we have to select, as the true and exact epoch, that of A.D. 319-20, equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 241 expired.

This point is one that can be settled only by accurate calculations of the recorded dates, explained in detail, so that it may be seen that the process applied is satisfactory, and that the inferences drawn are correct. And, as a preliminary matter, we must determine what was the nature of the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era.

The Scheme of the Gupta-Valabhî Year.

Bearing in mind that, in all cases in which the notation and computation of *tithis* or lunar days are concerned, as also of solar days connected with lunar months, the years of the Kaliyuga era¹ and of the northern Vikrama era have to be treated as commencing, like the years of the Śaka era, with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and also that the decision as to the order of the dark and bright lunar fortnights of the months must of necessity go with the decision as to the general northern or southern nature of the era and its years, since we cannot have a northern year coupled with the southern arrangement of the fortnights, or a southern year coupled with the northern arrangement,—the question now before us is, whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era had a distinct scheme and initial day of their own, or whether they followed the scheme and initial day of the years of the Śaka era, according to either the northern or the southern arrangement, or the scheme and initial day of the years of the southern Vikrama era.

¹ This era is also of extremely exceptional use in epigraphical records. The only instances that I can quote are (1) the Aihole inscription of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêsin II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff.), which is dated when three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed from the Bhârata war, supplemented by the statement that, at the same time, five hundred and fifty-six years of the Śaka kings also had gone by, in (their own era as a sub-division of) the Kali age, the figures of which are marked by those of the Bhârata war; and (2) some of the inscriptions of the Kādambas of Goa, ranging from A.D. 1167 to 1247 (*Four. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. pp. 241 f., 262 ff., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 288 ff.), which, for some capricious reason, are dated in the Kaliyuga, without any reference to the Śaka era at all, though other records of the same family (see my *Dynasties of the Kanurese Districts*, p. 90 ff.) are dated in the Śaka era, and in that alone.

A reference to Table III. on page 71 below, will explain at once the difference in the schemes of these years, and the necessity for determining the question that we have under consideration.¹

The Śaka years of both Northern and Southern India commence with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, immediately after the new-moon conjunction. But, in the scheme of the year, there is the important difference that, in the northern arrangement, the dark fortnight of each month precedes the bright;² whereas in the southern year, it is the bright fortnight that stands first. Popularly, and in *Pañchāṅgs* or Hindu almanacs, the northern arrangement is called *Pārnimānta*, or 'ending with the full-moon,' and the southern arrangement is called *Amānta*, or 'ending with the conjunction (of the sun and the moon), i.e. with the new-moon;' and these terms will be found very convenient for practical use. The result of this difference of arrangement, is, that, in the northern year, the dark fortnight of Chaitra stands at the end of the year, instead of in the place of the second fortnight, which it occupies in the southern year; and that the dark half of the southern Chaitra is the same lunar period as the dark half of the northern Vaiśākha; and so on all through the year. For dates in the bright fortnights of Śaka years, it obviously is immaterial whether we follow the northern or the southern scheme. But, for dates in the dark fortnights, it is as obviously essential, in order to compute them correctly, that we should know exactly which scheme they conform to; since, for instance, the thirteenth lunar or solar day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Āṣāḍha represents, if treated as a southern date, an English day later by one complete lunation, or practically a month, than the English equivalent of it as a northern date.

In the southern Vikrama year, the arrangement of the fortnights is the regular *Amānta* southern arrangement. But the year commences seven lunations later than the equivalent Śaka year, and corresponding northern Vikrama year;³ viz. with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). Here, again, for purposes of computation, any date in a southern Vikrama year has to be treated as the same date in the equivalent Śaka year. And a reference to the right-hand columns in Table III. on page 71, will shew at once the way in which the years overlap; and will explain fully the

¹ Contrary to the hitherto prevalent custom, I enter the current Hindu years in the Table. It is, under any circumstances, quite illogical to speak of, for instance, "Chaitra śukla 1 of, in, or belonging to, Śaka-Samvat 500," when the Śaka year is intended as an expired year. And it is particularly necessary to use the current Hindu years, when the object is to compare them with years of the Christian era, of which the current years are always quoted; leaving it to any one who has to calculate a date by Hindu Tables, to take the preceding expired year as the basis of the calculation.

² See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 71, where Hiuen Tsiang's account shews that the arrangement was just the same twelve centuries ago.

³ This is the customary way of putting it. But the more correct statement would be, that the Vikrama year of Northern India now commences, with the equivalent Śaka year, seven lunations earlier than the corresponding southern Vikrama year (see page 66 above, note 2.)

TABLE III.

Comparative Table of the Vikrama, Śaka, and Gupta-Valabhi Years.

Northern India, <i>Pūrṇimānta.</i>	Months and Fortnights.	Southern India, <i>Amānta.</i>
Śaka-Samvat 1186. Vikrama-Samvat 1321. Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 944. A.D. 1263-64.	Chaitra { bright } Chaitra	Vikrama-Samvat 1320. A.D. 1262-63.
	Vaiśākha { dark } Chaitra	
	Vaiśākha { bright } Vaiśākha	
	Jyēṣṭha { dark } Jyēṣṭha	
	Jyēṣṭha { bright } Jyēṣṭha	
	Āshāḍha { dark } Āshāḍha	
	Āshāḍha { bright } Āshāḍha	
	Śrāvaṇa { dark } Śrāvaṇa	
	Śrāvaṇa { bright } Śrāvaṇa	
	Bhādrapada { dark } Bhādrapada	
	Bhādrapada { bright } Bhādrapada	
	Āśvina { dark } Āśvina	
	Āśvina { bright } Āśvina	
	Kārttika { dark } Kārttika	
	Kārttika { bright } Kārttika	
	Mārgaśrsha { dark } Mārgaśrsha	
	Mārgaśrsha { bright } Mārgaśrsha	
Śaka-Samvat 1187. Vikrama-Samvat 1322. Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 945. A.D. 1264-65.	Pauṣa { dark } Pauṣa	Vikrama-Samvat 1321. A.D. 1263-64.
	Pauṣa { bright } Pauṣa	
	Māgha { dark } Māgha	
	Māgha { bright } Māgha	
	Phālguna { dark } Phālguna	
	Phālguna { bright } Phālguna	
	Chaitra { dark } Chaitra	
	Chaitra { bright } Chaitra	
	Vaiśākha { dark } Vaiśākha	
	Vaiśākha { bright } Vaiśākha	
	Jyēṣṭha { dark } Jyēṣṭha	
	Jyēṣṭha { bright } Jyēṣṭha	
	Āshāḍha { dark } Āshāḍha	
	Āshāḍha { bright } Āshāḍha	
	Śrāvaṇa { dark } Śrāvaṇa	
	Śrāvaṇa { bright } Śrāvaṇa	
Śaka-Samvat 1187. Vikrama-Samvat 1322. Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 945. A.D. 1264-65.	Bhādrapada { dark } Bhādrapada	Vikrama-Samvat 1322. A.D. 1264-65.
	Bhādrapada { bright } Bhādrapada	
	Āśvina { dark } Āśvina	
	Āśvina { bright } Āśvina	
	Kārttika { dark } Kārttika	
	Kārttika { bright } Kārttika	
	Mārgaśrsha { dark } Mārgaśrsha	
	Mārgaśrsha { bright } Mārgaśrsha	
	Pauṣa { dark } Pauṣa	
	Pauṣa { bright } Pauṣa	
	Māgha { dark } Māgha	
	Māgha { bright } Māgha	
	Phālguna { dark } Phālguna	
	Phālguna { bright } Phālguna	
	Chaitra { dark } Chaitra	
	Chaitra { bright } Chaitra	

(Verdwal Inscription.
 Āshāḍha; the dark fortnight;
 the 13th solar day; Sunday.)

necessity of determining the question with which we are concerned. By the epochs of the two eras, the nearest equivalent of, for instance, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current is Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 current; and this is also its actual equivalent for any date from Kārttika śukla 1 up to Phālguna kṛishṇa 15, both included; but, for any date from the following Chaitra śukla 1 up to Āsvina kṛishṇa 15, both included, the actual equivalent of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current is the following Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 current. Consequently, if the Gupta-Valabhi year is to be treated as a southern Vikrama year, any such date as Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 944, Chaitra śukla 1, up to Āsvina kṛishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent later by twelve complete lunations, or practically a year,¹ or else any such date as Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 944, Kārttika śukla 1, up to Phālguna kṛishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent earlier by twelve complete lunations, than the English equivalents if the year is to be treated as a Śaka year.

The question, whether by any chance we can be concerned, in the Gupta-Valabhi era, at any period, with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, is, if possible, still more an essential point, because the dates that we have in the era, under its later name of the Valabhi era, come from Kāthiāwāḍ, where, as in the neighbouring provinces of Gujarāt and the Northern Konkan, the national era is the Vikrama era, in the southern arrangement. In those parts there would of course be a tendency, sooner or later, to adapt the original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi year to the scheme of the years of the local national era. And a distinct instance of this adaptation having been actually made in Gujarāt, is furnished by the Kaira (Khēḍā) grant of Dharasēna IV. of Valabhi, published by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 335 ff. Its date is the year 330; the "second" month Mārgaśira (November-December); the bright fortnight; and the second *tithi* or lunar day. And the interest and importance of it result from its shewing that, in that year, there was an intercalation of a month, which, according to this record, was Mārgaśira or Mārgaśrsha. Now, allowing for the moment, what I shall shortly prove, as closely as absolute certainty can be obtained, *vis.* that the true original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi year is the scheme of the northern Śaka year, the month Mārgaśrsha of this record should belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 572 current, and should fall in A.D. 649. The detailed consideration of this date, however, at page 93 ff. below, shews that the intercalation in question can only have occurred in A.D. 648, and belonged to Śaka-Saṃvat 571 current, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarāt, to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706 current. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a district in Gujarāt, the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 572 current, according to the original scheme of the years of the era. Bearing in mind, however, that this record belongs to Gujarāt, we have

¹ Or, in the case of certain intercalations, later here, and in the other case earlier, by thirteen lunations, or practically a year and a month.

not to seek far for the explanation of this discrepancy. When once the Gupta-Valabhi era had been fairly introduced in Gujarât, the natural tendency, as I have said, would soon be to disregard the original scheme of its years, and to substitute for it the scheme of the southern Vikrama years. Let us assume that this substitution took place in Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat¹ 303, which commenced, approximately, on the 19th March, A.D. 622, about half-way through southern Vikrama-Samvat 679 current. Then, if the change of scheme was effected in the first seven lunations of the Gupta-Valabhi year, the Gujarâtis would make the new year, Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 304, commence with their own new year, southern Vikrama-Samvat 680, on the next Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 12th October, A.D. 622; and Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 303, as thus adapted and shortened by them, would contain only seven lunations, from Chaitra śukla 1 up to Āśvina kṛishṇa 15. If, on the other hand, the change was effected in the last five lunations of the Gupta-Valabhi year, when southern Vikrama-Samvat 680 current had already commenced, then the Gujarâtis would defer the commencement of the new year, Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 304, until the commencement of their own new year, southern Vikrama-Samvat 681, on again the next Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 1st October, A.D. 623; and Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 303, as thus adapted and prolonged, would contain nineteen lunations. The years of the era would, for the future, always commence, in Gujarât, with the years of the southern Vikrama era, on the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika. Under the second condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence seven lunations later than it would in Kâthiāwāḍ, as long as the true original reckoning was preserved in the latter country; which was the case up to at least Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 945. Under the first condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence five lunations earlier than in Kâthiāwāḍ. And the grant of Dharasēna IV., now under notice, shews that this latter was the manner in which the change of scheme, which had already been accomplished, was effected; since this is the only method by which the intercalary Mārgaśīrsha of this record can be made to belong to Gupta-Samvat 330, instead of to 329.

The Verāwal inscription, however, of the Chaulukya king Arjunadēva, dated Valabhi-Samvat 945, which I have mentioned at page 31 f. above, and the surroundings and full bearings of which will be explained in detail further on, contains such particulars, in the record of its date, as shew that, in it at all events, there is no reference to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, or even of the southern Śaka year.

But, apart from any particular instances which supply proof by means of the circumstances under which the recorded week-days are found to be correct, there is, as I have said, the general fact that we cannot have either a southern year coupled with

¹ I do not mean to assert that the change took place in this particular year; or even within a few years on either side of it. All that is certain, is, that it took place before Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 330. And I have used the year 303, instead of 300 in round numbers, for purposes of illustration, only in order to avoid a year with an intercalary month.

the *Pārṇimānta* northern arrangement of the fortnights of the months, or a northern year coupled with the *Amānta* southern arrangement. And, in proof of this position, I will here adduce some very instructive information gathered from the Nêpāl inscriptions, which were published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.

The earliest eras used in these inscriptions, are the Gupta era, and the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. And the recorded dates in them range, respectively, from A.D. 635 to 854, and from A.D. 639 to 758. Soon after that time, these eras were supplanted, in Nêpāl, by the Nêwâr¹ era, the epoch of which, according to Mr. Prinsep's statement² that the year 951 ended in A.D. 1831, is A.D. 879-80; and the commencement, A.D. 880-81. Mr. Prinsep also recorded that each year of the era began in October; which is in accordance, broadly, with the information obtained by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, when travelling in Nêpāl, that the initial day of each year is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November).

As regards the origin of the era, the Nêpāl *Vamśāvali*, or List of Kings, states³ that it was established by Jayadêvamalla, of the second Thākuri dynasty of Aṁśuvarman. But a more important indication of the truth is given by its immediately following statement, that, on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa, in the ninth year of the era, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 811 which as an expired year is equivalent to A.D. 889-90, during the joint reign of Jayadêvamalla and his younger brother Ānandamalla, there came from the south a certain Nānyadêva, who conquered the whole of Nêpāl, and established the Karṇāṭaka Dynasty. The truth probably is that Nānyadêva was a minister of Jayadêvamalla, and eventually usurped the sovereignty, which, according to the *Vamśāvali*, remained with his descendants for five generations after him. Whether Nānyadêva really came from the south, it is of course difficult to say. That statement, and the name of his dynasty, may perhaps be only inventions, to account for the nature of the year that was coupled with the new era, which was evidently introduced by him, and not by Jayadêvamalla. But it is plain that, in addition to the establishment of a new era, there was made an important change in the calendar, consisting of the substitution of a foreign Karṇāṭaka year for the year that had hitherto been used in Nêpāl. The available dates do not furnish absolute proof that the initial day of the new year was Kārttika śukla 1. But the *Vamśāvali* gives the following two equations,—under Nānyadêva, as already noted, Nêpāla-Saṁvat 9 = Saka-Saṁvat 811 (expired), with the date of Śrāvaṇa śukla 7; and under Harisimhadêva, No. 1 in the Sūryavaṁśi Dynasty of Bhātgaṁ, Nêpāla-Saṁvat 444

¹ Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī tells me that this word, Nêwâr, is a local corruption of 'Nêpāl.'—In the inscriptions, this era, when it is not simply referred to in the usual way by the word *saṁvat*, is spoken of by the terms *Nêpāla-varsha* (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 185, line 13 from the bottom), *Nêpāla-saṁvata* (*id.* p. 191, line 4 from the top), and *Nêpāla-abda* (*id.* p. 192, line 2 from the top).

² *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 166; see also *Indian Eras*, p. 74.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 414.

=Śaka-Samvat 1245 (expired),—which, as the difference in the first case is 802 years, and in the second, 801, shew that the scheme of the year differed from that of the Śaka years. And, taking this in connection with the information obtained by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and with the fact that all such dates as have been examined tend to support the result, it seems certain that the initial day of each year was Kārttika śukla 1; and it is evident that the year was borrowed from the southern Vikrama year. The question remains as regards the arrangement of the fortnights of the months; and here, though we might most reasonably expect that, so far north as Nêpāl, even a year borrowed from the southern Vikrama year, would be coupled with the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, yet we find that this distinctly was not the case, but the *Amānta* southern arrangement was preserved. This is proved, in the first instance, by the mention in the inscription of Śiddhinriśimha, dated Nêpāla-Samvat 757, of Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 8 after Śrāvaṇa śukla 12; and still more explicitly by the provision, in the same passage, 'for performing the *janmāshṭami-pūjā*, or 'worship on the eighth lunar day which is (the anniversary of) the birth (of Kṛishṇa),' on the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa; for, a comparison of any *Pañchāṅgs* will shew that the festival in question occurs in the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa only according to the *Amānta* southern reckoning, but, according to the *Pūrṇimānta* northern reckoning, on the same *tithi* in the dark fortnight of Bhādra-pada. Further, the inscription of Riddhilakshmi gives a date in a dark fortnight, available for calculation. The details¹ are Nêpāla-Samvat 810 current; the month Kārttika; the dark fortnight; the second lunar day; and Sunday. With the epoch of A.D. 879-80, the given *tithi* should fall in A.D. 1689; and, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, by the *Amānta* southern arrangement, it did end on a Sunday, *viz.* the 20th October, A.D. 1689; while, by the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement, it ended on a Friday, *viz.* the 20th September. Also, in connection with the question of the epoch itself being A.D. 879-80, he finds that the given *tithi* did not end on a Sunday in either A.D. 1688 or 1690, by either the *Amānta* or the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement.² It is absolutely certain, therefore, that the year which was used in connection with the Nêwār era of Nêpāl, and which had Kārttika śukla 1 for its initial day, was a southern

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 186, last two lines.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 192,—*Nêpāl-ābdē gagana-dharinī-nāga-yuktē kil=Ōrjē māśē pakshē vidhu-virahitē su-dvityā-tithau sā kṛitvā dēvālayam=api Ravan Riddhilakshmi prasannā chakrē dēvī su-vidhi-viditām Śankarasya pratishṭhām*,—"in the Nêpāl year possessed of the sky (=0), the earth (=1), and the (8) Nāgas; in (the month) Ūrja (*i.e.* Kārttika); in the fortnight which is deprived of the moon; on the excellent second lunar day; on Sunday; having made (this) temple, she, the gracious (and) majestic Riddhilakshmi, made an installation, according to all the proper rites, of (the god) Śamkara."—The name of the week-day is overlooked in the published version.

³ The English equivalents for those years, are, by the *Amānta* arrangement, Tuesday, the 30th October, A.D. 1688, and Saturday, the 8th November, A.D. 1690; and, by the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement, Monday, the 1st October, A.D. 1688, and Thursday, the 9th October, A.D. 1690.

year. On the other hand, when the Népālese abandoned this offshoot of the southern Vikrama era, and introduced the Vikrama era itself from the neighbouring parts of Northern India, they adopted it in its northern variety, with Chaitra śukla,¹ as its initial day, and with the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the fortnights; as is proved by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations of the dates in dark fortnights, recorded in the inscription of queen Lalitatripurasundarī.¹ The dates are, Vikrama-Saṃvat 1874, Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 9, Śukravāra² or Friday; Vikrama-Saṃvat 1875, Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 5, Budhavāra or Wednesday; and Vikrama-Saṃvat 1877, Jyēsthā kṛishṇa 10, Ravivāra or Sunday. By the *Amānta* southern arrangement, the week-days do not come out right at all. While by the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement, the English equivalents are, as required, Friday, the 5th September, A.D. 1817; Wednesday, the 18th November, A.D. 1818; and Sunday, the 7th May, A.D. 1820.

These facts amply establish my position that we cannot have either the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the fortnights coupled with a southern year and era, or the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the fortnights coupled with a northern year and era. And now I shall bring forward some perfectly conclusive evidence, to prove that the scheme of the months of the Gupta-Valabhī year proper was the regular *Pūrṇimānta* northern scheme; and that, therefore, in this era, in its original constitution, we cannot be concerned with any southern reckoning at all.

The Khôh copper-plate grant of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Saṃkshôbha, of the year 209 (A.D. 528-29), No. 25, page 112, is dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara*;" and, as regards other details, in fortunately a double manner. In line 2 f. we have—Chaitra-māsa-śukla-paksha-trayōdaśyām (where, in apposition with *trayōdaśyām*, we have to supply *tithau*),—"on the thirteenth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra." And at the end, in line 24, in numerical symbols, this date is repeated as—Chaitra di³ 20 7 (where the abbreviation *di* stands for *dina*, *dinē*, *divasa*, or *divasē*),—"the (month) Chaitra; the (solar) day 20 (and) 7." This double record is explicable only on the understanding that, in the scheme of the months of the Gupta year, the dark fortnights stood first, according

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 193 f.

² The published text has *śuklē*, which is obviously a mistake for *śukrē*.

³ In my printed version of this inscription, the second numerical symbol is given as 9, with a reference (page 112, note 4) to a note that it might possibly be 7, 8, or 9. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit having found by calculation that this *tithi* was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month, I now substitute 7 for 9 (see page 274, note 2).—The point that is proved by this double record had been missed, until I brought it to notice in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 145; because Gen. Cunningham, who first brought the inscription to notice, read the first symbol in line 24 as 10, instead of 20, and overlooked the second symbol altogether. He thus obtained "Chaitra, day 10;" and added the remark "this figure should be 13, to agree with the written date given above" [in line 2 f.] (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. 15). There are, however, distinctly two symbols, meaning 20 and 7; or, together, 27.

to the regular *Pûrṇimānta* northern scheme. By this means only can the thirteenth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight answer to the twenty-seventh solar day of the whole month. A double record of precisely the same kind is given in the Majhgawān grant of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106, in which we have, in line 2,—*Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-tritīyāyām*,—"on the third *tithi*, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of the month *Māgha*;" and, in line 21,—*Māgha di 3*,—"Māgha, the (solar) day 3." But, the number of the solar day in this instance being under sixteen, this record is not in itself sufficient to prove the case, one way or the other.¹ What we require is a double date, in which the *tithi* of the fortnight, the number of which cannot exceed fifteen is connected with a solar day, the number of which, exceeding sixteen, shews itself to be referred to the whole month, and not to the fortnight. This we have in the grant of the *Mahārāja* Saṁkshōbha. And the record proves absolutely that, in the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year, it is the *Pûrṇimānta* northern system that is concerned; and, consequently, the general scheme of the years of the era was not that of any southern year at all.

At present, the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadēva, dated Valabhi-Saṁvat 945, is the only instance in which the equation of the Gupta-Valabhi era and another era is accompanied by the full details of a month, fortnight, and day.² And the thirteenth solar day in the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha, which is mentioned in it, might be the last or the first day of the Gupta-Valabhi year. As a single instance, therefore, it does not help us in any way to fix the initial day of the year.

Consequently, the remaining point,—whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era followed in all respects the scheme of the northern Śāka year, or whether they had some distinct initial day of their own,—is one which cannot be absolutely settled, until we obtain, either some more double records like that of the Verāwal inscription, which will

¹ There seemed to be also a double record of the same kind in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Gōparāja, of the year 191, No. 20, page 91, in which we have, in line 2, *Śrāvāṇa ba di 7*, "(the month) Śrāvāṇa; the dark fortnight; the (solar) day 7;" and, in line 1, apparently *Śrāvāṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[ṭ]am[āṁ]* (or *sap[ṭ]am[yām]*), "on the seventh *tithi*, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrāvāṇa." Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, finds that, in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, the seventh *tithi* or lunar day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvāṇa, ended on Monday, the 14th June, A.D. 510; and that this was the sixth solar day in the fortnight or month; since, the preceding new-moon *tithi* ended on Tuesday, the 8th June. Accordingly, at the end of line 1, we should perhaps read *sap[ṭ]am[ḍ]*, *sap[ṭ]am[ḍ=hn]*, or *sap[ṭ]am[ḍ dind]*.

² The only other instance in which the Gupta-Valabhi era is mentioned in direct connection with another era, is Albēgūn's statement (page 30 above), in which Gupta-Valabhi-Saṁvat 712 is given as equivalent to Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088, and Śāka-Saṁvat 953. It cannot be turned to any practical use, in determining the scheme of the year, because he does not give any details of a month, &c.; and because we do not know for certain whether he is referring to the northern or to the southern Vikrama year.

enable us to gradually decrease the limits within which the commencement of the Gupta-Valabhî year is to be placed on the sliding scale of the twelve months; or the entry of an early date, approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, followed, in the same record, by a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, both of them referred to one and the same Gupta-Valabhî year, and the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow after the event or ceremony with which the former is connected; or the entry of a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, followed, in the same record, by an early date approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, the two of them referred to two consecutive Gupta-Valabhî years, and, in the same way, the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow the event or ceremony with which the former is connected. And these conditions, of course, are rather difficult of fulfilment.

Meanwhile, I have now made it clear that the original Gupta year was a northern year, with the *Pārṇimānta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights; as was, in fact, to be expected in the case of a year used by so essentially a Northern India dynasty as the Early Guptas were. And, further on, I shall shew that the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, which are quoted in the grants of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Samkshōbha, not only confirm the above results by proving that the details of them cannot be referred to a year commencing with the month Kārttika, but also prove that we cannot be concerned even with a year commencing with the new-moon of the month Mārgaśīrsha (November-December), which is mentioned by Albérūnī¹ as having been in use, at any rate in connection with the Lōkakāla reckoning, by the people of Sindh, Multān, Kanauj, and other parts, and as having been abandoned at Multān only shortly before his own time. As a matter of fact, a year commencing with Mārgaśīrsha, and having the *Pārṇimānta* northern arrangement of the fortnights, would suit the details of every Gupta-Valabhî date,—including even the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330 mentioned above, and a Verāwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 927 which will be fully exhibited further on,—except one, *viz.* the Majhgawām grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 191, which has been referred to above. This being the sole exception, the calculations which determine the commencement and end of the *samvatsara* that is quoted in it, were gone through again and tested with very great care. But the result is that they distinctly bar the use of a year commencing with Mārgaśīrsha. And thus,—having no other

¹ *Albérūnī's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8 f.—He also, in the same place, mentions a year commencing with the month Bhādrapada (August-September). But, from his statement, it seems to have been confined to the vicinity of Kāśmīr. And, under any circumstances, as Bhādrapada is earlier than Kārttika in the Śaka year, the circumstances which bar a year commencing with Kārttika, still more emphatically bar one commencing with Bhādrapada.

known year of general use to fall back on, except the Śaka year;¹ and giving due consideration to the explicit manner in which Albêrûnî connects the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era with those of the Śaka era by an even number, without any fractions; and having regard also to the fact that any Hindu date has to be converted, for purposes of calculation, into its equivalent Śaka date,—we may accept it as almost certain that, whatever may have been the real historical initial point of the Gupta-Valabhi era, after no great lapse of time the scheme of its years became in all respects identical with the scheme of the Śaka year, with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra as the initial day of each year, and with the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, in accordance, in both respects, with what seems to have been always the custom of Northern India.²

¹ I have heard from Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar that, in the west of Kāthiāwād, there is current a year commencing with the Āshāḍha sukla 1 that precedes the Kārttika sukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. This year is called the Hālārī year, as belonging to the Hālārī Prānt or Sub-Division of Kāthiāwād. I do not know whether it is coupled with the *Amānta* or with the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights. But it appears to be of purely local usage; it does not help to reconcile the discrepancy in the results for the dates of the Kairā grant of Dharaśēna IV. of the year 330 and the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 927, as compared with the results for all the other dates; and, in order to suit the dates in the Ēran pillar inscription of Budhagupta and other records, it ought to commence with the Āshāḍha sukla 1 following, not preceding, the Kārttika sukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. There appear, therefore, no grounds for supposing that this Hālārī year is any remnant of the Gupta reckoning.

² Evidence is, in fact accumulating that, even in Southern India, or at least in some parts of it, the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was not coupled with the Śaka years until a comparatively late period.—One point in favour of this is the Haidarābād (Dekkan) grant of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II., in which the details for computation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 73, line 11 ff.) are Śaka-Saṃvat 534 expired, the month Bhādrapada (August-September), the new-moon *tithi*, and an eclipse of the sun. I have noticed this date in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 109 ff.; and I arrived then at the conclusion that the solar eclipse in question is that of the 23rd July, A.D. 613. This, however, was in consequence of a mistake as to the English equivalent of the indicated current Śaka year, due to the manner in which the Tables are arranged for expired years without any distinct intimation to that effect, and (see Appendix I. below) by no means confined to myself. Śaka-Saṃvat 534 expired, and 535 current, is really equivalent to A.D. 612-13. In this period there was an eclipse of the sun (see *Indian Eras*, p. 210) on the 2nd August, A.D. 612; which was the new-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada according to the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, however, by the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, that the *tithi* ended at 35 *ghaṭī*s, 46 *palas*; and consequently that the eclipse, occurring in the night, was not visible in India. Accordingly, there being no eclipse of the sun on the given *tithi* in the preceding year, it is doubtful whether the record really refers to the eclipse of the 2nd August, A.D. 612; or whether we have here a genuine instance of a mistake in the year that is quoted, and the eclipse that is really intended is that which occurred, fully visible under very impressive circumstances at the locality, Bādāmi, to which the record refers itself, on the 23rd July, A.D. 613, which date again answers to the new-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada according to the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement. But the point to which I have to draw attention here, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses we select, the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the lunar fort-

The Calculation of Recorded Dates.

Our next step, therefore, will be, to see how far the available Gupta-Valabhi dates, converted into Śaka dates by the addition of two hundred and forty-one years in accordance with Albêrûnî's most specific statement regarding the equation of the two eras, and treated as northern dates, with the *Pûrṇimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, and with Chaitra Śukla 1 as the initial day of the year, give satisfactory results; and what uniform equations can be established between, on the one hand, the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era, and, on the other, those of the Śaka and the Christian eras.

The Êraṇ Inscription of the year 165.

The earliest record that furnishes the easy test which is provided by the mention of the name of a week-day, combined with the other necessary details, and the first that was tested for me by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, is that given in the Êraṇ pillar inscription

nights has to be applied.—Again, in a grant of the Râshtrakûṭa king Gôvinda III., from the Kanarese country, we have for calculation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 126, line 1 ff.) Śaka-Saṃvat 726, the Subhānu *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the month Vaiśākha (April-May), the dark fortnight, the fifth *tithi*, and Brihaspativāra or Thursday. Whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Śaka year as current, or as expired, is not quite certain. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. With the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 726 expired, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 727 current, ended, by the *Amānta* arrangement, on Friday, the 3rd May, A.D. 804; but, by the *Pûrṇimānta* arrangement, on Thursday, the 4th April, as required. And this is in accordance with the Northern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle, by which the Subhānu *samvatsara* commenced in Śaka-Saṃvat 726 current, on the 17th June, A.D. 803, and was followed by the Tāraṇa *samvatsara* in Śaka-Saṃvat 727 current, on the 12th June, A.D. 804; so that it was current, as recorded, on the given date. By the Southern System of the cycle, the Subhānu *samvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṃvat 726 current (A.D. 803-804). And for this year, with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 725 expired, the equivalents of the given *tithi* are, by the *Amānta* arrangement, Saturday, the 15th April, A.D. 803, and, by the *Pûrṇimānta* arrangement, Friday, the 17th March.—On the other hand, the Śirûr (Dhârwad District) inscription of the Râshtrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I. gives us for calculation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 219, line 15 ff.) Śaka-Saṃvat 788, the Vyaya *samvatsara*, the month Jyêṣṭha (May-June), the new-moon *tithi*, Âdityavāra or Sunday, and an eclipse of the sun. Here, again, it is not quite certain whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Śaka year as current, or as expired. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. In Śaka-Saṃvat 788 current (A.D. 865-66), there was no eclipse of the sun on the given *tithi*. Also, by the Southern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle the Vyaya *samvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṃvat 789 current (A.D. 866-67); and by the Northern System it commenced in Śaka-Saṃvat 788 current, on the 23rd September, A.D. 865, and was followed by the Sarvajit *samvatsara* in Śaka-Saṃvat 789 current, on the 20th September, A.D. 866. With the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 788 expired, the given *tithi* ended, by the *Pûrṇimānta* arrangement, on Saturday, the 18th May, A.D. 866, when there was no solar eclipse; but, by the *Amānta* arrangement, on Sunday, the 16th June, as required, when there was an eclipse of the sun (see *Indian Eras*, p. 212), which, as the *tithi* ended about 2.0 P.M. (for Bombay), would, *cæteris paribus*, be visible in India.—It would appear, therefore, that the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, at some point between A.D. 804 and 866.

of **Budhagupta**, from the Sagar District in the Central Provinces, No. 19, page 88; in which the date (line 2 f.) runs — śatē pañcha-shashty-adhikē varshāṇām bhūpatau cha Budhaguptē 1. Āshāḍha-māsa-śukla-dvādaśyām Suragurōr=divasē || Sam 100 60 5,—“ in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (is) king; on the twelfth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha; on the day of Suraguru; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5.”

As the palæography of this record shews that the year quoted in it belongs to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the Early Gupta records,—a point, in fact, that has never been disputed,—this gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Samvat 165, current; the month Āshāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the twelfth *tithi*; and the day of Suraguru, which, — Suraguru, ‘the preceptor of the gods,’ being another name of Brihaspati, the regent of the planet Jupiter, — is Brihaspativāra or Guruvāra, i.e. **Thursday**.

This date has been constantly the subject of calculation and controversy. Thus, in 1861, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 15, note, Dr. F. E. Hall announced, on the authority of Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares, that, as applied to the epoch of the Vikrama era, it represented Thursday, the 7th June, A.D. 108, New Style.

Again, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 17 f., General Cunningham,—whose theory then was that the epoch should be A.D. 194-(95),—announced as the result, Thursday, the 24th June, A.D. 359, Old Style.¹ The basis of this calculation was Tuesday, the 16th March, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Samvat 165 + A.D. 194-95 = A.D. 359-60 = Śaka-Samvat 281 expired; and the result was derived from the assumption that the given *tithi* fell on its theoretical normal place on the 101st solar day of the year.² And, in the same place, he intimated that, with the epoch of A.D. 318-(19), the result would be Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483. The basis

¹ It will be understood that the English equivalents of all Hindu dates anterior to the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar or New Style, given by me and I believe by Gen. Cunningham, are given according to the Julian Calendar or Old Style. It is not necessary to complicate matters by using the New Style for a period anterior to its introduction in England.

² This is on the assumption that the lunar months of the Hindu luni-solar years contain thirty and twenty-nine solar days alternately, in regular succession; see, for instance, Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, p. 66 ff., Tables III. to XIII., and Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 66, Table X. The arrangement given in those Tables, is convenient enough for obtaining approximate results. But, apart from the principles involved, an examination of any *Pañchāṅgs*, for any series of years, will shew that the assumption is not in accordance with facts; and that no definite rule of this kind can be laid down, to determine, more closely than within one and occasionally two days, the exact running solar day, from the commencement of the year, on which a given *tithi* will fall. As a matter of fact, in the ten years Śaka-Samvat 1809 to 1808 inclusive, the position of the end of the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, varied from the 100th to the 102nd solar day of the year; and there is a chance of the *tithi* in question ending on a Thursday, in any year of which the initial day is a Monday, a Tuesday, or a Wednesday.—The theoretical arrangement in question also involves a peculiar anomaly. The first month of the year is supposed to consist of thirty days; and the result is that, in a Śaka year,

of this latter calculation was Wednesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṃvat 165 + A.D. 318-19 = A.D. 483-84 = Śaka-Saṃvat 405 expired; and the result was derived from the same assumption as regards the position of the *tithi*.

In 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 115 ff., General Cunningham,—who had then modified his theory, so as to select A.D. 166-(67) as the epoch,—announced that the result obtained by Bapu Deva Shastri from the reckoning of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, was a Friday in A.D. 331; but that his own result, obtained from the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, was a Thursday in the same year. He did not then give any further details. But, from the fuller particulars given in his recapitulation of these statements in 1883, in his *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 55 f., we learn that the dates intended were respectively Friday, the 4th June, and Thursday, the 3rd June, A.D. 331; and that his own result was arrived at, in the same way, with the basis of Tuesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṃvat 165 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 331-32 = Śaka-Saṃvat 253 expired, and with the same assumption as regards the position of the *tithi*. In the former reference, he repeated the same result of Friday (the 3rd June), A.D. 483, for the epoch of A.D. 318-(19).

In 1882, in the Postscript to his paper on the "Dates on Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kābul" which was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff., Sir E. Clive Bayley,—whose theory was that the epoch should be A.D. 190-(91),—announced that the result was a Thursday in A.D. 355, and that it seemed to be Thursday, the 17th May, in that year. But he gave no indication of the way in which this result was obtained; beyond a general reference to Prinsep's Tables in Thomas' Edition of his *Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, pp. 180, 181. And, as a matter of fact, this result was altogether wrong. The 17th May, A.D. 355, was a Wednesday, not a Thursday; and, as closely as can be ascertained by General Cunningham's Tables, it represents Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 5 of the northern year. Sir E. Clive Bayley seems to have very soon become aware of the mistake; since, at the end of the copy of the Postscript which, with a copy of the principal article, reached me from him in May, 1883, there is added, in manuscript, the remark—"this date is erroneous; but the real date, as calculated by Professor Jacobi, comes out a Thursday." The real date of Āshāḍha śukla 12 of Gupta-Saṃvat 165 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 355-56 = Śaka-Saṃvat 277 expired, is Thursday, the 8th June, A.D. 355; as obtained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, from Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables.

when there is no intervening intercalation of a month, the month Kārttika, as the eighth month, is to contain twenty-nine solar days (see *Chronology*, Tables IV. and XIII., and *Indian Eras*, Table X.) But, as standing first in the southern Vikrama year, the same month Kārttika is to contain thirty solar days (see *Chronology*, Table III.) This is an obvious impossibility.

And in 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 220, Dr. Oldenberg announced, from the Tables in Warren's *Kala-Sankalita*, the correct result; viz. Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484.

Now, the results given by Dr. Hall, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, whether right or wrong, and any similar coincidences, may be accepted without hesitation. And I would only point out, as regards General Cunningham's results for the epoch of A.D. 166-67, that Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, by actual calculation from all the authorities, including the *Ārya-Siddhānta* on which General Cunningham specially relied, finds that, in A.D. 331, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 254 current, and calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 253 expired, ended on Friday, the 4th June, and at such an hour that there is no possibility whatever of Thursday, the 3rd June;¹ and, incidentally, that the initial day of the same Śaka year was Wednesday, the 24th February, A.D. 331, not Tuesday, the 23rd February.

The essential point with which we are concerned, is, whether the week-day of Āshāḍha śukla 12 was a Thursday, if, following Albēṛūnī's most specific statement regarding an even difference of two hundred and forty-one years between the Gupta-Valabhi and the Śaka eras, we make the calculation for Gupta-Saṃvat 165 + 241 = Śaka-Saṃvat 406; or, if the result fails for that year, for the immediately preceding or following Śaka year.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has made the necessary calculations, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, with these three Śaka years as expired years. And his results are—with Śaka-Saṃvat 405 expired, Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483; with Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired, **Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484;**² and with Śaka-Saṃvat 407 expired, Tuesday, the 11th June, A.D. 485. The process by which these results are obtained, is exhibited in detail, for the second result, in Appendix II. below.

¹ It will be sufficient to quote the four principal authorities. The times for the ending of the given *tithi* on Friday, the 4th June, A.D. 331, reckoned (1) from mean sunrise at Bombay, (2) from mean sunrise at Ujjain, (3) from mean sunrise at Ēran, and (4) from apparent sunrise at Ēran, are—by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, (1) 5 *ghaṭis*, 46 *palas*; (2) 6 *gh.* 15 *p.*; (3) 6 *gh.* 40 *p.*; (4) 8 *gh.* 40 *p.*;—by the *Sārya-Siddhānta*, (1) 7 *gh.* 0 *p.*; (2) 7 *gh.* 29 *p.*; (3) 7 *gh.* 54 *p.*; (4) 9 *gh.* 54 *p.*;—by the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, (1) 8 *gh.* 14 *p.*; (2) 8 *gh.* 43 *p.*; (3) 9 *gh.* 8 *p.*; (4) 11 *gh.* 8 *p.*;—and by the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, (1) 9 *gh.* 16 *p.*; (2) 9 *gh.* 45 *p.*; (3) 10 *gh.* 10 *p.*; (4) 12 *gh.* 10 *p.*. The times are not absolutely accurate; but the results obtained by absolute accuracy would differ by only a few *palas*.

² The results are put in this way for the sake of brevity. The more absolutely accurate method of expressing them, would be to say, in this instance, that the given *tithi*, as belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, and as calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired, ended on a Hindu Thursday, and at such a time that it ended also during the English Thursday, which was the 21st June, A.D. 484, Old Style.—The hours at which the *tithi* ended, according to the different authorities, and as reckoned from mean or from apparent sunrise at Bombay, Ujjain, and Ēran, are given in Appendix II. Table VI.



The second result, **Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484**, is the only one that answers to the week-day mentioned in the record. And a reference to Appendix II. Table VI. will shew that it so answers, not only by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, but also by the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, and by all the other leading authorities. It answers, as is required, to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year; though it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Āshāḍha śukla 12 was the same *tithi*, and fell on the same solar day, represented by the 21st June, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, and in southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 541 current, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 542 current. It gives Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And finally, as it is obtained by applying the resulting year, Śaka-Saṃvat 406, as an expired year, so that the given *tithi* really belongs to Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, it shews that, in following Albêrûnî's statement and adding two hundred and forty-one, what is really accomplished is the conversion of a given current Gupta-Valabhî year into an expired Śaka year, by which we obtain precisely the basis that is wanted for working out results by Hindu Tables, *viz.* **the last Śaka year expired before the commencement of the current Śaka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhî year**; and that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years, is two hundred and forty-two.¹

The Verâwal Inscription of Valabhî-Saṃvat 945.

In this connection, I will notice next the **Verâwal inscription of the Chaulukya king Arjunadêva**, on a stone at the temple of Harsatadêvi at Verâwal, the modern representative of the ancient Sômnâthpâṭan, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. This date furnishes a specially crucial test; partly because it is a date in a dark fortnight; and partly because, coming from Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and belonging to a comparatively late period, and being mentioned in the same record with a Vikrama year, there was a special chance of finding that its details had been confused with, or rather had been subordinated to, the reckoning of the southern Vikrama era, which was, and is, the original national era in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and the neighbouring country of Gujarât. It will be seen, however, that this has not happened.

The details of this date (from Dr. Hultzsch's published text; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 242, line 2 ff.) are — śrî-Viśvanâtha-pratibaddha-naujanânâṃ bôdhaka-rasûla-Maharmada-saṃvat 662 tathâ śrî-nṛpa-Vikrama-saṃvat 1320 tathâ śrîmad-Valabhî-saṃ 945 tathâ

¹ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar arrived at the conclusion (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 99) that the addition of 241 would turn a past Gupta year into a past Śaka year; and the addition of 242, a past Gupta year into a current Śaka year. This result is due to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (see page 64 above, note 2).—For an instance of the actual use by Hindus of the additive quantity 242, see page 26 above, note 2.

śrī-Simha-saṃ 151 varshē Āshāḍha va di 13 Ravāṇ=ady-ēha iha śrī-Sōma-nāthadēva-pattanē,—“the year 662 of the prophet Mahammada, who is the teacher of the sailors connected with (*the temple of*) the holy (god) Viśvanātha; so also the year 1320 of the glorious king Vikrama; so also the year 945 of the famous (city of) Valabhī; so also the year 151 of the glorious Simha; in (*this*) year; the month Āshāḍha; the dark fortnight;¹ the (solar) day 13; on Sunday; to-day (*and*) here; here, in the city of the holy god Sōmanātha.”

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhī-Saṃvat 945, current; the month Āshāḍha (June-July); the dark fortnight; the thirteenth solar day of the fortnight, with whatever *tithi*, presumably the thirteenth, fell on it; and Ravivāra, or **Sunday**. And,—as the mention of the year 1320 of the Vikrama era, and of the year 662 of the prophet Muḥammad, which is the year 662 of the well-known Hijra era, and commenced² on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, and ended on Saturday, the 23rd October, A.D. 1264, shews that the Valabhī era quoted in this record must have had its starting-point in or about A.D. 319, and must of necessity be the Valabhī era that is mentioned by Albērunī,—in accordance with the results obtained for the date in the Êraṇ inscription, the given *tithi* should belong to Valabhī-Saṃvat 945 + 242 = Śāka-Saṃvat 1187 current (A.D. 1264-65); and, in using Hindu Tables, the calculation should be made with the basis of Śāka-Saṃvat 1186 expired.

Before proceeding to the results, however, there are some preliminary points to be noted. The first is, that, as the inscription is specifically connected with a locality in Kāthiawād, the presumption is that the Vikrama year quoted in it, is a southern Vikrama year, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month

¹ The syllable *va*, in the original, either is an abbreviation of *vadya*, whether alone or in composition with *paksha* or *pakshē*, or stands for *ba*, the abbreviation of *bahula*, similarly either alone or in composition with *paksha* or *pakshē*.—As regards the point that *ba di*, or *va di*, and *śu di*, are separate technical abbreviations, not words in themselves, see page 92 (Text and Translations), note 1.—Just as *di* is sometimes used with *ba* or *va* and *śu*, and sometimes is omitted, so in the Nēpāl inscriptions (see Appendix IV. below) the indeclinable *divā*, ‘by day,’ is sometimes used, and sometimes not, in connection with the number of the *tithi*. So also sometimes *di*, or one of its full forms, *dina*, *dinē*, *divasa*, or *divasē*, is used without any specification of the fortnight. The exact meaning of the differences of practice in this respect, is not quite certain; and could only be settled by a large number of calculations. But it seems evident that, when *di* is used, or any of its full forms, the reference is to the solar day, in conformity with what would naturally be the most ancient reckoning; not to the lunar *tithi*. If, at a subsequent period, the solar days became subject to expunction and repetition, with the lunar *tithis*, then the running number in the fortnight will always be the same for both the lunar *tithi* and the solar day. If not, then the thirteenth *tithi*, for instance, might fall at any time on the twelfth or the fourteenth solar day, as counted without repetition or expunction from the commencement of the fortnight. And, in the differences of expression, there may perhaps be a reference to some such difference in the notation.

² See *Indian Eras*, p. 126.

Kārttika (October-November). This, however, apart from the natural presumption, is rendered absolutely certain by the concomitant mention of the Hijra year; from which, since the month Āshāḍha answers ordinarily to June-July, it is plain,—as was pointed out by Dr. Hultsch in editing the inscription,¹ and by General Cunningham in commenting on the date,²—that the English date which we have to look for lies in or about June or July, A.D. 1264. This at once removes the possibility of any reference to the northern Vikrama year; since the month Āshāḍha of the northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current,³ is represented by June-July of the preceding English year, A.D. 1263. Also, since the period June-July, A.D. 1264, fell in Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 current, it removes any real necessity of making calculations for Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 current and 1188 current; the results, however, for these two years will be given, in order to help in setting the general question entirely at rest.

So much, as regards the English equivalent of the given date lying in A.D. 1264, had been clearly pointed out by Dr. Hultsch and General Cunningham. But nothing further, that I can find, was said about the details of the English equivalent, until just before the time when I first had occasion to consider this date;⁴ when, in a letter dated the 3rd December, 1885, General Cunningham announced to me that the equivalent English date is Sunday, the 25th May,⁵ A.D. 1264.

This result, **Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264**, is, as will be seen below, the correct one. But, in order to explain its full bearing, more is requisite, than simply to state it; especially because it is necessary to shew clearly, in the face of what has elsewhere been written about this date, that this result is not obtained from the mention of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1320, though it does answer the requirements of that mention; *i.e.* that it is not the result for a year commencing on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika which fell in A.D. 1263; and, consequently, that, even apart from what I have already established, this record proves that Valabhī-Saṃvat 945 commenced at any rate not with that day.⁶ And here I would remark incidentally, that no argument, of identity between

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 241.

² *Indian Eras*, pp. 50, 53, 63.

³ According to the present Tables, the given Vikrama year 1320 must be interpreted as an expired year; and the indicated current year is, therefore, 1321. This, however, does not make the given Valabhī year an expired year; just as it does not, and can not, convert the given Hijra year into an expired year.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 147 ff.

⁵ The ordinary equivalent of Āshāḍha is June-July. But the dark fortnight of the northern Āshāḍha corresponds to the dark fortnight of the southern Jyēṣṭha, which month is ordinarily May-June. And this, with the fact that Śaka-Saṃvat 1187, current, commenced rather early, on Saturday, the 1st March, or Friday, the 29th February, A.D. 1264, is the reason why this dark fortnight of Āshāḍha fell entirely in May.

⁶ As opposed to these results. Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, p. 53) has quoted this record as proving absolutely that Valabhī-Saṃvat 1 = A.D. 319 (-20); which could only be by taking the epoch as

the two years, can be based on the mere fact that the record mentions both a Valabhî year and a southern Vikrama year. It might just as well be asserted that the mention also of the Hijra year 662, shews that the scheme of the years of that era, too, is identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year; whereas,—even apart from the fact that the Hijra year 662 commenced, as stated above, on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, while the southern Vikrama-Samvat 1320, as an expired year, *i.e.*, more properly, southern Vikrama-Samvat 1321 current, commenced on Friday, the 5th October of that same year,¹—everyone knows that these two eras have absolutely nothing in common at all; the Hijra era being a purely Musalmân era. The Verâwal record is simply analogous exactly to scores of documents that are still being turned out in India, in which the date is expressed according to the English and also one or other of the Indian systems; and in which the principal record depends entirely upon the person by whom, and the circumstances under which, it is drawn up. Sometimes it will be the English date; sometimes the Indian. We shall see immediately that, in this Verâwal inscription, the principal record is the Valabhî date; and that the Vikrama date accidentally, as well as the Hijra date naturally, was entirely subordinated to it. Possibly, we may hereafter obtain instances, in which the reverse of this will be found to have been the case. But they will not avail to disprove any of the pointed and unavoidable conclusions, regarding the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhî era and the scheme of its years, which are absolutely forced on us by the circumstances of the present Verâwal date.

The second point to be noted is, that the month Âshâḍha which fell in A.D. 1264,—*i.e.*, both the Âshâḍha of northern Śâka-Samvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Samvat 1322, and the slightly different Âshâḍha of southern Śâka-Samvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Samvat 1321,—was an intercalary month.² The effect of the intercalation was as follows :—The initial day of Śâka-Samvat 1187, both northern and southern, and of the

A.D. 318-19, and by treating the years as commencing, from the beginning, on Kârttika śukla 1.—Also (*id.* pp. 50, 63) he treats Vikrama-Samvat 1320 as the leading record of the date; and very clearly implies throughout, though he does not actually state, the identity of the scheme of the Valabhî and southern Vikrama years.

¹ Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, p. 150.

² See *Indian Eras*, p. 179.—The fact is also proved by K. L. Chhatre's Tables. In C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 150, the intercalation is entered opposite Śâka-Samvat 1186 (expired) and southern Vikrama-Samvat 1321 (expired). This is in accordance with a mistake that runs all through his Table I. pp. 94 to 183. The intercalations are placed by him correctly for the Śâka years. But he has omitted to point out that, in applying them to the Vikrama years, which, throughout his Table, are the southern Vikrama years, they must, in consequence of the way in which the years of the two eras overlap, be read off as far as the months Chaitra to Âsvina, both inclusive, are concerned, for the Vikrama year preceding that opposite to which they are entered; at least, I can find no note in his book to that effect.—A reference to Table III. at page 71 above, will shew at once that an intercalation of any month from Chaitra to Âsvina inclusive, for Śâka-Samvat 1186 expired, northern or southern, did occur for northern Vikrama-Samvat 1321 expired, but southern Vikrama-Samvat 1320 expired. •

northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322, was Saturday, the 1st March, A.D. 1264, according to General Cunningham,¹ and Friday, the 29th February (the English year being a Leap-year), according to Mr. C. Patell.² With General Cunningham's own initial day, and by his own theory and process,—*vis.* that Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 13 fell on the 87th solar day of the year, from and inclusive of the initial day,—the resulting English date would be Monday, the 26th May, A.D. 1264. Therefore, in arriving at Sunday, the 25th May, he has adopted Mr. C. Patell's initial day, in preference to his own. And I will follow the same course, for the rough purposes for which the initial day may here be utilised. The double Āshāḍha included four lunar fortnights. In northern Śāka-Saṃvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 75th and 133rd solar days of the year;³ *i.e.* on respectively the 13th May and the 10th July. And, according to the regular northern system, of the four fortnights, the first (dark) belonged to the natural month; the second (bright), and the third (dark), to the intercalated month; and the fourth (bright), to the natural month. But, in southern Śāka-Saṃvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 90th and 148th solar days of the Śāka year;⁴ *i.e.* on respectively the 28th May and the 25th July. And, of the four fortnights, if we adopt the present regular southern system, the first (bright), and the second (dark), belonged to the intercalated month; and the third (bright), and the fourth (dark), to the natural month.⁵ It is evident, therefore, that, if we treat the Āshāḍha of this

¹ *Indian Eras*, p. 179.

² *Chronology*, p. 150.

³ See *Indian Eras*, p. 109, and *Chronology*, p. 71.

⁴ *Chronology*, p. 71.

⁵ A verse that is given by Bapu Deva Shastri, in his edition of the *Siddhānta-Sūtramaṇi* of BhāskaraĀchārya, p. 49, note, as belonging to the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, indicates a more ancient custom, according to which the first (bright) and the second (dark) fortnights would belong to the natural month; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month. The verse runs—*Mēsh-ādi-sthē savitārī yō yō māsaḥ prapūryatē chāndrah Chaitr-ādyah sa jñēyah pūrti-dvītvē=dhimāśō=ntyah*,—"whatever lunar month is completed when the sun is standing in Aries and the following (signs), that month is to be known as Chaitra, &c.; when there are two completions, (there is) an intercalated month, (and it is) the latter (of the two)."—Now, intercalated months are held to be inauspicious, and the performance of ceremonies in them is prohibited. Only if, in one and the same year, there are two intercalary months (which are always accompanied by the expunction of a month, which may be one of the two, or a third month), then the first intercalated month is *prasaṣṭa*, or 'stamped as excellent or approved of;' the second being, as usual, *nindya*, or 'to be looked on as under prohibition.' And the rule attributed to the *Brahma-Siddhānta* would make the intercalated fortnights different, in different parts of India, according to the northern or southern scheme of the year. It must, obviously, have been highly inconvenient, especially on the border-land of the dividing-line between Northern and Southern India, that the prohibition should not be applicable to exactly the same lunar periods. And a change, in accordance with the necessities of the case, was eventually made,—and must have been made long before the period of the present inscription; though, apparently, after the time of the Kaira grant of Dharaśēna IV., of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, the "second Mārgasīra" of which is undoubtedly the intercalated month,—by which the intercalated fortnights of

record as the natural month, the English equivalent, for the given date as referred to the northern year, will be about a month earlier than the English equivalent for the given date as referred to the southern year; and that an English equivalent, answering to the given date as referred indifferently to either the northern or the southern year, can be obtained only by treating the Āshāḍha of the record as the intercalated month. That we have, however, to look on the given date as belonging to the dark fortnight of the natural Āshāḍha, is at least to be assumed *primā facie*; partly because the record contains no qualificatory term, indicative of the intercalated month; and partly because of the prohibition of official, ceremonial, and religious acts in an intercalated month.¹

The results, worked out by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, for the natural Āshāḍha, are — with northern Śāka-Samvat 1186 expired, **Sunday,² the 25th May, A.D. 1264,** for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śāka-Samvat 1186 expired, Tuesday, the 22nd July, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 23rd July, for the thirteenth solar day;³ and the result for the intercalated Āshāḍha is Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Tuesday, the 24th June, for the thirteenth solar day, by both the northern and the southern reckoning, according to the present custom in both parts of the country. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has also given me full results, according to both the *Pūrṇimānta* northern system, and the *Amānta* southern system, with Śāka-Samvat 1185 and 1187 expired; in order to present at once all the possible surroundings of the date. These results are—with northern Śāka-Samvat 1185 expired, Tuesday, the 5th June, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 6th June, for the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śāka-Samvat 1185 expired, either ⁴ Wed-

the southern month, *vis.* the first and the second of the four, were made to correspond exactly with the intercalated fortnights of the northern month, *vis.* the second and the third of the four.—I have mentioned this earlier custom here, because it is one of the general surroundings of the date. But the question is of no vital importance in this case, because the date is a northern, not a southern one.

¹ See the preceding note. ² The *tithi* ended 13 *ghaṭis*, 30 *palas*, after mean sunrise at Bombay.

³ *i.e.* the thirteenth solar day counted from the commencement of the fortnight, without omitting a solar day with the lunar *tithi* that was expunged (see page 85 above, note 1.)

⁴ The doubt here is because of the interesting discovery that the dark fortnight of the southern Āshāḍha, and northern Śrāvaṇa, of Śāka-Samvat 1186 current, was a fortnight which, "except, perhaps in some parts far off in the east of India," contained only thirteen solar days; see my general note on this subject, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 81 ff. The full-moon *tithi* of Āshāḍha, northern and southern, was on Saturday, the 23rd June; and the following new-moon *tithi* of the southern Āshāḍha, and the northern Śrāvaṇa, was on Friday, the 6th July; which gives thirteen solar days for this dark fortnight. There was an expunction of two *tithis*, and no repetition of a *tithi* to make up for the loss. The authorities differ as to which were the two expunged *tithis*. One of them was early in the fortnight; and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not worked this out, because it does not directly bear upon the date under discussion. The other was either the twelfth, or the thirteenth, or the fourteenth *tithi*; and upon this will depend the question whether the thirteenth *tithi*, if not itself expunged, was Wednesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July. Under any circumstances, the thirteenth and last solar day of this dark fortnight, was Friday, the 6th July.

nesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but, in either case, Friday, the 6th July, for the thirteenth solar day; with northern Śāka-Saṃvat 1187 expired, Saturday, the 13th June, A.D. 1265, for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śāka-Saṃvat 1187 expired, Sunday, the 12th July, A.D. 1265, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Monday, the 13th July, for the thirteenth solar day. The last is the only other case in which the result includes a Sunday at all. But it is of no practical value; because it is obtained by the treatment of the Śāka year as a southern year, whereas I have already shewn that this is not the treatment which is to be applied; and, still more conclusively, because it would have to be allotted to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 expired, whereas the record specifically refers to the preceding year, 1320 (expired).

The true English equivalent of the given date, therefore, really is **Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264**. This result, and this alone, answers all the requirements of the record. It is the equivalent of a date which falls, as recorded, within the limits of southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1320 (expired); though it is not the equivalent of any day in the month Āshāḍha as referred to that year; for, if it is treated as the equivalent of a date referred to that year (and to southern Śāka-Saṃvat 1186 expired), then, of course, it represents the thirteenth *tithi* and solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyēṣṭha, preceding Āshāḍha. It answers to the specified day of the natural, not the intercalated, month; as is expressly required, partly by the absence, in the record, of any specification of the intercalated month, and partly by the general prohibition regarding intercalated months. Also, as is seen from the particulars given above, it is obtainable only by treating the expired Śāka year, which is the basis of the calculation, as a northern year. Accordingly, it not only bears out in all respects the results obtained from the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, but also goes beyond them. It definitely proves the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śāka years. It also proves that the true original scheme of the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era,—*viz.* the regular *Pūrṇimānta* northern scheme, as established at page 76 f. above,—was preserved, in Kāthiāwāḍ, up to at any rate A.D. 1264. It gives Śāka-Saṃvat 1187 current (A.D. 1264-65), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta-Valabhî year. And it definitely proves that the exact epoch of the era was Śāka-Saṃvat 241 expired, or 242 current, corresponding to A.D. 319-20.

This result, therefore, will now be taken, in the place of the result obtained from the date of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta-Saṃvat 165, as furnishing the definite standard, on the analogy of which we must calculate all the remaining dates in the Gupta-Valabhî era that supply details for computation.

The Verāwal Inscription of Valabhî-Saṃvat 927.

The third and last date, with the mention of a week-day, that I have to comment on, is contained in an inscription which has not as yet been published, but has been placed at

my disposal, for present purposes, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, the discoverer of it. The inscription is on the pedestal of an old image, which is now built into the wall of the modern temple of the goddess Harsaṭadēvi at **Verāwal**. The date, with some important words in the context, (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's cloth-rubbing) runs — (l. 1) śrīmad-Valabhi-sa[m*]vat 927 varshē Phālguna śu di 2 Saumē II Ady-ēha śrī-Dēvapattanē (l. 4) śrī-Gōvardhana-mūrti[h*] (l. 5) kārāpitā;—in which, unfortunately, there is some doubt as to the proper rendering of the first syllable of the word that gives the name of the week-day. The vowel *au* was undoubtedly formed; though, in the rubbing, the top-stroke is partially filled up, in consequence either of want of depth in the engraving, or of want of care in making the rubbing. And, the consonant presenting the appearance in the rubbing of being *bh*, the natural inclination is to read *Bhaumē*, "on Tuesday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, tells me that, in the original, the consonant is certainly *s*; and the appearance of *bh*, therefore, is due to an imperfection in the rubbing. The reading of the original, accordingly, is to be taken as *Saumē*. But this is not a real word; and it requires to be corrected into either *Sōmē*, "on Monday;" *Bhaumē*, "on Tuesday;" or *Saumyē*, "on Wednesday." It is unfortunate that we should have to make any correction at all, in a point of such importance; especially when so very free a choice is open. But it has to be done. And the calculated results favour the supposition that the reading intended was *Sōmē*, "on Monday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was of opinion that the intended reading was *Bhaumē*, "on Tuesday;" which, of course, might be supported by assuming carelessness on the part of the engraver, in letting his tool slip in such a way as to give the *bh* a more or less complete appearance of *s*. But, from the appearance of the rubbing, the reading *Sōmē* is equally justifiable, on the assumption that the partial appearance of *bh* in the rubbing, instead of *s*, is due only to a fault in the rubbing, and that the mistake in forming *au* instead of *ō* was discovered before the stroke which turns *ō* into *au* was completed; this would account for this stroke being so shallow as to cause the blur which almost entirely conceals it in the rubbing. Adopting the reading or correction of *Sōmē*, the translation will be — "the year 927 of the famous (city of) Valabhi; in (*this*) year; (the month) Phālguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 2; on Monday; to-day; here, in the famous (city of) Dēvapattana (*this*) image of the holy Gōvardhana has been caused to be made."

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhi-Samvat 927, current; the month Phālguna (February-March); the bright fortnight; the second solar day of the fortnight, and presumably the second *tithi*; and Sōmavāra, or **Monday**. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, the given *tithi* should belong to Valabhi-Samvat 927 + 242 = Śaka-Samvat 1169 current (A.D. 1246-47); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Samvat 1168 expired.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, however, made, as before, for a year before and a year after the resulting year, as well as for that year itself, give the following results, in each case for both the second solar day and the second *tithi*, both by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables and by the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; viz. with Śāka-Saṃvat 1167 expired, **Monday,¹ the 19th February, A.D. 1246**; with Śāka-Saṃvat 1168 expired, Saturday,² the 9th February, A.D. 1247; and with Śāka-Saṃvat 1169 expired, Wednesday,³ the 29th January, A.D. 1248.

The result for Śāka-Saṃvat 1169, which is the year in which the week-day should presumably prove correct, does not answer at all. If we could understand that the reading intended was *Saumyē*, "on Wednesday," then the result for Śāka-Saṃvat 1170 might be accepted; subject only to the considerations that *Saumyavāra*, though perfectly allowable, is not often used as a synonym for *Budhavāra*, 'Wednesday;' and that the result is later by a year than what it ought to be, and can be arrived at only through accepting an alteration in the reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhī era, precisely the opposite of the alteration which, as shewn at page 72 f. above, was certainly made, in Gujarāt, before the date of the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330. If, on the other hand, we take *Sōmē*, "on Monday," as the intended reading, then the result for Śāka-Saṃvat 1168 may be accepted, subject only to the consideration that it is earlier by a year than what it ought to be. This result would be quite intelligible, if we could refer the given date to a year commencing with Mārgaśīrsha; for then, belonging to Valabhī-Saṃvat 927, it would belong quite regularly to Śāka-Saṃvat 1168, and its English equivalent would fall quite regularly in A.D. 1246. This, however, as I have stated at page 78 above, is distinctly prevented by a perfectly conclusive obstacle. The only resource that remains, is to hold that, for some reason or other, the date given in this record, like the date in the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330, was taken from a Gujarāt almanac, and belongs to a year the initial day of which was the Kārttika śukla 1 preceding the true commencement of Gupta-Valabhī-Saṃvat 927. This, again, would be perfectly intelligible, if we could only assume that the image, which is probably portable enough, was fashioned, together with the engraving of the inscription, at some place in Gujarāt; and was then transported by a pilgrim to Verāwal. But the objection to this is, that the inscription seems to record distinctly that the image was made at Dēvapattana; and Dēvapattana is well known as another name of Sōmnāthpāṭan, i.e. the modern Verāwal itself; and it is difficult to understand how the corrupt Gujarāt reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhī era can have been introduced at Verāwal in A.D. 1246, when, as we have already seen from the other Verāwal inscription, of Valabhī-Saṃvat 945, the true original reckoning was used there up to at

¹ The *tithi* ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, 29 *ghaṭis*, 59 *palas*, and by the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 30 *ghaṭis*, 2 *palas*, after mean sunrise at Bombay.

² Here the times are respectively 8 *ghaṭis*, 33 *palas*, and 9 *ghaṭis*, 25 *palas*.

³ Here the times are respectively 31 *ghaṭis*, 57 *palas*, and 34 *ghaṭis*, 43 *palas*.

least eighteen years later. The explanation, however, is perhaps to be found in the supposition that the inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarât, who had brought a Gujarât almanac with him.

On the whole, be the explanation what it may, there seems no doubt that the proper result is **Monday, the 19th February, A.D. 1246**. This, however, does not support the running difference of exactly two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years; nor, as the given date belongs to a bright fortnight, does it prove anything as to the northern or southern nature of the Gupta-Valabhî year. If it is taken as the result for a date belonging to a year the scheme of which was identical with the scheme of the Śaka year, northern or southern,—*i.e.* as the result for a date in a year which commenced with the Chaitra śukla 1 belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 1168 current,—it requires a running difference of two hundred and forty-one years only. While, if it is taken as the result for a date belonging to a year the scheme of which was identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama years,—*i.e.* as the result, obtained through Śaka-Saṃvat 1167 expired, for a date in a year which, with the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1303 current, commenced with the following Kārttika śukla 1, still belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 1168 current, and falling five months before the true commencement of Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat 927,—then it requires a running difference lying between two hundred and forty-one and two hundred and forty-two. As in the case of the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330, which has been referred to at page 72 above and is now to be explained in detail, the latter is the way in which I apply the result. And it gives, therefore, the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1303 current (A.D. 1245-46), as the nominal equivalent of the given current Valabhî year. But I have to point out distinctly that the date is not a satisfactory one, since an important correction of some kind or another has to be made, in order to interpret it intelligibly at all; and that in no way does it give a conclusive result, like that of the other Verāwal inscription, of Valabhî-Saṃvat 945.

The Kaira Grant of the year 330.

The preceding is the last instance, as yet obtained, of the mention of a week-day in a record dated in the Gupta-Valabhî era. There are, however, three inscriptions, containing other interesting details for computation, which will now be noticed, before dealing with the question of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter.

The first of them is a **Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of Valabhî**; in which the date (from Dr. Bühler's published text; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 339, line 57) runs — saṃ 300 30 dvi-Mārggaśira śu 2,—“the year 300 (*and*) 30; the second (month) Mārgaśira; the bright fortnight; (the lunar day) 2.

This gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṃvat 330, current; **an intercalation of the month Mārgaśira or Mārgaśirsha** (November-December), as shewn by the reference

in the text to two months of that name; the bright fortnight of the second Mārgaśīrsha; and the second *tithi* or lunar day. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, the given intercalated month should belong to Gupta-Samvat $330 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 572$ current (A.D. 649-50); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Samvat 571 expired.

General Cunningham, however,¹ shews no intercalation in that year; but, in the preceding year, Śaka-Samvat 571, an intercalation of the month Kārttika, which would fall in A.D. 648; and this appears to be quite correct, in accordance with the regulation of intercalations by the actual place of the sun. Looking further into the matter, Dr. Schram, as reported by Dr. Bühler,² found that in A.D. 648 there certainly was an intercalated month, which, according to the present method would be Kārttika, but according to the rule for mean intercalations, would be Mārgaśīrsha. So, also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation from the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, that, by mean intercalation, in A.D. 648 **there was an intercalated month** between the natural Mārgaśīrsha and the natural Pausha, **which would be named Mārgaśīrsha** according to the verse *Mēsh-Adi-sthē savitārī &c.*, that is quoted as belonging to the *Brahma-Siddhānta*;³ though it would be named Pausha according to the present practice. In either case, the two intercalated fortnights are, of course, the same lunar period; the only difference is in respect of the name by which that period should be called. And, in finding that period coupled with the name of Mārgaśīrsha, there is the fact, which must be admitted, that, in contra-vention of the usual rule, the grant recorded in this inscription was made in the intercalated month; a deviation for which I cannot find any reason in the record itself. Having regard to this and other points, I asked Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit to also make the necessary calculations on the possibility of the abbreviation *dvi* for *dvitīya*, 'the second,' qualifying, not only the word *Mārgaśīra*, but the whole expression *Mārgaśīra śu 2*; i.e. on the possibility of the intercalation or repetition referring to the *tithi* or lunar day, not to the month; in which case the date might have been referred, quite regularly, to Śaka-Samvat 572. He finds, however, that the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha of Śaka-Samvat 572, falling in A.D. 649, was not a repeated *tithi*, either by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Table, or by the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; and that, on the contrary, by the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, there is the possibility of this *tithi* having been expunged, in the far eastern parts of India. It is certain, therefore, that the intercalation refers to the month; not to the *tithi*. And it is equally certain that in Śaka-Samvat 571 there was an intercalated month, falling in A.D. 648, which might be named Mārgaśīra or Mārgaśīrsha, and which evidently was actually so named in the almanac that was consulted by the drafter of this record. This being the case, there cannot have been an intercalation of the same month, or in fact of any month at all, in the following year, Śaka-Samvat 572. Therefore, the Mārgaśīrsha of this record

¹ *Indian Eras*, p. 158.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 338.

³ See page 88 above, note 5.

undoubtedly fell, not in A.D. 649, as should be the case according to the true Gupta Valabhi reckoning, but in A.D. 648; and belonged, for astronomical purposes, to Śaka-Saṃvat 571, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarāt, to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a province of Gujarāt,¹ the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 572, according to the original scheme of the years of the era.

The result, therefore, gives the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706 current (A.D. 648-49), as the nominal equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And this date, with that of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 927, must be allotted to a class of cases, in which the running difference of exactly two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhi and current Śaka years was not maintained, in consequence of a local adaptation of the Gupta-Valabhi year to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, made in such a way that, as pointed out at page 73 above, each subsequent Gupta-Valabhi year, where this adaptation was applied, commenced five lunations before the true commencement of the year according to the original scheme. The anomaly, however, is natural enough in the present instance, because of the locality to which the record refers itself.

The Nêpāl Inscription of the year 386.

The next inscription that I have to notice, is the **Nêpāl inscription of Mānadêva**, of the Sūryavarṇsi or Lichchhavi family of Mānagriha, on the lower part of a broken pillar placed to the left of the door of the temple of the god Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa, about five miles to the north-east of Khāṭmāṇḍu; in which the date (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's published text and lithograph; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163, line 1 f.) runs — saṃvat 300 80 6 Jyêshṭha-m[ā]sa-śukla-pakshê pratipadi 1 [Rô]hiṇī-nakshattra-yukt[ê*] chandramasi m[u]hūrttê praśastê-Bhijiti,—“ the year 300 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 6; in the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha, on the first *tithi* or lunar day, (*or in figures*) 1; the moon being in conjunction with the Rôhiṇī *nakshatra*; in the excellent *muhūrta* (*named*) Abhijit.”

The Nêpāl inscriptions were first brought to notice by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.; and his view of the historical results of them was given in the same Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 411 ff. My own view, originally published in the same Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 342 ff., will be found explained in detail in Appendix IV. below. And all that it is necessary to state here, is, that the earliest inscriptions disclose the use of two eras; *viz.* the so-called Gupta era, and the Harsha era. At the time, however, when Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, the fact that the Gupta era was used in some of these

¹The charter was issued from the victorious camp at Bharukachchha, *i.e.* the modern Broach (Bharuch); and it records the grant of some lands in the Khêṭaka *dhâra*, or the territorial division of which the chief town was Khêṭaka. *i.e.* the modern Kaira (Khêḍā).

records, was not apparent. And it only became clear on Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gôlmādhītāl inscription of the *Mahārāja Śivadēva* I. of *Mānagriha*, which he published originally in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has given again, with a slight correction in the reading of the date, in his *Journey in Nēpāl and Northern India*, p. 72, and Plate viii. This inscription is dated in the year 316, without any specification of the era. But the clue to the interpretation of the date is given by its mention of the *Mahāśmanta* Amśuvarman, as the contemporary¹ of Śivadēva I. Amśuvarman's approximate date, *vis.* about A.D. 637, was very well known from Hiuen Tsiang's mention of him.² And, as the Nēpāl series included three inscriptions of Amśuvarman himself, dated in the years 34, 39, and 44 or 45 of an unspecified era, and another, of Jishnugupta, dated in the year 48, and mentioning Amśuvarman, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji very properly referred these dates to the era running from the accession of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and commencing³ in A.D. 606. This much being quite certain, it follows that the date of the year 316 for Śivadēva I., the contemporary of Amśuvarman, must of necessity be referred to a starting-point just about three hundred years before the Harsha era. And the era which exactly meets the requirements of the case is the Gupta era; for, $316 + \text{A.D. } 319-20 = \text{A.D. } 635-36$; which is in due accordance with the recorded dates that we have for Amśuvarman in the Harsha era, representing from A.D. 639 to 649 or 650.

As regards the present inscription of Mānadēva, its palæography, as well as a general consideration of the historical results, shews that the year 386, quoted in it, belongs to the same series with the year 316 that is quoted in the Gôlmādhītāl inscription of Śivadēva I. And, accordingly, this record gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Samvat 386, current; the month Jyēshtha (May-June); the bright fortnight; the first *tithi* or lunar day; the *Rôhiṇi* *nakshatra* or lunar mansion; and the *Abhijit muhūrta* or thirtieth part of the day and night. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, the given *tithi* should belong to Gupta-Samvat $386 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 628$ current (A.D. 705-706); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Samvat 627 expired.

Making the calculations by the *Sārya-Siddhānta*, and applying the results to the longitude of Khāmāṇḍu, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, with the basis of Śaka-Samvat 627 expired, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śaka-Samvat 628 current, ended on Tuesday,

¹ This is also recorded in the other inscription of Śivadēva I., No. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nēpāl series, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168 ff. But, unfortunately for the general chronological results arrived at by him from those inscriptions,—which involved the application of the Vikrama era for the interpretation of such of the Nēpāl dates as belong really to the Gupta era,—the date of Śivadēva I. is there broken away and lost.

² See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 81; also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 422, and Vol. XIV. p. 345.

³ On this point see a note in Appendix IV. below.

the 28th April,¹ A.D. 705, at 57 *ghaṭīs*, 12 *palas*, after sunrise; that there was the Kṛittikā *nakshatra* up to 11 *ghaṭīs*, 3 *palas*, after sunrise, and then the Rôhini *nakshatra*, which continued up to 11 *ghaṭīs*, 18 *palas*, after sunrise on the next day, Wednesday; and that, consequently, the Abhijit *muhūrta*, being the eighth in order among the *muhūrtas*, and beginning after the expiration of fourteen *ghaṭīs* after sunrise, occurred, as required by the record, while the Rôhini *nakshatra* was current. He also finds that the same conditions of the *nakshatra* and the *muhūrta* did not occur, if the given *tithi* is treated as belonging to Śaka-Samvat 627 or 629 current.

The result, therefore, answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhi and current Śaka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year. And it gives Śaka-Samvat 628 current (A.D. 705-706), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. But, like the result for the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Jyêshṭha sukla 1 was the same *tithi*, and ended on the same solar day, represented by the 28th April, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Samvat 628, and in southern Vikrama-Samvat 762, as well as in northern Vikrama-Samvat 763.

The Môrbi Grant of the year 586.

The last date that I have to notice from the present point of view, is contained in the **Môrbi grant of Jâinika**, from Kâthiâwâḍ, published by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 257 f. The record includes two dates. In line 16 f., in connection with the making of the grant, we have (from the published lithograph)—*pañc-âśṭiyâ yutê=titê samânâm śata-pañchakê | Gôptê dadâv=adô nripaḥ s-ôparâgê=rkka-mamḍalê ||*—“five centuries of years, together with eighty-five (*years*), having passed by, the king gave this (*charter*) at (*the village of*) Gôpta, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed;” in which the year is expressly coupled with a word meaning “expired.” And in line 19 f., in connection with the writing of the charter, we have—*saṃvat 585 Phâlguna su(śu) di 5*,—“the year 585; the month Phâlguna; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 5;” without any indication whether the year is an expired one, or current. The eclipse is also mentioned in line 3, in the words — *mârttaṇḍa-maṇḍal-âśrayiṇi Svaybhânô* (*read Svarbbhânau*),—“while Svarbhânu (*i.e.* Râhu, the personified ascending node) is resting on the disc of the sun.”

There is some difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of this record; owing to the fact that the first plate was lost sight of, without being procured for

¹ Śaka-Samvat 628 current commenced rather early, on, approximately, Sunday, the 1st March, A.D. 705. And hence the reason why the month Jyêshṭha, which ordinarily answers to May-June, commenced on the 28th April, and of course ended before the end of May.

examination at all; and now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid and is not forthcoming. And I have to point out that, in the second part of the verse, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar read *Gauptē*, instead of *Gōptē*; and translated "five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed." The lithograph, however, shews distinctly that the original has *Gōptē*; and it is only by the correction of *ḍ* into *au* that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into the passage.¹ But, even then, the adjective *Gauptē* occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skillful composer would have avoided, from the noun, *śata-pañchakē*, which it qualifies. While, on the other hand, I have shewn, in my remarks on the nomenclature of the era, at page 19 ff. above, that we have no reason at all to look for the use of such an adjective as *Gaupta*, 'belonging to the Guptas;' and, if we maintain the original reading of *Gōptē*, we have a locative case, which we have every reason to expect in immediate connection with the verb *dadau*, "he gave," and which will then give us the name of the village at which the grant was made. And, until the original first plate of the grant is produced, to prove that *Gōpta* was not the name of the village,² or otherwise to explain the passage, this is the reading and interpretation that I adopt.

In accordance, however, with the palæography of the grant, I see no reason for referring the date to any except the Gupta-Valabhi era; irrespective of the question whether the era is mentioned by name, or not. This record, therefore, gives us, for calculation, an **eclipse of the sun**, which took place on some unspecified date in Gupta-Samvat 586 current, as the original text specifies that the year 585 had expired. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, the eclipse should be found in Gupta-Samvat $586 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 828$ current, somewhere between³ the 10th March, A.D. 905, and the 27th February, A.D. 906. Also, it should, presumably, be visible at the place at which the grant was made on the occasion of it. And, though there is nothing, in the existing remnant of the record, to indicate with certainty the exact locality to which it belongs, still there is nothing against the supposition that it really belongs to Mōrbī itself, or to that neighbourhood. We have, therefore, to look for a solar eclipse, occurring in Śaka-Samvat 828 current, and visible at Mōrbī, or near that town, in the north of Kāthiawād.

¹ The mistake of *ḍ* for *au* does occur in the word *svavbhāṇḍ*, for *svarbhbhāṇau*, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word *paurvva*, the *au* is formed quite correctly and completely.

² We might easily find its present representative in the modern name of Gōp, which occurs in the case of a village, in Kāthiawād, about seventy-five miles south-west of Mōrbī; twenty-five miles south of Nawānagar or Jāmnagar; and fifty miles east of Dhiniki, where there was found the copper-plate grant of Jāikadēva, which purports to be dated in Vikrama-Samvat 794 (see page 62 above, note 1.)

³ Of course, as it could only take place at a new-moon conjunction, it did not occur on the given solar day for the writing of the charter.—The limits within which we must look for it, are the first and the last days of Śaka-Samvat 828 current, as given in *Indian Eras*, p. 167.

General Cunningham's Table¹ mentions no solar eclipse, as having occurred during the period defined above. But, by calculations from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds² that there was an eclipse of the sun, on Tuesday, the 7th May, A.D. 905, corresponding to the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pārnimānta* northern Jyēṣṭha of Śaka-Samvat 828 current, which fully answers the required conditions.³ It was visible at Mōrbi; over almost the whole of Southern India; and in Ceylon. The magnitude, at Mōrbi, was one ninth of the sun's disc; and, in the southern parts of India, greater than this. And the middle of the eclipse, at Mōrbi, was at 12.9 'midday of the Mōrbi mean civil time. This eclipse, accordingly, was very distinctly visible at Mōrbi; even if it was not known beforehand, from calculations.

This result, therefore, fully answers to the conditions of the record. It does not, in itself, furnish conclusive proof, either as to the exact epoch of the era, or as to the scheme of the year; for the reason that, if treated as a southern date, the day of the eclipse, represented in that case by the new-moon *tithi* of the *Amānta* southern Vaiśākha, belonged to the southern Śaka-Samvat 828, and to the southern Vikrama-Samvat 962, as well as to the northern Śaka-Samvat 828 and Vikrama-Samvat 963. But it answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhi and current Śaka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year. And it gives Śaka-Samvat 828 current (A.D. 905-906), as the equivalent of the indicated current Gupta year.

In respect of the given solar day for the writing of the charter, *viz.* the fifth solar day in the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna (February-March), as the name of the weekday is not given, the only test that we can apply is the presumption⁴ that the running number of the lunar *tithi* is the same as that of the solar day; *i.e.* that the fifth lunar *tithi* ended on the fifth solar day of the fortnight. If the year 586, connected with this solar day, is to be taken as expired, as in connection with the eclipse, this should be the case in Śaka-Samvat 828. And, by calculations for that year from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables; Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon *tithi*, which was that of the *Pārnimānta* northern Phālguna, or the *Amānta* southern Māgha, ended on Monday, the 27th January, A.D. 906; and that the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended

¹ See *Indian Eras*, p. 213.

² For his calculations, which are based on the apparent longitudes of the sun and the moon, he has taken the latitude and longitude of Mōrbi, which I was not then able to supply to him, as 22° 45' N. and 70° 51' E. I now find that, in Thornton's Gazetteer of India, the figures are 22° 49' N. and 70° 53' E. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit states, however, that the difference will not palpably affect his results.

³ So also Prof. K. L. Chhatre himself obtained the same eclipse; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 99, where, with a slight difference of phraseology, the eclipse is given as occurring "on the 30th of Vaiśākha, Śaka 827;" the reference being to the *Amānta* southern month and the expired Śaka year.

⁴ See page 85 above, note 1.

on Saturday, the 1st February, which was the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was written nine months after the making of the grant.¹ On the other hand, if the year 585 is here to be taken as current, there should be the same agreement of the lunar *tithi* and the solar day in Śaka-Saṃvat 827. And, for this year, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon *tithi* ended on Thursday, the 7th February, A.D. 925; and that the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended on Tuesday, the 12th February, which was again the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was prepared two months before the actual making of the grant.

It may perhaps be argued, hereafter, in opposition to my results for the exact epoch of the era, that all the Gupta-Valabhī dates are recorded in expired years, whether the fact is distinctly stated or not; and, consequently, that it is as an expired year, not current, that the year 165 of the Êraṇ pillar inscription is equivalent to A.D. 484-85 current, and that the year 585 expired, of the present record, is equivalent to A.D. 904-905 current. In that case, the solar eclipse would have to be found in Gupta-Saṃvat 585 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 827 current, somewhere between² the 21st March, A.D. 904, and the 9th March, A.D. 905. During this period, there were two eclipses of the sun;³ on Saturday, the 16th June, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pārṇimānta* northern Āshāḍha of Śaka-Saṃvat 827 current; and on Saturday, the 10th November, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pārṇimānta* northern Mārgaśīrṣa of the same Śaka year. In respect of the first of them, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that it was not visible anywhere in India; but only in the more northern parts of the earth. This, therefore, cannot be the eclipse intended. In respect of the second of them, he finds that it was visible at Mōrbī; over more than half the northern part of Kāṭhiāwāḍ; and, to the south, along the coast, as far as Surat, one hundred and seventy miles south-east of Mōrbī, and in the interior, a little further still. And, at Mōrbī, the middle of the eclipse was at 11.54 A.M. of the Mōrbī mean civil time. At Ahmadābād, one hundred and twenty miles east by north from Mōrbī, one twelfth of the sun's disc was eclipsed; and, in the more northern parts of India, a considerably greater surface. But, at Mōrbī itself, the magnitude of the eclipse was very small; extending there to only one twenty-fifth part

¹ There is nothing in the record itself, to indicate whether the writing of the charter preceded, or followed, the making of the grant. The Rājim grant of Tīvaradēva, No. 81, page 291, furnishes another similar instance. In that instance, the grant was made on the eleventh *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha (May-June); while the charter was written, or assigned, on the eighth solar day of Kārttika (October-November); and there is nothing to shew specifically whether it was the following, or the preceding, Kārttika. That charter may have been written, or assigned, either five months after, or seven months before, the making of the grant recorded in it.

² See *Indian Eras*, p. 167.

³ See *Indian Eras* p. 213.

of the disc.¹ This eclipse, therefore, setting aside all other considerations, is not in any way as satisfactory as that of the 7th May, A.D. 905.

The use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in Records of the Early Gupta period.

I now come to a still more interesting and important part of my inquiry; *viz.* to the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in the dates of some of the records of the Early Gupta period.

• These dates are found in the inscriptions of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājās* Hastin and Samkshōbha, No. 21, page 93, to No. 25, page 112. And the extreme value of the records, from the present point of view, is due to the fact that in each instance, except in No. 24, page 110,² the date is directly connected with an expression which shews explicitly that, at the time mentioned, the Gupta sovereignty was still enduring; and consequently,—since the figures of the years are naturally referable to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the records of the Early Guptas themselves; and since the palæography of the inscriptions is entirely in favour of such a reference,—which shews also that the dates are recorded in the identical era that was used by the Early Gupta kings.

The evidence derivable from these records has hitherto been completely misapplied; in consequence of the adoption of the view, that the duration of any *samvatsara* or year of this cycle, is the same with that of the years of the Śaka era, from Chaitra śukla 1 to Chaitra kṛishṇa 15; and that the means of exactly determining the *samvatsaras* of this cycle, are provided by the last remainder obtained from certain rules given by Varāhamihira and others, which in reality only shews what *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle of the same planet according to the Northern System, and of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the mean-sign system, is current at the commencement of any given Śaka or Kaliyuga year, and which does not provide for the determination of the *samvatsaras* on any other given date in the year.³

¹ Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not made actual calculations for the village of Gōp (see page 98 above, note 2); but is able to state that both the eclipses, of the 7th May, A.D. 905, and of the 10th November, A.D. 904, were visible there; the circumstances of the former eclipse, in respect of visibility, being more favourable, and those of the latter being less so, at Gōp than at Mōrbī.

² For the possible explanation of the omission in this instance, see page 8 above.

³ See, for instance, *Indian Eras*, p. 26 ff.—This interpretation of the rules in question leaves unutilized, and unexplained, the first remainder, obtained from the division by 3750 according to Varāhamihira's rule, and by 1875 according to the rule of the *Jyōtishṭava*. In connection with the *Jyōtishṭava* rule, however, Warren has shewn (*Kala-Sankalita*, p. 202) how this remainder gives the means of determining the actual commencement of each *samvatsara*.—From the use of some Tables drawn up by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, for determining the actual commencement of each *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and of each *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle

The correct theory of the cycle, according to the requirements of the system actually applied in the records now under consideration, with the proper method of determining each of the *samvatsaras*, has now been demonstrated by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, in his paper which is published as Appendix III. below. And, by calculations based on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, he has worked out all the results required for a full treatment of the dates in question; giving the full English and Hindu dates throughout, in order that both European and Hindu astronomers may be in a position to easily check his results. In publishing his results, I am confident that no essential errors can be established in them; even though it should be shewn, by more exhaustive calculations, that his longitudes for the heliacal risings of Jupiter are capable of slight corrections.¹ And, as will be seen, his results corroborate, in the most emphatic manner, all that has been established in the preceding pages; first, approximately, from the statements of Albérūnī, the Māṇḍasār inscription of Mālava-Samvat 529 expired, and the Ēraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta-Samvat 165; and then, exactly, by the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945.

It is not essential, for the most part, to enquire whether any of the dates, which give correct results with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, also give, by coincidence, correct results with any of the suggested earlier epochs. And, indeed, to make any such inquiry systematic and thorough, it would be obligatory to make the calculations, throughout, for at least a dozen years or so before and after the proposed epochs. Such inquiries are certainly unnecessary in respect of any epoch as early as that proposed by Mr. Thomas. It seemed worth while, however, to calculate the dates now under consideration, and to give the results, for the epochs proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley; both of whom have dealt with the whole subject on the clear understanding that these dates are recorded in the era that was actually used by the Early Guptas themselves. And it will be seen

according to the mean-sign system, I find that, for the purposes of such rules as that given by Varāhamihira in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, viii, 20, 21, the Śaka years must be treated as commencing with the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti* or entrance of the Sun into Aries, and not with Chaitra śukla 1; though the latter is the initial day that is required for the notation of *tithis*. For instance, by Varāhamihira's rule, the Viśvāvasu *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle was current at the commencement of Śaka-Samvat 748 current (A.D. 825-26); and, by Gen. Cunningham's extension of the rule (*Indian Eras*, p. 27), the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle was current on the same date. In Śaka-Samvat 748, the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti* occurred on the 21st March, A.D. 825; and Chaitra śukla 1 ended on the 22nd February. The Viśvāvasu *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and, with it, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, actually commenced on the 15th March; and thus they were current at the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti*, but not on Chaitra śukla 1. And the same will often happen when the *samvatsaras* are commencing shortly before the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti*. This application of such rules as that given by Varāhamihira, is, in fact, the natural one; though it may not be apparent at first sight. For, the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti* is a very definite point in the year; whereas, Chaitra śukla 1 is always shifting backwards and forwards by about eleven and nineteen days at a time, and its circumstances could not be met by any such hard-and-fast rules.

¹ See, e.g., page 110 below, note 1.

that, with the same heliacal-rising system that is applied to prove the epoch of A.D. 319-20, the results, as a whole, emphatically fail. In calculating the details with these two epochs, as with the epoch that I am proving, the Gupta year has been treated as a Śaka year, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, and with the *Pāṇinīya* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights. In some of the cases in which, by this treatment, and with these two epochs, the results fail, more favourable results might be obtained by adopting a year commencing with, either the preceding, or the following, Kārttika śukla 1; and by slightly varying the proposed epochs accordingly. But a full consideration of the details will shew that, with neither of these two epochs, as they stand, and probably with no epochs in any way approximating to them, is there any method of bringing out perfectly uniform results throughout.

It might, however, be claimed that General Cunningham's epoch, or Sir E. Clive Bayley's, or even both of them, could be proved, for the present records, by the other system of the Twelve-Year Cycle; according to which the *samvatsaras* are determined by the passage of Jupiter among the signs of the zodiac; and which is, in fact, the system that they have sought to apply in support of their theories. The results, therefore, according to this system also, will be given. It will be seen that it is not the system which applies to the epoch that I am proving; inasmuch as it gives correct results in only two cases out of the four by which any absolute proof can be established;¹ viz. in the case of the grant B. dated in Gupta-Samvat 163, and in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Samvat 191. As regards General Cunningham's and Sir E. Clive Bayley's epochs, it has always been recognised that this system fails in the case of the grant B. dated in Gupta-Samvat 163, unless the given year is deliberately altered from 163 to 173. As there is really no justification for this alteration of the original text,² the failure of the system even in this instance alone, is enough to shew that the proposed epochs are not sustainable by means of it. But further, though the fact has not hitherto been recognised, the system fails also in respect of another of the records. Thus, in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Samvat 191, the given *samvatsara* really was current at the commencement of the given year, in accordance with the rules applied by General Cunningham, and accepted by Sir E. Clive Bayley, from which, however, it was not properly to be inferred that it was current through the whole of the same year; but it came to an end, and was followed by the next *samvatsara*, with General Cunningham's epoch, nearly three and a half months, and with Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch, nearly seven months, before the sub-

¹ The date in the Bhumarā pillar inscription, E. below, furnishes no definite proof in itself; because the current Gupta year is not mentioned in it; and consequently the given *samvatsara* could be proved equally well for epochs differing by a year or more, on either side, from the exact epochs that are being considered. We can only test it, in so far as to see whether, under any particular circumstances, the system fails through an omission of the given *samvatsara*.

² See Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1.

sequent given date in that year. In fact, out of the four leading dates on which any arguments can be based, with these two epochs this system gives correct results only in respect of the grant A. dated in Gupta-Samvat 156, and the grant D. dated in Gupta-Samvat 209. And, as with the heliacal-rising system, so with this system also, a full consideration of the details will shew that, even by adopting a scheme for the Gupta year other than the scheme of the northern Śaka year, with neither of these two epochs is there any method of bringing out uniform results throughout.

A.—The Khôh Grant of the year 156.

The first inscription is **one of the Khôh grants of the Mahârâja Hastin**, No. 21, page 93; in which the date (line 1 ff.) is — *śaṭpañchâś-ôttarê-bda-śatê Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau Mahâ-Vaiśâkha-samvatsarê Kârttika-mâsa-śukla-paksha-tṛtīyāyam*, — “in a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (*year*); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *samvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika.”

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahâ-Vaiśâkha samvatsara**, as current on the third *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November) in Gupta-Samvat 156 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Samvat 156 + 242 = Śaka-Samvat 398 current; ¹ in which year the given *tithi* corresponds to Sunday, the 19th October, A.D. 475.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 below, Col. A.) that Jupiter's rising, ² next before the given date, took place on Kârttika śukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 398 current, corresponding to Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 475; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 18th October.³ His longitude then was

¹ Here, and throughout, the year is treated as a northern year. But the details of these dates do not furnish any actual proof as to the *Pûrṇimânta* or *Amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

² *i.e.*, throughout, his heliacal rising. But the actual calculation is for his first daily rising after his becoming capable of rising heliacally.

³ Jupiter's daily rising, next after his becoming capable of rising heliacally, takes place about forty-four minutes before sunrise, and therefore in the period during which the Hindu and the English week-days are not identical (see a note in Appendix II. below). In the present case, it took place at the time in question before sunrise on the English Saturday, the 18th October. Kârttika śukla 2 did not end till after sunrise on that day. Consequently, as current *tithis* are not quoted, unless under certain very exceptional conditions not applicable to such occurrences as this, the *tithi* on which he rose was Kârttika śukla 1. And this *tithi*, ending after sunrise on the Friday (and before sunrise on the Saturday), has to be coupled with Friday, the 17th October, as its week-day. Hence the apparent, but not actual, difference of a day, according as we take the Hindu or the English calendar. And a similar difference runs through all the dates of the heliacal risings given below.

TABLE IV.

The Samvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

	A	B	C	D	E 1	E 2
Gupta year, current	156	163	191	209	189	201
Add the difference of	242	242	242	242	242	242
Saka year, current	398	405	433	451	431	443
The given samvatsara	Mahā-Vaiśākha	Mahā-Āśvayuja	Mahā-Chaitra	Mahā-Āśvayuja	Mahā-Māgha	Mahā-Māgha
The given date	Kārttika śukla 3	Chaitra śukla 2	Māgha krishṇa 3	Chaitra śukla 13	Kārttika, 19th day	Kārttika, 19th day
Corresponding to	19th October, A.D. 475	7th March, A.D. 482	3rd January, A.D. 511	19th March, A.D. 528	13th October, A.D. 508	2nd October, A.D. 520
Jupiter's preceding rising was on	Kārttika śukla 1 of Saka 398	Vaiśākha krishṇa 6 of Saka 404	Āśvina śukla 11 of Saka 433	Chaitra śukla 12 of Saka 451	Śrāvaṇa śukla 15 of Saka 431	Bhādrapada śukla 3 of Saka 443
corresponding to	17th October, A.D. 475	5th April, A.D. 481	29th September, A.D. 510	18th March, A.D. 528	28th July, A.D. 508	2nd August, A.D. 520
English date ...	18th October	6th April	30th September	19th March	29th July	3rd August
longitude then was ...	195° 24'	4° 21'	177° 47'	347° 45'	117° 4'	121° 30'
position was in ...	Vaiśākha	Āśvini	Chitrā	Révatī	Māgha	Māgha
And the samvatsara, which then began, was ...	Mahā-Vaiśākha	Mahā-Āśvayuja	Mahā-Chaitra	Mahā-Āśvayuja	Mahā-Māgha	Mahā-Māgha
Jupiter's following rising was on	Mārgaśrīsha śukla 13 of Saka 399	Jyēṣṭha śukla 8 of Saka 405	Mārgaśrīsha krishṇa 7 of Saka 434	Jyēṣṭha śukla 3 of Saka 452	Āśvina krishṇa 13 of Saka 432	Āśvina krishṇa 1 of Saka 444
corresponding to	15th November, A.D. 476	12th May, A.D. 482	29th October, A.D. 511	26th April, A.D. 529	29th August, A.D. 509	3rd September, A.D. 521
English date ...	16th November	13th May	30th October	27th April	30th August	4th September
longitude then was ...	225° 35'	40° 34'	207° 41'	24° 36'	147° 49'	152° 17'
position was in ...	Jyēṣṭha	Rohiṇī	Vaiśākha	Kṛtikā	Uttarā-Phalgunī	Uttarā-Phalgunī
And the samvatsara, which then began, was ...	Mahā-Jyēṣṭha	Mahā-Kārttika	Mahā-Vaiśākha	Mahā-Kārttika	Mahā-Phālguna	Mahā-Phālguna

195° 24'. By both the systems of unequal spaces for the longitudes of the ending-points of the *nakshatras* (see Appendix III. Table IX.), he was then in Viśākhā; and the *samvatsara* which then began (see Appendix III. Table VIII.), must have been named **Mahā-Vaiśākha**:¹ Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 13 of Śaka-Samvat 399, corresponding to Monday, the 15th November, A.D. 476; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 16th November. His longitude then was 225° 35'. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyēsthā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēsthā. While, by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Anurādhā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have again been named Mahā-Vaiśākha; which shews that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a *samvatsara*. This difference as to the following *samvatsara*, however, does not affect the given date. By both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahā-Vaiśākha samvatsara was current on the given date.** And the result gives Śaka-Samvat 398 current (A.D. 475-76), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In connection with the results for this record, the following points have to be noted. In the first place, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has described three systems of fixing the ending-points of the *nakshatras*; one of equal spaces; and two of unequal spaces. An examination of Jupiter's longitudes, as given in Table IV., page 105 above, for each rising next before the given dates, will shew that, in all the remaining instances, the current *samvatsara* is proved by all three systems; the only variation is that, in the case of E1, Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Āślēshā; but, even then, the current *samvatsara* would be named Mahā-Māgha, as also by the two systems of unequal spaces. So, also, it may be seen that, by all three systems, we have almost the same results in respect of the following *samvatsaras*; the only variation is that, in the case of D., Jupiter's position, at his rising next after the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Bharanī, and, accordingly, the *samvatsara* which then began, would again be named Mahā-Āśvayuja; which shews that, by this system, there was a repetition of a *samvatsara* at this period; but this does not affect the *samvatsara* current on the given date. So far, therefore, as those dates are concerned, the correctness of the records might be proved by any of the three systems. The same, however, is not the case in respect of the present record. By the system of equal spaces, Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was in Svāti; the *samvatsara* which then began, would

¹ I have not been able to obtain the original authority for the use of the prefix *mahā* (*maha*), 'great.' And it does not occur in connection with the two *samvatsaras* mentioned in the Halst grants of the Kādamba chieftain Mṛigēśavarman; viz. the Pausha *samvatsara*, in line 8 of the grant dated in his third year (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35), and the Vaiśākha *samvatsara*, in line 10 of the grant dated in his eighth year (*id.* Vol. VI. p. 24). I use the prefix, however, throughout, in accordance with the custom of the original records now under examination.

be named Mahā-Chaitra; and the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* would not begin till Jupiter's rising next after the given date, when, by the same system, his position was in Anurādhā. Accordingly, the system of equal spaces could be applied to the present record, only with a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; which would be in contradiction with the fact that, to prove the *saṃvatsaras* of all the remaining records, it must be applied with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. It is evident, therefore, that, in dealing with these records, the system of equal spaces is not the correct one; and that **we have to apply one or other of the systems of unequal spaces.** This, however, is only natural; for they are both more ancient than the system of equal spaces; and, the older the system, the greater the certainty that it is the one in use in the Early Gupta period. Also, the Dēōgaḍh inscription of king Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 784, indicates very plainly that one or other of the systems of unequal spaces, if not both of them, continued in use, in what had formed a part of the Early Gupta territory, down to at least the last half of the ninth century A.D.¹ Of the two systems of unequal spaces, whether we are to apply the Brahma-Siddhānta system, or the still more ancient Garga system, cannot at present be decided;

¹In this inscription, which was brought to notice by Gen. Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 101, and Plate xxxiii. No. 2, and is on a pillar in a detached portico in front of the hall of a temple at Dēōgaḍh, about sixty miles to the south-west of 'Jhansi' in Scindia's Dominions in Central India, the date (from an ink-impression; lines 6 ff., 10) runs—*saṃvat 919 Asva(śva)yujā-śukla-pakṣa-chaturdāśyām Vṛihaspati-dinēna Uttar[ā*]-Bhādrapad[ā*]-nakṣatratṛ idam stambham samāptam=iti Śakakāl-ābda-sapta-satāni chatur-aṣṭy-adhikāni 784,*—"the year 919; on the fourteenth *tithi* or lunar day in the bright fortnight of Āsvayuja; on the day of Vṛihaspati; under the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra*, this pillar was finished; seven centuries of years, increased by eighty-four, of the Śaka era; (or in figures) 784." This gives us, for calculation, Vikrama-Saṃvat 919 and Śaka-Saṃvat 784; the month Āsvayuja (September-October); the day of Vṛihaspati or Jupiter, *i.e.* Thursday; and the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra*. The date, of course, is a northern date; but, as the given *tithi* is in a bright fortnight, this point is immaterial.—Taking the Śaka year in question as an expired year, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has obtained as the English equivalent, by both Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables and the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, Thursday, the 10th September, A.D. 862. The *tithi* ended at 56 *ghaṭis*, 34 *palas*, or 22 hrs. 37 min. 36 sec., after sunrise on that day. By the equal-space system of the *nakṣatras*, the moon was in the Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra* up to 53 *ghaṭis*, 31 *palas*, or 21 hrs. 24 min. 24 sec., after sunrise on the Thursday; and she then entered the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra*; *i.e.* assuming sunrise at 6 A.M., only 2 hrs. 35 min. 36 sec. before sunrise on the Friday (the time, all through, is for Ujjain, as I have not the exact longitude of Dēōgaḍh; taking it, approximately, as 78° 15' E., the time in each case, will be a little less than ten minutes later). This, however, is a highly improbable hour for the completion, as stated in the record, of the pillar on which the inscription is engraved. But, by the unequal-space systems of the *nakṣatras*, the Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra* ended at about 23 *ghaṭis*, 40 *palas*, or 9 hrs. 28 min., after sunrise on the Thursday; and the moon then entered the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra*; *i.e.*, roughly, about half past three in the afternoon, leaving ample time, in ordinary working hours, for the completion of the pillar before sunset.—It is evident, therefore, that for the determination of the *nakṣatra* in this record, we have to apply one or other of the systems of unequal spaces.

since, the only variation between them is in respect of the *samvatsara* following the *samvatsara* which was current on the given date of the present record.

Another point is, that, as the following *samvatsara* did not commence till Margaśirsha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 399, the Mahā-Vaiśākha *samvatsara* was still current on the given date, Kārttika śukla 3, in Śaka-Saṃvat 399, as well as in 398, which is the real equivalent for the Gupta year. So, also, it will be seen that, in the case of D., the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* was still current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in Śaka-Saṃvat 452, as well as in 451, which is the true equivalent for the Gupta year of that record. Consequently, these two dates, A. and D., might be used to support a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, as well as the true running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. But, apart from the fact that we have not obtained anything else to support such a result, there is no such alternative in respect of B. and C.; the *samvatsaras* of those records are proved only with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. All the four cases together, therefore, not only answer to, but also **prove the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.**

A final point is, that, on the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharaśēna IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Kārttika śukla 3, in Gupta-Saṃvat 156, would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 397 current. But it would then fall a year, all but two days, anterior to the commencement of the recorded *samvatsara* on Kārttika śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 398. This record, therefore, also **disproves the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year**, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

On the analogy of the same grant, and with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Margaśirsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year,¹ the given date would still belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 398. The possibility, however, of our being concerned with such a year as this, is disproved by the results for the date of C. below, in Gupta-Saṃvat 191.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha *samvatsara* did not commence till Vaiśākha śukla 5 of Śaka-Saṃvat 399 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 14th April, A.D. 476; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *samvatsara* then current was Mahā-Chaitra, which commenced on Jyēṣṭha kṛishṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 398, corresponding to Saturday, the 19th April, A.D. 475.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 245 current; and its English equivalent would be Sunday, the 30th Septem-

¹ See page 78 above.

ber, A.D. 322. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Kārttika śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 244, corresponding to Friday, the 20th October, A.D. 321; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 21st October. His longitude then was $200^{\circ} 54'$. By all three systems, he was then in Viśākhā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahā-Vaiśākha**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausa kṛishṇa 10 of Śaka-Saṃvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 20th November, A.D. 322; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 21st November. His longitude then was $231^{\circ} 33'$. By the system of equal spaces, and the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyēshṭhā; and, by the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, in Mūla; and, by all three systems, the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēshṭha. Accordingly, with this epoch, **the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṃvatsāra was current on the given date**. This, however, is a mere coincidence. There is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D.; but not in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* commenced on Phālguna kṛishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṃvat 244 current, corresponding to Friday, the 2nd February, A.D. 322; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyēshṭha on Phālguna śukla 6 of Śaka-Saṃvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th January, A.D. 323. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, **the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṃvatsara was current on the given date**.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 269 current; and its English equivalent would be Saturday, the 4th October, A.D. 346. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 268, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th October, A.D. 345; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 30th October. His longitude then was $209^{\circ} 22'$. By all three systems, he was then in Viśākhā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahā-Vaiśākha**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausa kṛishṇa 15 of Śaka-Saṃvat 269, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th November, A.D. 346; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th November. His longitude then was $240^{\circ} 17'$. By all three systems, he was then in Mūla; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēshṭha. Accordingly, with this epoch also, **the Mahā-Vaiśākha saṃvatsara was current on the given date**. This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* commenced on Kārttika śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṃvat 268 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 23rd October, A.D. 345; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyēshṭha on Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 269, corresponding to Sunday, the 19th October, A.D. 346. Accordingly, with

this epoch again, and by this system also, the **Mahâ-Vaiśākha samvatsara** was current on the given date.

B.—The Khôh Grant of the year 163.

The next inscription is the other Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Hastin, No. 22, page 100, in which the date (line 1 f.) is — tri-shashty-uttarê-bda-śatê Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau Mah-Âśvayuja-samvatsarê Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-paksha-dvityâyâm,—“in a century of years, increased by sixty-three; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *samvatsara*; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra.”

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahâ-Âśvayuja samvatsara**, as current on the second *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Samvat 163 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Samvat $163 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 405$ current; in which year the given *tithi* corresponds to Sunday, the 7th March, A.D. 482.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. B.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place¹ on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 6 of the preceding year, Śaka-Samvat 404 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 5th April, A.D. 481; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 6th April. His longitude then was $4^{\circ} 21'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces,² he was then in Aśvinī; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Âśvayuja**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshṭha śukla 8 of Śaka-Samvat 405, corresponding to Wednesday, the 12th May, A.D. 482; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 13th May. His longitude then was $40^{\circ} 34'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rôhini; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahâ-Âśvayuja samvatsara was current on the given date**. And the result gives Śaka-Samvat 405 current (A.D. 482-83), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In this instance, the given *samvatsara* was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Śaka-Samvat 404, or the following year, Śaka-Samvat 406. The result,

¹ These calculations are not absolutely accurate; but the margin is so wide, that there is no necessity for exact precision in this case. If there should be any difference at all between Jupiter's longitudes as found by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, and as capable of being determined with exact precision, it will amount only to a few minutes of arc; and the actual risings of Jupiter could differ from what he gives, only by one or two days; with the result that Jupiter may have risen, in this instance, on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 5 or 7.

² Also by the system of equal spaces; but see page 107 above. This point need not be noted in the following instances.

therefore, not only answers to, but also proves, the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kārttika, or with the month Mārgaśirsha, next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Chaitra śukla 2, in Gupta-Saṃvat 163, would still belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 405. But, as noted at page 108 above, the results for the date of A. disprove the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year. And, as will be shewn at page 115 below, the results for the date of C., in Gupta-Saṃvat 191, disprove the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśirsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* commenced on Chaitra śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṃvat 404 current, corresponding to Tuesday, the 24th March, A.D. 481; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Chaitra śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṃvat 405, corresponding to Saturday, the 20th March, A.D. 482. Accordingly, by this system also, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was current on the given date.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṃvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 252 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 17th February, A.D. 329. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 6 of Śaka-Saṃvat 251, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th May, A.D. 328; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 17th May. His longitude then was $47^{\circ} 25'$. By all three systems, he was then in Rōhiṇī; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āshāḍha śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṃvat 252, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd June, A.D. 329; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 23rd June. His longitude then was $82^{\circ} 12'$. By all three systems, he was then in Punarvasu; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha; the intervening *saṃvatsara*, Mahā-Mārgaśirsha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara*, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Vaiśākha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 250, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th April, A.D. 327, or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th April; when his longitude was $11^{\circ} 21'$, and, by all three systems, he was in Aśvinī. And thus the given *saṃvatsara* was current on the same date in the preceding year.—With the same epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1) of Gupta-Saṃvat 173, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 262 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 27th Febru-

ary, A.D. 339. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 2 of Śaka-Samvat 261, corresponding to Friday, the 10th March, A.D. 338; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 11th March. His longitude then was $339^{\circ} 54'$. By all three systems, he was then in Uttará-Bhādrapadā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhādrapada. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêsthā krishṇa 11 of Śaka-Samvat 262, corresponding to Tuesday, the 17th April, A.D. 339; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 18th April. His longitude then was $16^{\circ} 34'$. By all three systems, he was then in Bharanī; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Accordingly, with this epoch, even with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* was not current on the given date; but only on the same date in the following year.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Samvat 163, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* commenced on Māgha śukla 2 of Śaka-Samvat 249 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th January, A.D. 327; and was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Māgha śukla 9 of Śaka-Samvat 250, corresponding to Monday, the 8th January, A.D. 328; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *samvatsara* then current was Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Phālguna krishṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 251 current, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd January, A.D. 329.—**With the proposed corrected reading** of Gupta-Samvat 173, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* commenced on Pausha krishṇa 9 of Śaka-Samvat 261 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.D. 338; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Samvat 262, corresponding to Sunday, the 18th November, A.D. 339. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system, **with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* was current on the given date.** The proposed alteration of the original text, however, cannot be justified.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, and **with the original reading** of Gupta-Samvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Samvat 276 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 22nd February, A.D. 353. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āshāḍha krishṇa 12 of Śaka-Samvat 275, corresponding to Wednesday, the 27th May, A.D. 352; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 28th May. His longitude then was $57^{\circ} 12'$. By all three systems, he was then in Mriga; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āshāḍha śukla 13 of Śaka-Samvat 276, corresponding to Thursday, the 1st July, A.D. 353; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 2nd July. His longitude then was $91^{\circ} 19'$. By all three systems, he was then in Punarvasu; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* was not current on the given date. As a matter of fact, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* of

this cycle may have been omitted. Thus, in Śaka-Samvat 273 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 6, corresponding to Friday, the 16th March, A.D. 350; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th March. His longitude then was $345^{\circ} 10'$. By all three systems, he was then in Uttará-Bhādrapadā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhādrapada. His next rising took place on Vaiśākha śukla 10 of Śaka-Samvat 274, corresponding to Monday, the 22nd April, A.D. 351; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 23rd April. His longitude then was $21^{\circ} 35'$. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharāṇī; and the *samvatsara* which then began, would be named Mahā-Āśvayuja; and there would be an omission of the following *samvatsara*, Mahā-Kārttika. But, by the two systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛittikā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, would be named Mahā-Kārttika; with an omission of the intervening *samvatsara*, Mahā-Āśvayuja. — With the same epoch, and **with the proposed corrected reading** of Gupta-Samvat 173 (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1), the given date would belong to Śaka-Samvat 286 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 4th March, A.D. 363. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 9 of Śaka-Samvat 285, corresponding to Thursday, the 21st March, A.D. 362; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 22nd March. His longitude then was $350^{\circ} 11'$. By all three systems, he was then in Rēvatī; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahā-Āśvayuja**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyēshṭha kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Samvat 286, corresponding to Sunday, the 27th April, A.D. 363; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 28th April. His longitude then was $26^{\circ} 35'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛittikā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharāṇī; and, by this system, the *samvatsara* which then began, must have again been named Mahā-Āśvayuja; which shews that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a *samvatsara*. Accordingly, with this epoch, and **with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja samvatsara was current on the given date**. This, however, is a mere coincidence. And the proposed correction of the original reading cannot be justified.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Samvat 163, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* commenced on Kārttika kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 273 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd October, A.D. 350; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Kārttika kṛishṇa 8 of Śaka-Samvat 274, corresponding to Sunday, the 29th September, A.D. 351; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *samvatsara* then current was Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Kārttika kṛishṇa 15 of Śaka-Samvat 275 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 24th September, A.D. 352.—**With the proposed corrected reading** of Gupta-Samvat 173, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* commenced on Bhādrapada śukla 7 of Śaka-Samvat 285 current,

corresponding to Tuesday, the 13th August, A.D. 362; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Bhādrapada śukla 12 of Saka-Saṃvat 286, corresponding to Saturday, the 9th August, A.D. 363. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, **with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara was current on the given date.** But the proposed alteration of the original text cannot be justified.

C.—The Majhgawām Grant of the year 191.

The next inscription is the **Majhgawām grant of the Mahārāja Hastin**, No. 23, page 106, in which the date (line 1 f.) is — *eka-navaty-uttarē-bda-śatē Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau śrīmati pravardhamāna-Mahā-Chaitra-saṃvatsarē Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-tritīyāyām*,—"in a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the prosperous augmenting Mahā-Chaitra *saṃvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha." And at the end, in line 21, the date is repeated as—*Māgha di 3*,—" (the month) Māgha; the (solar) day 3."

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahā-Chaitra saṃvatsara**, as current on the third *tithi* or lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha (January-February) in Gupta-Saṃvat 191 current. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṃvat $191 + 242 = \text{Śāka-Saṃvat } 433$ current; in which year the given date corresponds to Monday, the 3rd January, A.D. 511.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. C.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āśvina śukla 11 of the same year, Śāka-Saṃvat 433, corresponding to Wednesday, the 29th September, A.D. 510; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 30th September. His longitude then was $177^{\circ} 47'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Chitrā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahā-Chaitra**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mārgaśirsha kṛishṇa 7 of Śāka-Saṃvat 434, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th October, A.D. 511; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th October. His longitude then was $207^{\circ} 41'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Viśākhā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākhā. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śāka years, **the Mahā-Chaitra saṃvatsara was current on the given date.** And the result gives Śāka-Saṃvat 433 current (A.D. 510-11), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In this instance, again, as in B. above, the given *saṃvatsara* was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Śāka-Saṃvat 432, or the following year, Śāka-Saṃvat 434. Here again, therefore, the result not only answers to, but also **proves, the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śāka years.**

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Magha kṛishṇa 3, in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 432. It would then fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded *saṁvatsara* on Āśvina śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 433. This record, therefore, like A. above, **disproves the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year**, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

• Again, on the analogy of the same grant, and with a year beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date would similarly belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 432; and would similarly fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded *saṁvatsara*. This record, therefore, also **disproves the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha** next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* commenced on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 18th November, A.D. 510; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 434, corresponding to Monday, the 14th November, A.D. 511. Accordingly, by this system also **the Mahā-Chaitra saṁvatsara was current on the given date.**

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 280 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 16th December, A.D. 357. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 4 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 280, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd November, A.D. 357; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 3rd November. His longitude then was $213^{\circ} 31'$. By all three systems, he was then in Anurādhā; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausa kṛishṇa 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 281, corresponding to Friday, the 4th December, A.D. 358; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 5th December. His longitude then was $244^{\circ} 49'$. By the system of equal spaces, and by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Mūla; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must, according to these two systems, have been named Mahā-Jyêshṭha. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrva-Ashādhā; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must, according to this system, have been named Mahā-Āshādhā; the intervening *saṁvatsara*, Mahā-Jyêshṭha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Kārttika kṛishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 279, corresponding to

Thursday, the 3rd October, A.D. 356, or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 4th October; when his longitude was $183^{\circ} 33'$, and, by all three systems, he was in Chitrā. And thus the given *samvatsara* was current on the same date in the preceding year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* commenced on Āśvina kṛishṇa 11 of Śāka-Samvat 279 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 7th September, A.D. 356; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Āśvina śukla 3 of Śāka-Samvat 280, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd September, A.D. 357; and this again was followed by Mahā-Jyēshṭha on the intercalated Āśvina śukla 10 of Śāka-Samvat 281, corresponding to Sunday, the 30th August, A.D. 358. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* was not current on the given date; and the *samvatsara* that was current, was Mahā-Vaiśākha.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śāka-Samvat 304 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 20th December, A.D. 381. Here Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 8 of the same year, Śāka-Samvat 304, corresponding to Thursday, the 11th November, A.D. 381; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 12th November. His longitude then was $222^{\circ} 8'$. By all three systems, he was then in Anurādhā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Māgha kṛishṇa 8 of Śāka-Samvat 305, corresponding to Wednesday, the 14th December, A.D. 382; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 15th December. His longitude then was $254^{\circ} 1'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pūrva-Āshāḍha; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āshāḍha; the intervening *samvatsara*, Mahā-Jyēshṭha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara*, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Kārttika kṛishṇa 12 of Śāka-Samvat 303, corresponding to Sunday, the 11th October, A.D. 380; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 12th October; when his longitude was $191^{\circ} 2'$, and, by all three systems, he was in Svāti. And thus the given *samvatsara* was current on the same date in the preceding year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* commenced on the intercalated Āshāḍha śukla 8 of Śāka-Samvat 303 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 28th May, A.D. 380; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Jyēshṭha śukla 15 of Śāka-Samvat 304, corresponding to Monday, the 24th May, A.D. 381; and this again was followed by Mahā-Jyēshṭha on Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 6 of Śāka-Samvat 305, corresponding to Friday, the 20th May, A.D. 382. Accordingly, with this epoch also, and by this system again, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* was not current on the given date; and the *samvatsara* that was current, was Mahā-Vaiśākha.

D.—The Khôh Grant of the year 209.

The next inscription is the **Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Samkshôbha**, No. 25, page 112, in which the date (line 1 ff.) is — navô-ttarê=bda-śata-dvayê Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau śrîmati pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjyê Mah-Âśvayuja-samvatsarê Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-paksha-trayôdaśyâm,—“in two centuries of years increased by nine; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign; in the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *samvatsara*; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra.” And at the end, in line 24, the date is repeated as — Chaitra di 20 7,—“ (the month) Chaitra, the (solar) day 20 (and) 7.”

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahâ-Âśvayuja samvatsara**, as current on the thirteenth *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Samvat 209 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Samvat 209 + 242 = Śaka-Samvat 451 current; in which year the given *tithi* corresponds to Sunday, the 19th March, A.D. 528.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. D.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 12 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 451, corresponding to Saturday, the 18th March, A.D. 528; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 19th March; *i.e.* at the dawn immediately before the making of the grant.¹ His longitude then was 34° 45'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rêvatî; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Âśvayuja**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshtha śukla 3 of Śaka-Samvat 452, corresponding to Thursday, the 26th April, A.D. 529; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 27th April. His longitude then was 24° 36'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Krittikâ; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahâ-Âśvayuja samvatsara was current on the given date.** And the result gives Śaka-Samvat 451 current (A.D. 528-29), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

As a matter of fact, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *samvatsara* was still current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in the following year, Śaka-Samvat 452; as well as in Śaka-Samvat 451, which is the real equivalent for the given Gupta year. Consequently, this record might be used to support a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; as well as the true running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. But this possibility has been disposed of, in my remarks on the date of A., in Gupta-Samvat 156, at page 108 above.

¹For this same reason, probably, the given date was specially selected for making the grant; since, the commencement of a *samvatsara* is regarded by Hindus as a very auspicious occasion.

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kārttika, or with the month Mārgaśīrsha, next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Chaitra śukla 13, in Gupta-Samvat 209, would still belong to Śaka-Samvat 451. But the results for the dates of both A. and C. above, at pages 108 and 115, disprove the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year. And the result for the date of C. also disproves the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* did not commence till Āśvina śukla 3 of Śaka-Samvat 451 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd September, A.D. 528; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṃvatsara* then current was Mahā-Bhādrapada, which commenced on Bhādrapada kṛṣṇa 11 of Śaka-Samvat 450, corresponding to Tuesday, the 7th September, A.D. 527.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Samvat 298 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 2nd March, A.D. 375. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 12 of Śaka-Samvat 297, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th March, A.D. 374; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 27th March. His longitude then was $355^{\circ} 11'$. By all three systems, he was then in Rēvatī; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyēṣṭha kṛṣṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 298, corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd May, A.D. 375; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 4th May. His longitude then was $31^{\circ} 49'$. By all three systems, he was then in Kṛttikā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Accordingly, with this epoch, **the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara was current on the given date.** This, however, is a mere coincidence. As we have seen at page 109 above, there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A.; but it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* commenced on Srāvaṇa kṛṣṇa 12 of Śaka-Samvat 297 current, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 374; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Āṣāḍha śukla 4 of Śaka-Samvat 298, corresponding to Friday, the 19th June, A.D. 375. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, **the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara was current on the given date.**

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Samvat 322 current; and its English equivalent would be Sunday, the 6th March,

A.D. 399. Here Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaiśākha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 321, corresponding to Tuesday, the 6th April, A.D. 398; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 7th April. His longitude then was $5^{\circ} 28'$. By all three systems, he was then in Aśvinī; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṃvat 322, corresponding to Friday, the 13th May, A.D. 399; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 14th May. His longitude then was $41^{\circ} 42'$. By all three systems, he was then in Rōhiṇī; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Accordingly, with this epoch also, **the Mahā-Āśvayuja samvatsara was current on the given date.** This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* commenced on Chaitra śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṃvat 321 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 14th March, A.D. 398; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 2 of Śaka-Saṃvat 322, corresponding to Thursday, the 10th March, A.D. 399. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, **the Mahā-Āśvayuja samvatsara was current on the given date.**

E.—The Bhumarā Pillar Inscription.

The last inscription of this series is the **Bhumarā pillar inscription of the Mahārājas Hastin and Śarvanātha**, No. 24, page 110; in which the date (line 7 ff.) is — Mahā-Māghē samvatsarē Kārttika-māsa divasa 10 9,—“in the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara*; the month Kārttika; the (solar) day 10 (and) 9.”

This gives us, for calculation, the **Mahā-Māgha samvatsara**, as current on the nineteenth solar day of the month Kārttika (October-November); but the current year of the Gupta era is not given. The only guide, therefore, in determining the approximate Gupta year, for which the calculations should be made, is the fact that this inscription shows that the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin was, at the time of this record, contemporaneous with the *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. For the *Mahārāja* Hastin, we have the extreme recorded dates of Gupta-Saṃvat 156 and 191; while, for the *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha, we have similarly the dates of the years 193 and 214; and for his father, Jayanātha, the latest date of the year 177, all of which may have to be referred to the Gupta era. If so, the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* in question,—on the assumption that what should be its regular place in the series was not affected by any omissions and repetitions, subsequent to the Mahā-Vaiśākha *samvatsara* which was current on Kārttika śukla 3 in Gupta-Saṃvat 156,—must be found in or about Gupta-Saṃvat 189 or 201; with a preference in favour of the year 189, because of the early date of the year 156 for the *Mahārāja* Hastin.

For Gupta-Samvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Samvat 431 current, the given date, *vis.* the nineteenth day of the month Kārttika, corresponds to Monday, the 13th October, A.D. 508. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E1) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 15 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 431, corresponding to Monday, the 28th July, A.D. 508; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 29th July. His longitude then was $117^{\circ} 4'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahā-Māgha**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina kṛishṇa 13 of Śaka-Samvat 432, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th August, A.D. 509; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th August. His longitude then was $147^{\circ} 49'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarā-Phalgunī; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Samvat 189, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara was current on the given date**. And this result gives Śaka-Samvat 431 current (A.D. 508-509), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

Again, for Gupta-Samvat 201 + 242 = Śaka-Samvat 443 current, the given date, *vis.* the nineteenth day of the month Kārttika, corresponds to Friday, the 2nd October, A.D. 520. Here, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E2) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada śukla 3 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 443, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd August, A.D. 520; or by the English calendar, on Monday, the 3rd August. His longitude then was $121^{\circ} 30'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahā-Māgha**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 444, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd September, A.D. 521; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 4th September. His longitude then was $152^{\circ} 17'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarā-Phalgunī; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Samvat 201 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahā-Māgha samvatsara was current on the given date**. And this result gives Śaka-Samvat 443 current (A.D. 520-21), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

The results for these two years, Gupta-Samvat 189 and 201, answer, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years. But they do not, in themselves, prove it; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record. The important point is, that in neither of these two cycles was the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* omitted.

If the dates in the grants of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa are to be referred to the Kalachuri era,¹ then the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* of this record will be earlier by either one or two cycles than the first of the two years given above. Here, again, in respect of the actual epoch no absolute proof can be derived from this record; and the only important point is, to ascertain that the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* was not omitted in either of the two cycles in question. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 10, corresponding to Thursday, the 19th July, A.D. 484; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 20th July. His longitude then was 108° 19'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Āślēṣhā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year, must have been named **Mahā-Māgha**. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 419 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 13, corresponding to Wednesday, the 24th July, A.D. 496; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 25th July. His longitude then was 112° 48'. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghā, and by the Garga system, in Āślēṣhā; and, by both systems, the *saṃvatsara* which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year, must have been named **Mahā-Māgha**. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 and 177 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* was current on the given date, and was not omitted. And these results give either Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85) or 419 current (A.D. 496-97), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṃvat 166 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 408 current, the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* commenced on Chaitra śukla 5, corresponding to Thursday, the 7th March, A.D. 485; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Chaitra śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 409, corresponding to Monday, the 3rd March, A.D. 486. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 419 current, the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* commenced on Phālguna kṛishṇa 12, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th January, A.D. 497; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in Gupta-Saṃvat 178; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Māgha śukla 4 of Śaka-Saṃvat 420, corresponding to Monday, the 12th January, A.D. 498. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 431 current, the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* commenced on Pauṣha kṛishṇa 3, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th November, A.D. 508; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in Gupta-Saṃvat 190; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Pauṣha kṛishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṃvat 432, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd November,

¹ See page 8 above.

A.D. 509. And thus, by this system also, in Gupta-Samvat 166, 178, and 190, the **Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara** was current on the given date. But this was not the case in the next cycle. In Gupta-Samvat $201 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 443$ current, the **Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara** commenced on Kârttika śukla 9, corresponding to Tuesday, the 6th October, A.D. 520, and falling four, five, or six days after the nineteenth day of the month; and it was followed by Mahâ-Phālguna on Kârttika kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 444, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd October, A.D. 521, and falling seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen days before the nineteenth day of the month. And thus, though the given *samvatsara* was not omitted, the given day did not fall within the limits of its duration.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, for Gupta-Samvat $188 + \text{A.D. } 166-67 = \text{A.D. } 354-55 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 277$ current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Saturday, 8th October, A.D. 354, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 12 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 277, corresponding to Tuesday, the 2nd August, A.D. 354; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 3rd August. His longitude then was $122^\circ 59'$. By all three systems, he was then in Maghâ; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahâ-Mâgha**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina śukla 12 of Śaka-Samvat 278, corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd September, A.D. 355; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 4th September. His longitude then was $153^\circ 34'$. By all three systems, he was then in Uttara-Phalguni; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phālguna. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with Gupta-Samvat 188 as the intended current year, the **Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara** was current on the given date. This result, however, does not help to prove the epoch, because the record does not specify the current Gupta year; and, by taking a different Gupta year, the same result can be obtained for a different epoch.

Again, for Gupta-Samvat $199 + \text{A.D. } 166-67 = \text{A.D. } 365-66 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 288$ current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 5th October, A.D. 365, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 288, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th July, A.D. 365; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 7th July. His longitude then was $95^\circ 56'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Bhâdrapada śukla 15 of Śaka-Samvat 289, corresponding to Monday, the 7th August, A.D. 366; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 8th August. His longitude then was $127^\circ 24'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pûrvâ-Phalguni; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phālguna; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha *samvatsara* being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was

then in Maghâ ; and the **Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṁvat 200.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 290, corresponding to Friday, the 7th September, A.D. 367 ; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 8th September. His longitude then was $157^{\circ} 42'$. By all three systems, he was then in Uttara-Phalgunî ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phālguna ; and it was a repeated *saṁvatsara* by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary *saṁvatsara* by the system of equal spaces.

. **By the mean-sign system,** in Gupta-Saṁvat 188 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 354-55 = Śaka-Saṁvat 277 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Āśvina śukla 13, corresponding to Friday, the 16th September, A.D. 354 ; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year ; being followed by Mahâ-Phālguna on Kārttika kṛishṇa 4 of Śaka-Saṁvat 278, corresponding to Tuesday, the 12th September, A.D. 355. And again, in Gupta-Saṁvat 200 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 366-67 = Śaka-Saṁvat 289 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* commenced on Bhādrapada śukla 3, corresponding to Thursday, the 27th July, A.D. 366 ; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year ; being followed by Mahâ-Phālguna on Śrāvaṇa śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 290, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd July, A.D. 367. And thus, with this epoch, and by this system, **the Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṁvat 188 and 200.** The results, however, do not in themselves prove anything definite as to the proposed epoch ; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record ; and, by taking different Gupta years, the same results would be obtained with a different epoch.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, for Gupta-Saṁvat 187 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 377-78 = Śaka-Saṁvat 300 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Sunday, the 22nd October, A.D. 377, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 4, of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 300, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th July, A.D. 377 ; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th July. His longitude then was $100^{\circ} 32'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Bhādrapada śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 301, corresponding to Sunday, the 12th August, A.D. 378 ; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 13th August. His longitude then was $131^{\circ} 50'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrva-Phalgunî ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phālguna ; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha *saṁvatsara* being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was then in Maghâ ; and the **Mahâ-Mâgha saṁvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Saṁvat 188.** Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṁvat 302, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th September,

A.D. 379; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 13th September. His longitude then was $162^{\circ} 0'$. By all three systems, he was then in Hasta; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; and it was a repeated *samvatsara* by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary *samvatsara* by the system of equal spaces.

Again, in Gupta-Samvat 199 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 389-90 = Śaka-Samvat 312 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 10th October, A.D. 389, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 6 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 312, corresponding to Sunday, the 15th July, A.D. 389; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 16th July. His longitude then was $104^{\circ} 51'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina kṛishṇa 4 of Śaka-Samvat 313, corresponding to Friday, the 16th August, A.D. 390; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th August. His longitude then was $135^{\circ} 57'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pūrvā-Phalgunī; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; the intervening Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* being omitted.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Samvat 188 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 378-79 = Śaka-Samvat 301 current, the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* commenced on Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 10, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th June, A.D. 378; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Āshāḍha śukla 1 of Śaka-Samvat 302, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd June, A.D. 379. Again, in Gupta-Samvat 200 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 390-91 = Śaka-Samvat 313 current, the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* commenced on Jyēshṭha kṛishṇa 2, corresponding to Wednesday, the 17th April, A.D. 390; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Jyēshṭha kṛishṇa 8 of Śaka-Samvat 314, corresponding to Sunday, the 13th April, A.D. 391. And thus, with this epoch also, and by this system, the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* was current on the given date in Gupta-Samvat 188 and 200. But here, again, the results do not in themselves prove anything definite as to the proposed epoch; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record; and, by taking different Gupta years, the same results would be obtained with a different epoch.

Summary of Results.

I have now examined all the dates, at present known, referable to the Gupta-Valabhī era, that furnish details for computation. And it only remains to sum up the results established by the preceding inquiries.

Albérûni tells us that there was an era, known both as the Gupta era and the Valabhī era, the years of which were to be converted into years of the Śaka era by

adding, according to his most explicit statement, two hundred and forty-one years to the Gupta-Valabhī dates. This fixes the starting-point of the era, approximately, as having occurred when Śaka-Saṃvat 241 had expired, and, by the epoch of the well-known Śaka era, when A.D. 319-20 was current; leaving only the determination of the exact epoch by the calculation of recorded dates. And, as regards a special point in his statements, of extreme importance, with the help of Prof. Wright, we have now obtained a translation which,—if it does not actually mean only that the Early Gupta kings had exercised so powerful a sway that, even when their dynasty came to an end, the era that had been used by them still continued in use,—is yet fully capable of that interpretation. At any rate, this translation frees us from the obligation under which we lay, by reason of M. Reinaud's rendering of the same passage, of connecting the establishment of an era with the extermination of the dynasty, and of placing the period of the Early Gupta supremacy anterior to A.D. 319, and the termination of it in that year. And the most that can be said against it, is, that it is the literal rendering of an ambiguous original, the real meaning of which must be determined by extraneous considerations.

The Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṃvat 529 expired shews that we must look to somewhere about A.D. 319 for the starting-point of the era in which are recorded the dynastic dates of Kumâragupta and the other kings of the Early Gupta dynasty, and any others that are to be referred to the same uniform series with them.

The dates in the records of the Early Guptas themselves, as far as the time of Skandagupta, do not afford details for computation. But, clearly belonging to the same uniform series of years, is the date contained in **the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta**. And converting this date into a Śaka date, in the manner indicated by Albêrûnî, we have found that, the resulting Śaka year being taken as an expired year, the details work out quite correctly.

Such dates, also, are those contained in **the records of the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas**; which, moreover, include a specific declaration that the Gupta sovereignty was then still continuing. And, calculating them in precisely the manner that is indicated by the results for the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription, we have obtained equally correct and uniform results. Also, the latest of these records, the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja Saṃkshôbha*, No. 25, page 112, shews that the Gupta sovereignty continued for at least two hundred and nine years. And this fact is amply sufficient to explain why,—whatever may have been its historical origin,—the era used in all these records should eventually come to be popularly known as the Gupta era.

Such dates, again, are those contained in **the inscriptions of Śivadêva I. and Mânadêva of Nêpâl**. And, that the first of them is recorded in the era in question, is shewn by the dates, in the Harsha era, for Aṃśuvarman, the contemporary of Śivadêva I.; while, with the same treatment, the details of the second of them work out quite correctly.

Such another date is that contained in **the Mōrbi grant of Jāinka**. And the details of this, again, work out correctly with the same treatment.

Such a series of dates, too, is that contained in **the records of the Valabhi family**. And, with a slight modification, due to a change in the scheme of the year, easily explainable, the same treatment gives correct results for the date in the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of this family, of the year 330; the only one, at present, that affords exact details for calculation. Also, these records give us a succession of twelve generations, commencing with the *Sēdāpati* Bhaṭārka, and ending with king Śīlāditya VII., with dates ranging from the year 207 to the year 447. For the first six or seven generations, the members of this family were only feudatory *Sēdāpatīs* and *Mahārājas*, without the authority to establish an era of their own. And, as a matter of fact, the date of the year 207 for the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna I., in the second generation, proves that the era did not run from the rise to power of his father Bhaṭārka, the founder of the family, but must have been adopted from some outside source. While, on the other hand, the long duration of this family, coupled with the fact that several of their charters were issued from the city of Valabhi itself,¹ and all of them belong either to that vicinity or to the neighbouring parts of Gujarāt, is amply sufficient to explain why the era used by them should eventually come to be popularly known, in those parts, as the Valabhi era.

And, finally, undeniable instances of the actual use of an era known as the Valabhi era, as late as the thirteenth century A.D., are furnished by **the Verāwal inscriptions** dated in Valabhi-Saṃvat 927 and 945. For the details of the earlier of these two dates, correct results can be obtained by applying the same slightly anomalous treatment that applies to the date in the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330. The latter of them, however, goes far beyond this. Not only does it fix the epoch of the era approximately, and in accordance with Albérūnī's statement, through the concomitant mention of the equivalent Vikrama and Hijra years; but also the details of it are such as to prove that the epoch of the era was exactly when Śaka-Saṃvat 241 had expired, and A.D. 319-20 was current. And it has furnished, in fact, the exact analogy, in accordance with which all dates in the Gupta-Valabhi era, that follow the true and original northern scheme of its years, have to be tested.

All this uniform agreement of results cannot be attributed to mere coincidence. But we must take it now, as a settled matter, that all the dates in question belong to one and the same era, running from the epoch of A.D. 319-20. And, irrespective of the question

¹ e.g. the grants of Dhruvasēna I., of the year 207 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 204); of Guhasēna, of the year 248 (*id.* Vol. V. p. 206, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 93); of Dharasēna II., of the year 252 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 68; Vol. VIII. p. 301; Vol. XV. p. 187; and No. 38 below, p. 164); of Śīlāditya I., of the year 286 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 359, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 327), and of the year 290 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 237); of Dhruvasēna II., of the year 310 (*id.* Vol. VI. p. 12); and of Dharasēna IV., of the year 326 (*id.* Vol. I. p. 14, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 66).

whether the era was actually established by the Early Guptas themselves, we must refer the rise of the Early Gupta power to somewhere about A.D. 319, instead of placing the period of their supremacy anterior to that year, and their downfall in it.

A few concluding words, however, seem necessary as to the exact years of the Christian era, which represent respectively the epoch or year 0, and the commencement or first current year, of the Gupta-Valabhi era.

Taking the years quoted in the records without qualification, as current years, we have obtained the following results,¹—by the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, Gupta-Saṃvat 165 current = A.D. 484-85 current;² by the Parivrājaka grants, 156 current = A.D. 475-76 current,³ 163 current = A.D. 482-83 current,⁴ 191 current = A.D. 510-11 current,⁵ and 209 current = A.D. 528-29 current;⁶ by the Nêpāl inscription of Mānadêva, 386 current = A.D. 705-706 current;⁷ and by the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadêva, 945 current = A.D. 1264-65 current.⁸ And all these equations give the uniform result of Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 0 = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period⁹ from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320; and Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 1 current = A.D. 320-21 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period from the 26th February, A.D. 320, to the 15th March, A.D. 321.

The results obtained from the Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 927, differ slightly from the above, and are — Gupta-Valabhi-Saṃvat 330 current = A.D. 648-49 current,¹⁰ and Valabhi-Saṃvat 927 current = A.D. 1245-46 current.¹¹ In these two instances the difference is due to a local alteration of the true and

¹ I exclude the Bhumarā pillar inscription, as proving nothing definite, because the Gupta year is not given in it.

² Or, more precisely, by the Śaka year, as commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, the period (see *Indian Eras*, p. 153) from the 14th March, A.D. 484, to the 2nd March, A.D. 485.—The dates given in these notes are quoted as approximately correct; they may, or may not, be the exact dates.

³ Or, in the same way, the period from the 21st February, A.D. 475, to the 11th March, A.D. 476.

⁴ Or, in the same way, the period from the 6th March, A.D. 482, to the 22nd February, A.D. 483.

⁵ Or, in the same way, the period from the 25th February, A.D. 510, to the 15th March, A.D.

511.

⁶ Or, in the same way, the period from the 8th March, A.D. 528, to the 24th February, A.D. 529.

⁷ Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 705, to the 20th March, A.D. 706.

⁸ Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 1264, to the 19th March, A.D. 1265.

⁹ Here I owe the initial and ending dates, which it was desirable to have exactly, to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

¹⁰ Or, more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, as commencing with Kārttika śukla 1, the period (see C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 122) from the 24th September, A.D. 648, to the 12th October, A.D. 649.

¹¹ Or, in the same way, the period from the 23rd October, A.D. 1245, to the 12th October, A.D. 1246.

original scheme of the Gupta year; made in such a way that each subsequent year commenced with the Kārttika śukla 1 immediately preceding the true commencement of the year with Chaitra śukla 1. And for these two dates, and any that may be found hereafter to belong to the same class, we have to apply the equations of Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 0 = A.D. 318-319 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period¹ from the 12th October, A.D. 318, to the 30th September, A.D. 319; and Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 1 current = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period from the 1st October, A.D. 319, to the 18th October, A.D. 320.

These two instances, however, are purely exceptional ones. And, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, we have to apply the epoch of A.D. 319-20; and to treat the years of the era as northern years, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1.

The equation between the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era and the Christian era, is not intrinsically dependent on any reference to the Śaka era; and it could be established directly by European Tables. In this inquiry, however, it has been established through results that have been worked out from Hindu Tables which are arranged for the Śaka era according to expired years; and, in order to use those Tables, the given Gupta-Valabhi years had to be converted into expired Śaka years. The process, however, has not converted the given Gupta-Valabhi years themselves into expired years. But what has been done has simply been, first, by the addition of a uniform running difference, to obtain the current Śaka year corresponding to each given current Gupta-Valabhi year; and then, in the usual way, to take the immediately preceding Śaka year as the expired year that is required as the basis of the calculation. Thus, the details of the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, which really belong to Gupta-Samvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Samvat 407 current, have been calculated with the basis of Śaka-Samvat 406 expired; and the details of the other dates in the same way.

Now, in the case of an era used specially by astronomers for their technical processes, as the Śaka era was, since we have to work with expired years, it is natural enough that the Tables should be arranged accordingly. And possibly, after a certain period, and in certain parts of India, we may have to interpret any given year of such an era as an expired year, whether it is expressly denoted as such or not.² But the same rule does not hold good in the case of eras that are not actually used for astronomical processes, though they are quoted in connection with details fixed by such processes.

¹ Here, again, I owe the exact dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

² A clear instance of this is furnished by the date in the Dēogaḍh inscription of Bhōjadēva (see page 107 above, note 1). By the literal rules of translation, the given Śaka year, 784, has to be interpreted as a current year; but, for the calculation, it has to be applied as an expired year.

Such an era is the Vikrama era.¹ And,—though the expired years of this era might be quoted, as is shewn, for instance, by lines 19 and 21 of the Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvât 529 expired, No. 18, page 79, and by line 21 of the Kaṭṭ grant of Jayantasimha of Vikrama-Saṁvât 1280 expired,²—yet, that, occasionally at least, the current years were used, is proved by the Gwâlior Sâsbahû temple inscription of Maht-pâla,³ in which we have first in words, the number of years expired, 1149, and then, partially in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year, 1150. Such an era, again, is the Gupta-Valabhî era; or, at least, we have not as yet obtained the slightest indication of its ever having been used by astronomers as the basis of calculations. And, in the absence of the use of any word meaning “expired” in connection with the year in a Gupta-Valabhî date, it is only reasonable that we should follow the ordinary rules of interpretation, and render the original passage as denoting a current year.

In one instance only, among the Gupta-Valabhî dates at present known, is a word meaning “expired” used in connection with the year. This exceptional instance is the Môrbi grant of Jâiṅka, in which an eclipse of the sun is recorded as having occurred when the year 585 had passed by. Unfortunately, the month and *tithi*, in and on which the eclipse occurred, are not specified; nor even the week-day. And, as we have seen at page 100 above, it might be possible to identify the solar eclipse of this record with that of the 10th November, A.D. 904. In that case, the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, would be equivalent to A.D. 904-905 current. It would then be as an expired year, not a current one, that the year 165 of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta is equivalent to A.D. 484-85 current; and so on with all the other dates. And we should have to apply, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, the epoch of A.D. 318-19 current, or more precisely, by the Śâka year, the period⁴ from the 18th February, A.D. 318, to the 8th March, A.D. 319; and, in the case of dates belonging to the same class with those of the Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvât 927, the epoch of A.D. 317-18 current, or more precisely, by the Vikrama year, the period from the 23rd September, A.D. 317, to the 11th October, A.D. 318. But we have also seen that the solar eclipse in question can be far more satisfactorily identified with that which occurred on the 7th May, A.D. 905; to do which, we have to take the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, as equivalent to A.D. 905-906 current. And this record, therefore, furnishes strong and instructive corroboration of my view that, in the absence of

¹ The present Tables of this era, however, seem to be arranged, like those of the Śâka era, according to expired years. And some of the almanacs quoted in Appendix I. below, give them in the same way.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 197.

³ For the full reading and translation of the date see Texts and Translations, page 22, note 5.

⁴ Here, again, I owe the exact initial and ending dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

any distinct specification to the contrary, **we must interpret the years in Gupta-Valabhî dates as current years.**

The Origin of the Era.

I have shewn, at page 33 ff. above, that the so-called Gupta era is not one which, due originally to some event occurring only in approximation to A.D. 318, 319, or 320, had its exact epoch determined, for convenience of comparison with the Śaka era, by adopting the expiration of an even number of cycles of the planet Jupiter, either of the Twelve-Year or of the Sixty-Year System. And no other chronological or astronomical considerations suggest themselves, for the selection of the exact epoch that has been proved. **Its origin, therefore, must be found in some historical event, which occurred actually in A.D. 320, or so closely to that time that, when the scheme of the northern Śaka year was applied, the reckoning of the era was not affected to any appreciable extent.** And here, though the point is not conclusive either way, we must bear in mind that, as has been shewn at page 19 ff. above, in the epigraphical references to the era there is nothing at all, at any early period, to connect the name of the Early Guptas with it, especially as the founders of it; and nothing to connect the name of Valabhî with it, until at least nine centuries after its establishment.

We must also bear in mind that it is certain that **the era cannot have been established by any member of the Valabhî family**; the reasons for this being —(1) that, for the first six or seven generations, the members of this family were mere feudatory *Sēndapatis* and *Mahārājas*, without the authority to establish an era of their own; —and (2) that the date of the year 207 for the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna I., in the second generation, proves that the reckoning runs from long before the first rise to power of his father, the *Sēndapati* Bhaṭārka, by whom the family was founded.

In the same way, the first two members of the Early Gupta family, Gupta and Ghaṭōtkacha, held only the feudatory rank of *Mahārāja*, and had not the authority to establish an era. The first paramount sovereign in the family was Ghaṭōtkacha's son, Chandragupta I. And, if a Gupta era, truly and properly so called, was devised in his time, then as its starting-point there would have been selected the commencement of his reign, not the date of the rise to power of his first recorded ancestor, the *Mahārāja* Gupta; as was done in the case of the Harsha era, which disregards, not only two generations of *Mahārājas* at the commencement of the genealogy, but even the reigns of two kings, Prabhākaravardhana and Rājyavardhana II., and runs from the commencement of the reign of the third paramount sovereign, Harshavardhana himself. So, also, when the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. established a new era under the name of the Chālukya-Vikrama-Kāla,¹ he disregarded the reigns of all his ancestors, and made the era date from his own accession

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 187 ff.

to the throne. The dates in the Early Gupta records shew clearly that the Gupta era, cannot, under any circumstances, run from the accession of any member of the dynasty later than Chandragupta I. And there are essential difficulties, under any normal conditions, in the way of making the era date from the commencement of his reign; i.e. of taking A.D. 320-21 as his first current year. For his great-grandson, Kumāragupta, we have dates in the era, ranging from the year 96 to the year 130 odd;¹ of which we may take, as the latest certain one,² that of the year 129, recorded in the Mankuār inscription, No. 11, page 45. And, as we ought to assume that Chandragupta I. was at least twenty years old when his reign commenced, this gives us a period of a hundred and forty-nine years, which, spread over four generations, gives to each a duration of thirty-seven years and a quarter, or nearly half as much again as the usually accepted average maximum rate of twenty-five years for a Hindu generation.³ This, too, is only dealing with the question of generations. If we take the period of a hundred and twenty-nine years only, from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. to nearly the end of that of Kumāragupta,—which gives an average of thirty-two years and a quarter for each of the four reigns,—then, as compared with the average duration, twenty years at the outside, of a Hindu reign, the excess is still more remarkable. And almost exactly the same results are obtained, if, instead of considering four generations and reigns, down to the end of the time of Kumāragupta, we take the latest certain date⁴ of Chandragupta II., viz. the year 93 given in the Sāñchi inscription, No. 5, page 29, and spread the period of ninety-three years over three reigns, or, on the same assumption as regards the age of Chandragupta I., the period of a hundred and thirteen years over three generations. On the question of generations, I will not base any particularly special objection. An analogy for an abnormal average rate might be deduced from the Western Chalukya genealogy,⁵ in which we have Śaka-Samvat⁶ 930 for the commencement of the reign of Vikramāditya V., and Śaka-Samvat 1060 for the end of the reign, and it may safely be assumed the death, of Sōmēśvara III. in the third generation after him. If we take it that Vikramāditya V. was twenty years old in Śaka-Samvat 930, we have one hundred and fifty years for the four generations; or an average of thirty-seven years and a half for each. But, from Śaka-Samvat 930 to 1060, there were six reigns; with an average of twenty-five years, or seven less than we

¹ See page 67 above.

² And it must be very nearly his latest date; for, he had then been reigning for at least thirty-three full years, and we have the date of the year 136 for his son and successor, Skandagupta.—The selection of any later date would, of course, only intensify the force of the argument.

³ The silver coins (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 65 f.) seem to give the year 94 or 95; but the latest absolutely certain date is the one that I quote. Here again, the adoption of a later date would only strengthen the argument.

⁴ See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 18, Table.

⁵ The exact year was doubtful when I wrote the book referred to in the preceding note; but it has now been established by the Kaūthēm grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 15 ff.)

should have to allot to each of the four Early Gupta kings in question. And even this result is due chiefly to the extraordinarily long reign of Vikramāditya VI., for fifty-two years, from Śaka-Saṃvat 997 to 1048. If we take the whole period of the Western Chālukya dynasty, covering one hundred and ninety years, from Śaka-Saṃvat 895, the first year of Taila II., down to Śaka-Saṃvat 1084, as the end of the reign and the death of Taila III.,¹ we have ten reigns, with an average duration of just nineteen years each. An average of thirty-two years for four successive reigns of Hindu fathers and sons, seems, from every point of view, an impossibility. And this prevents our making the Gupta era run from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. We must, therefore, accept it as certain that **the Early Guptas only adopted the era of some other dynasty.** And we must look for its origin to some extraneous source.

Now, it is evident that **the Early Guptas rose to power first as feudatory Mahārājas**, the third of whom, Chandragupta I., while holding that same rank, established his independence; so that, his successors maintaining the same position, the paramount titles, and not his original feudatory title, are always coupled with his name in the genealogical passages in their records. And, from the *Mahārāja* Gupta down to Kumāragupta, we have two feudatory governments and four reigns; which, at the average rate of twenty years, almost fill up the period indicated by the latest certain date for Kumāragupta, and, by a coincidence, place the commencement of the government of the *Mahārāja* Gupta very near to A.D. 320. If, then, we could determine the paramount sovereign of whom the *Mahārāja* Gupta was a feudatory, we should have in him the founder of the era; provided we could only shew that his successors also dated their records in it. And the only difficulty then remaining, would be,—When Chandragupta I. and his descendants had asserted themselves as independent sovereigns, by rebellion against their masters, why should they continue to use a purely dynastic era, which had only been running for a short time and had certainly not become an astronomical era, and which would always remind them of the originally subordinate status of their ancestors; instead of establishing a new era of their own, or instead of adopting some well-known era, of general use, which could evoke no reminiscence of a humiliating kind?² The Early Gupta records, however, throw no light on this point; nor can we expect any, unless we obtain inscriptions of the time of the *Mahārājas* Gupta and Ghaṭōtkacha, or of the early years of Chandragupta I. And at

¹ I exclude the short reign of Sōmēśvara IV., from Śaka-Saṃvat 1104 to about 1111, because there had been meanwhile an interruption of the Western Chālukya power by the Kalachuris of the Dekkan.

² An objection of this sort does not apply to the use of the Gupta era by the Valabhi family. The *Sēndapati* Bhaṭārka drove out the invaders who had overthrown the Gupta sovereignty in Western India; and may possibly have been himself the feudatory of some descendant of the original Gupta stock. And when Dharasēna IV. became a paramount sovereign, it was on the disruption of the Kanauj kingdom. At neither point was there any reason for the members of this family to feel any aversion to the Gupta era.

present, in connection with India itself, we know of no king the commencement of whose reign can with any certainty be referred to A.D. 320; and of no historical event to which we can safely allot that date. Nor, while the Early Gupta sovereignty continued, is there any indication of the Gupta era having been used, in India, by any other independent dynasty. The nearest approximation to the year in question that we have, is in the case of the Kalachuri dynasty of Central India; in respect of which certain points in the records of the Parivrajaka *Mahardjas* and the *Mahardjas*, of Uchchakalpa do tend to support the actual existence, in the Early Gupta period, of a Kalachuri era, and, consequently, of Kalachuri kings under some earlier name.¹ The Kalachuri dates, however, certainly cannot be referred to the Gupta epoch. And circumstances indicate that the dominion of the Kalachuri kings, at that time, was confined entirely to the more eastern parts of Central India; so that they were only contemporaries of the northern dynasty of which the Early Guptas were at first the servants. Mr. Fergusson's opinion,² again, was in the direction of the era being established, with the foundation of Valabhi as a new capital of Western India, by the Andhra king Gôtamiputra, whom he placed³ between A.D. 312 and 333; the *Mahardja* Gupta being a feudatory of him or of one of his immediate successors. But the chronology of the Andhras,—who, at the best, seem to have been too essentially a western and southern dynasty to be concerned in any leading way with the history of Northern India,—still remains to be finally determined. And Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who has given more consideration to the subject than any one else as yet, places Gôtamiputra about two centuries earlier,⁴ in the period A.D. 133 to 154; and, according to his view of the early chronology, we should have to refer the establishment of the Gupta era to some event connected with either the downfall of the Kshatrapas of Saurashtra or the history of the Râshtrakûtas of the Dekkan. The Kshatrapas, however, certainly did not use the Gupta era. And there is not the slightest particle of evidence that the Râshtrakûtas ever had an era of their own. There can be but little doubt that the real paramount lords of the *Mahardjas* Gupta and Ghatôtkacha, and at first of Chandragupta I. himself, were some of the later Indo-Scythian kings of Northern India, whose duration is certain at any rate up to the time of Samudragupta. These Indo-Scythian kings must have used the Śaka era. But this era, again, had not then become an astronomical era;⁵ and there was, therefore, no special inducement for the Early Guptas to adopt it; but, on the contrary, there was an objection of the kind already indicated. Further, the Vikrama era was not an astronomical era; and the use of it, in those days, under the name of the Malava era, was probably confined to the different sections of the Malava tribe, and to territories of which no part was brought under the Early Gupta sway until the time of Samudragupta. And, finally, the Kalivuga era in all probability was used only

¹ See page 8 ff. above.

² *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. IV. p. 128 f.

Early History of the Dekkan, p. 27.

³ *id.* p. 122.

⁵ See Appendix I. below.

by the astronomers of Ujjain, for purely technical purposes; and was not known at all in the territories in which the Early Guptas first rose to power. In fact, in India itself there was no already existing era which would recommend itself to the Early Guptas. And we have next to inquire whether there may have been any such era, beyond the limits of India proper.

By a comparison of the dates of Śivadēva I. and Amśuvarman, at page 95 f. above, I have already shewn, in a general way, that the Gupta era was in use beyond the north-eastern frontier of India, in Nêpāl; a fact which is duly corroborated by the results for the date in the inscription of Mānadēva, of the year 386. We must, therefore, now see what more particular information can be gathered from the epigraphical records of that country.¹

¹ And here we may note that the Kings of Valabhī can have had nothing to do either with the introduction of an era into Nêpāl, or with the borrowing of an era from that country. As I have already had occasion to remark, the members of the Valabhī family, for the first six or seven generations inclusive of Bhaṭārka, were mere feudatory *Sēnāpatis* and *Mahārājas*; and these members of the family, at any rate, cannot possibly have conquered Nêpāl, or even have extended their territory up to the confines of that country. The first of the family who claimed to be a paramount sovereign is Dharasēna IV., with the dates of 326 and 330; and with the titles of *Paramabhaṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, in common with all his successors, and also with that of *Chakravartin*, which, not being assumed by any of his successors, may perhaps indicate that his power was more extensive than theirs ever was. Now, in passing, if we refer his first date of 326 to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, the result, A.D. 645-46, brings us to a very suitable period indeed for him to assume the position and titles of a paramount sovereign; *vis.* to the commencement of the anarchy which, as Matwan-lin tells us (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 20) attended the death of Harshavardhana, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north." It ended in the complete disruption, for the time, of the kingdom of Kanauj. Amśuvarman became paramount in Nêpāl, and Ādityasēna in Magadha; and the opportunity was of course taken advantage of by Dharasēna IV., to assert his independence in the west of India. But, to say nothing of the improbability of the thing on other grounds, the fact that Amśuvarman became king of Nêpāl, is in itself enough to prevent our admitting the possibility of a conquest of that country by Dharasēna IV. Referring the same date of 326 to the three earlier proposed epochs, we have respectively A.D. 403, 492, and 516. For these periods there is, perhaps, no particular objection to our assuming, for the sake of argument, that Dharasēna IV. may have extended his power over a considerable portion of Northern India, in the parts nearer to Kāthiawād and Gujarāt. But the Valabhī charters, in which a conquest so extensive as that of the whole of Northern India up to Nêpāl, or inclusive of that country, would most certainly have been recorded, give not the slightest hint of any such event at any time in the history of the family. In fact, with the exception of the allusion to the overthrow of the Maitrakas by Bhaṭārka, they give absolutely no detailed information at all in connection with any of the successes claimed by the members of this family; which tends to shew very plainly that, from beginning to end, the Valabhī power was purely local. And, in connection with the earlier proposed epochs, even if Dharasēna IV. did conquer Nêpāl, or Northern India up to the frontier of Nêpāl, and did introduce there the era of A.D. 319-20, the question still remains, and cannot be answered,—Why should he act with such extreme inconsistency as to introduce there this era, which, according to those who have sought to establish those epochs, was not brought into actual use in his own territory; instead of the Gupta era which he himself, and his successors, continued to employ for all the official purposes of their own kingdom?

In Appendix IV. below, I give an account of such of the **inscriptions from Nêpâl** as have any bearing on the question now under consideration. The actual dates of them range from A.D. 535 to 854; and give a fairly clear idea of the history of the reigning families of the country during that period. They shew two separate houses, ruling contemporaneously, and mostly on equal terms; and each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own. One of them was a family, the name of which is not mentioned in the inscriptions, but which in the *Vamśāvali* is called the Thākuri family, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailāsakūṭabhavanā, and uniformly using the Harsha era. The other was the Lichchhavi family, distinctly so named in the inscriptions, and in the *Vamśāvali* allotted to the Sūryavaṃśa or solar lineage, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mānagriha, and **uniformly using an era with the Gupta epoch.**

That **the Lichchhavi clan or tribe was one of great antiquity and power**, in the direction of Nêpâl, is shewn by the writings of Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsiang,¹ which connect them with events that preceded the nirvāṇa of Buddha. No exception, therefore, need be taken to the general outlines of the long account in one of the inscriptions, which, so far as the Nêpâl branch of the tribe is concerned, gives us the first really historical member of it in the person of Jayadêva I., who, by the ordinary allowance of time for each Hindu generation, must be referred to the period A.D. 330 to 355.

Proof of friendly relations between the Early Guptas and the Lichchhavis, at an early time, is given by the marriage of Chandragupta I. with Kumâradêvi, the daughter of Lichchhavi or of a Lichchhavi king. And, that the Lichchhavis were then at least of equal rank and power with the Early Guptas, is shewn by the pride in this alliance manifested by the latter; exhibited in the careful record of the names of Kumâradêvi, and of her father or her family, on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the uniform application of the epithet, "daughter's son of Lichchhavi or of a Lichchhavi," to Samudragupta in the genealogical inscriptions. Again, the Allahâbâd pillar inscription shews that, even if Samudragupta did not make Nêpâl a tributary province, his kingdom extended up to the confines of that country.

There can be no doubt that **the Early Gupta kings must have known the nature and origin of whatever era was being used by their Lichchhavi connections in Nêpâl.** And the period established for Jayadêva I. approximates so closely to A.D. 320-21, that it needs but little adjustment to place the commencement of his reign actually in that year. This arrangement would give a perfectly intelligible reason for the origin of the era, which was clung to so persistently by his descendants that they continued the use of it for at least two centuries after the introduction of the Harsha era into

¹See Legge's *Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 71, 76; Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. pp. xiii, lii. iv. and Vol. II. pp. 67 note, 70, 73, 77 note, 81.

Népâl, and its acceptance by their immediate neighbours, the Thākuri family of Kailāsa-kūṭabhavana. And no objection could be taken by the Early Gupta kings to the adoption of the era of a royal house, in their connection with which they took special pride. I think, therefore, that **in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era**, dating either from a time when the republican or tribal constitution of the Lichchhavis was abolished in favour of a monarchy; or from the commencement of the reign of Jayadēva I., as the founder of a royal house in a branch of the tribe that had settled in Népâl. But the question of the origin of the era is one, of course, on which further discoveries, especially if any can be made in Népâl, may be expected to throw more light.

4th November 1887.

J. F. FLEET.

APPENDIX I.

A Note on the Epoch and Reckoning of the Śaka Era.

Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's Tables,¹ and Ganpat Krishnaji's and Kero Lakshman Chhatre's almanacs, shew the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 1808. So, also, the *Sâyana-Pañchâng* shews the same period, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 1808, as the ordinary *nirayana* luni-solar year; the period covered by Śaka-Saṃvat 1808, as a *sâyana* year, being from the 6th March, A.D. 1886, to the 22nd February, A.D. 1887. For all purposes of calculation, however, this Śaka year has to be taken as "the year 1808, expired;" even if² we were working out the very first day of it, Chaitra śukla 1. The Tables are intended for this application of the number; and there are, in fact, no grounds for doubting that the above period really is equivalent to Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 expired, and 1809 current. But it is quoted, for all ordinary purposes, simply as Śaka-Saṃvat 1808. And, if a Hindu were converting "Saturday, the 1st January, A.D. 1887," into its corresponding Hindu date, he would write down, as the result, "Śakê 1808 Pausa śukla saptamî Śanivâra;" in which, not only does he abstain from including any word meaning "expired," but he actually uses, instead even of the crude form Śaka, the Sanskrit locative Śakê, which literally means "in Śaka (1808)," i.e. "while Śaka 1808 is current;" and this is the meaning which the mention of the year presents to any Hindu who is not an astronomer, and

¹ The proper method of applying his Tables may perhaps be inferred from his remarks (e.g. *Indian Eras*, pp. 5, 48, 52) that the numbers of the years in Hindu dates refer to years actually elapsed; and that the Hindus count only by completed years. But I am speaking of the meaning which the Tables present to a general reader, at first sight. Thus, anyone turning to his Table XVII. p. 199, —to which there is not attached a note that the Hindu years given therein are expired years,—in order to ascertain the Śaka equivalent of A.D. 1886-87, finds Śaka-Saṃvat 1808; and naturally takes it as a current year. So, also, with any similar Tables; e.g. those in Mr. C. Patell's *Chronology*. Such Tables would be much more useful for general purposes, if they shewed the current Hindu years opposite the current Christian years, as is done in the case of the *samvatsaras* of the two cycles of Jupiter; leaving it to anyone who has to make a particular calculation, to take the preceding year as the basis of his work. And, in ordinary writing, the current Hindu years should certainly be quoted with the current Christian years.

² Unless with Tables based on the *Mêsha-Saṃkrânti*, or entrance of the sun into Aries, as Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables are; in which the Śaka year is practically treated as commencing with the day of the *Mêsha-Saṃkrânti*. With such Tables, for any *tithi* connected with Śaka-Saṃvat (1809 current and) 1808 expired, up to the *tithi* that coincided with the solar day on which the *Mêsha-Saṃkrânti* occurred, we must work with the basis of even one year still earlier, viz. Śaka-Saṃvat 1807 expired.

who is not acquainted with the technical application of the number of the year. So, also, the same expression is used in the almanacs themselves; thus, in the first two almanacs mentioned above, "Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsarē," on the title-page; and "Śakē 1808 Chaitra-śukla-pakṣaḥ," on the top of the page which exhibits the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra; and, in the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*, "Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ," on the title-page, and elsewhere "amāntaḥ Chaitra-śukla-pakṣaḥ Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ." In the same way, I find, for the same period, "Śakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsarē" on the title-page of an almanac published at Pandit Umacharan Muhatmim's Press at Gwālior; and, for the period from the 17th March, A.D. 1885, to the 4th April, A.D. 1886, "Śālibāhaṇa-Śakē 1807," on the title-page of the *Jōdhpur Chaṇḍū-Pañchāṅg* for that year, and "Śri-Saṁvat 1942 Śakē 1807 Chaitra-śukla-pakṣaḥ," in *Bapu Deva Shastri's* almanac, prepared at Benares and published at Lakhnau.

Again, in the preliminary passages that introduce the *saṁvatsara-phala* or '(astrological) results for the year,' and other similar matter, *Ganpat Krishnaji's* and *K. L. Chhatre's* almanacs, contain the passage—*atha gata-Kaliḥ 4987, śēsha-Kaliḥ 427013; Svasti; śrīman-nṛipa-Vikramārka-samay-āṭita-saṁvat*¹ 1942, *Hēmalamba-nāma-saṁvatsarē; tathā śrīman-nṛipa-Śālivāhana-Śakē 1808, Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsarē; asmin varshē rājā chandraḥ*,—"now the expired (*portion of the*) Kali (*age*) (*is*) 4987 (*years*); (*and*) the remainder of the Kali (*age*) (*is*) 427013 (*years*). Hail! In the year 1942 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramārka,² (*and*) in the Hēmalamba *saṁvatsara*; so also in the Śaka (*year*) 1808 of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (*and*) in the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*; in this year, the king (*is*) the Moon." And, for the *nirayana* year, the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg* for Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 has—*Kaliyugasya gata-varshāṇi 4987; śrīman-nṛipa-Vikramārka-saṁvat*³ 1943 *Vilambi-saṁvatsaraḥ; śrīman-nṛipa-Śālivāhana-Śak-ābdah 1808 Vyaya-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ; ath-āsmin varshē rājā chandraḥ*,—"the expired years of the Kaliyuga (*are*) 4987; in the year 1943 of the glorious king Vikramārka, (*there is*) the *saṁvatsara* named Vilambin; (*and there is*) the year 1808 of the Śaka of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (*and*) the *saṁvatsara* named Vyaya; now, in this year, the king (*is*) the Moon." In these passages, these three almanacs again treat the Śaka year,

¹ i.e. *saṁvatsarē*, or *saṁvatsarēshu*.

² It is curious that here the Vikrama year should be distinctly specified as expired, while the Śaka year is not qualified in the same manner; as if a distinction were being made in the methods of reckoning the two eras.

³ i.e. *saṁvatsarē*, or *saṁvatsarēshu*.—The figures here, and in the Gwālior almanac, 1943, differ from those in *Ganpat Krishnaji's* and *K. L. Chhatre's* almanacs, 1942, because the latter quote the southern reckoning, by which each Vikrama year commences with the month Kārttika, seven lunations later than the same year in the northern reckoning; consequently, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 (expired), on the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, Vikrama-Saṁvat 1492 was still running, by the southern reckoning.

apparently, as a current year. The **Gwâlior almanac**, however, which I have quoted above, has — gata-Kaliḥ 4987, śēsha-Kaliḥ 427013; tan-madhyē gata-Śakāḥ 1808, śēsha-Śakāḥ 16192 Svasti; śrī-Vikramārka-rājya-samayād atīt samvat¹ 1943, Śaka-gata-varshēshu 1808, chāndra-mānēna Vyaya-nāma-samvat-sarē; Bārhaspatya-mānēna, Śakē 1807 Āsvina-kṛishṇa-7 Śukrē sūry-ōdayād gata-ghaṭīshu 47 palēshu 24 tad-avadhi, Śakē 1808 Āsvina-kṛishṇa-14 Bhaumē ghaṭī[shu*] 46 palē[shu*] 3 tāvat-paryantam, Vilambi-samvatsar-ōllēkhah vidhēyah, tad-agrē Vikāri-samvatsar-ōllēkhah kāryah; Chaitr-ādaū rājā chandrah,— “the expired (*portion of the*) Kali (*age*) (*is*) 4987 (*years*), (*and*) the remainder of the Kali (*age*) is 427013 (*years*); in it, the expired (*portion of the*) Śaka (*era*) (*is*) 1808 (*years*); and the remainder of the Śaka (*era*) (*is*) 16192 (*years*) Hail! In the year 1943 expired from the time of the reign of the glorious Vikramārka, (*and*) in the expired Śaka year 1808, (*and*), by the lunar reckoning, in the (*current*) samvatsara named Vyaya,²—by the reckoning of Jupiter, the Vilambin samvatsara is to be used in writings from the expiration of 47 *ghaṭīs*, 24 *palas*, from sunrise on Friday, the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āsvina, in Śaka 1807, up to (*the expiration of*) 46 *ghaṭīs*, 3 *palas*, (*from sunrise*) on Tuesday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āsvina, in Śaka 1808; after that, the Vikārin samvatsara is to be used in writings,—at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (*is*) the Moon.” Passages of a similar kind with those quoted above, occur at the end of each almanac, in connection with the *Samkrāntis*.

In the same passages for the *sāyana* year, Śaka-Samvat 1808, the **Sāyana-Pañchāṅg** does not confine itself to any indefinite expression, but explicitly quotes the Śaka year as a current year; thus — Kaliyugasya samdhyāyā āditah, Śālivāhana-Śak-ārambhakāla-paryantam, Nand-ādr-Indu-guṇa-(3179)-mitāni saura-varshāny-atītāni; pravartamāna-Śālivāhana-Śak-ābdaḥ asht-ōttar-āshṭādaśa-(1808)-mitah; amuṁ samvatsaram Narmadāyā dakṣhiṇa-bhāgē Vyaya-nāmnā vyavaharanti, uttara-bhāgē cha Vilambi-nāmnā; ath-āsmīn varshē rājā Śāniḥ,—“from the commencement of the *samdhyā*³ of the Kaliyuga, up to the time of the commencement of the Śālivāhana-Śaka, there expired solar years which are measured by the (nine) Nandas, the (seven) mountains, the (one) moon, and the (three) qualities, (3179); (*and*) the current year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka is measured by eighteen hundred, increased by eight, (1808); on the south side of the

¹ i.e. *atītē samvatsarē*, or *atītēshu samvatsarēshu*.

² The context is “at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (*is*) the moon,” a little further on. The intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis.

³ *samdhyā*, which is usually translatable by ‘morning or evening twilight,’ means, as applied to any of the four ages, a long period that runs at the commencement of each, before the full development of the age itself. The *samdhyā* of the Kali age is one hundred divine years, equivalent to 36,000 years of men; so that we are still only in this period. The age itself will run for 360,000 years of men. And it will end with a *samdhyā* of 36,000 years of men. These figures make up the total of 432,000 years in the age.

Narmadâ, they distinguish this *samvatsara* by the name of Vyaya; and, on the north side, by the name of Vilambin; now, in this year, the king (*is*) Saturn." But, in the corresponding passage in the same almanac for the preceding year, Śaka-Samvat 1807, after giving in the same words the number of the solar years that had expired from the commencement of the *samdhya* of the Kaliyuga up to the commencement of the Śaka era, the text runs — tatô vartamâna-vatsar-ârambhakâla-paryantam sapt-ôttar-âshtâdaśa-śata-(1807)-mitâni varshâni. gatâni; amuṁ vartamâna-samvatsaram Narmadâyâ dakṣiṇê bhâgê Pârthiva-nâmnâ vyāvaharanti, uttarê bhâgê cha Hêmalamba-nâmnâ; ath=asmin varshê râjâ Bhaumah,—“from then, up to the commencement of the current year, there have expired years which are measured by eighteen hundred, increased by seven, (1807); on the south side of the Narmadâ, they distinguish this current *samvatsara* by the name of Pârthiva; and, on the north side, by the name of Hêmalamba; now, in this year, the king (*is*) Mars.”¹ In passing, therefore, from Śaka-Samvat 1807 to 1808, a verbal distinction, at least, was made between expired and current years; and the phraseology adopted in the almanac for Śaka-Samvat 1808, has been repeated in the almanac for the next year, 1809. In one instance, A.D. 1885-86, the Pârthiva or Hêmalamba *samvatsara*, each current, was treated as equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 1807 expired; while, in the other, A.D. 1886-87, the Vyaya or Vilambin *samvatsara*, each current, and each the next in the cycle after respectively Pârthiva and Hêmalamba, is treated as equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 1808 current. What were the reasons for this change, I do not know; and I will leave it to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, one of the editors of the almanac, to explain them elsewhere. But, by the literal interpretation of the phraseology for A.D. 1885-86, and in accordance with the principles of the Tables, that period was equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 1807 expired, (and 1808 current); and A.D. 1886-87 should have been described as being represented by Śaka-Samvat 1808 expired, (and 1809 current).

I have now to quote the fact that, in **Madras**, the same English period, A.D. 1886-87, is actually called Śaka-Samvat 1809, with the same *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, Vyaya, attached to it. There are, it is true, two somewhat varying practices to be found in Southern India. Thus, the **Telugu Siddhânta-Pañchāṅgam**, published, I think, in the Arcot District, gives the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as being the Vyaya *samvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Samvat 1808 expired; and at the commencement, it quotes the expired years throughout; thus — “Kaliyuga-gat-âbdâh 4987; Śalivâhana-Śaka-gat-âbdâh 1808; Vikramârka-Śaka-gat-âbdâh 1943.” But, on the other hand, the **Telugu Calendar**, published at Madras, gives the same luni-solar period, from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as being the Vyaya *samvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Samvat

¹ Except for reading *amuṁ vartamâna-vatsaram*, and omitting *atha* before *asmin varshê*, the text is exactly the same in Bapu Deva Shastri's almanac for Śaka-Samvat 1807. I have not been able to obtain a copy of his almanac for the next year.

1809, Kaliyuga-Samvat 4988, and Vikrama-Samvat 1944, which are not specified as either current or expired, but can only be intended as current. And, in the same way, the **Tamil Siriya-Pañchāṅgar**, for the following year, published at Madras, gives the solar period from the 12th April, A.D. 1887, to the 11th April, A.D. 1888, as being the Sarvajit *samvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Samvat 1810, Kaliyuga-Samvat 4989, and Vikrama-Samvat ¹ 1935, which, similarly, are not specified as either current or expired, but can only be intended as current.² And, from other indications, there seems to be no doubt that, of these two practices of Southern India, thus illustrated, the popular and generally current one is the latter one, by which the period A.D. 1886-87 is quoted as Śaka-Samvat 1809; the reckoning, in this and the other eras, being thus, at first sight, one year in advance of the customary reckoning of Northern and Western India.

The difference, however, is only an apparent one; and is due to the evident fact that **the Madras reckoning has preserved the system of current years, while the other is regulated by expired years.** But it is almost always the reckoning of Northern and Western India that is now quoted. And the years of it, though really expired years, are not distinctly and habitually quoted as such. And hence there is a general understanding that, as between the Śaka and the Christian eras, the additive quantity, to be applied to the former, is 78-79;³ and that the epoch or year 0 of the Śaka era, is the period from the 3rd March, A.D. 78, to the 20th February, A.D. 79, both included; and its commencement, or first current year, the period from the 21st February, A.D. 79, to the 10th March, A.D. 80, both included.⁴ This, however, really gives current Christian years,

¹ Here the 3 in the tens place must be a mistake for 4.

² It would appear that the Tamil *Vākya-Pañchāṅgam*, published at Madras, gives the solar period from the 12th April A.D. 1887, to the 10th April, A.D. 1888, as being the Sarvajit *samvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Samvat 1809, Kaliyuga-Samvat 4988, and Vikrama-Samvat 1945; all of which are distinctly specified as current. But this cannot possibly be correct, in respect of the Śaka and Kaliyuga years.

³ Thus, even Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, — through whose "Note on the Śaka Dates and the Years of the Bārhaspatya Cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions" (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 105 ff.) my attention was first drawn to the desirability of examining the details of the almanacs, — has written (*id.* p. 99; the italics are his) "191 Gupta *past* + 242 = 433 Śaka *current* + 78 = 511 A.D. *current* 209 Gupta *past* + 242 = 451 Śaka *current* + 78 = 529 A.D. *current*." I myself had the same view, till not very long ago. Other writers could easily be shewn to have lain under the same misconception. And Dr. Burnell even went so far as to say (*South-Indian Palæography*, p. 72, note) "the rough equation for converting this era into the Christian date, is + 78½. The beginning of the year being at the March equinox; if the Śaka *atita*" (*i.e.* expired) "year be mentioned, the equation is + 79½."

⁴ I owe these four dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit. Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, p. 139) gives from the 14th March, A.D. 78, to the 17th February, A.D. 79; and from the 18th February, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80. But a comparison of his initial days for the epoch and the first year, shews at once that there is some mistake. The 18th February is twenty-four days earlier than the 14th March; whereas the difference should be only eleven days.* Mr. C. Patell (*Chronology*, p. 96) does not give the initial day of the epoch; but gives, in the same way, the period from the 18th February, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80, for the first year.

equivalent to expired Śaka years. It is evident from the details given above regarding Śaka-Samvat 1808 and 1809, that, according to the reckoning of the era as fixed by the early astronomers, and as preserved to the present day, **the true epoch is A.D. 77-78**, and the period from the 3rd March, A.D. 78, to the 20th February, A.D. 79, is in reality the commencement, or first current year; and that, **to obtain current Christian years, equivalent to current Śaka years, the true additive quantity is 77-78**. But, of course, there is always the possibility that, if ever we obtain a date, with full details for calculation, in a very early Śaka year, or in one of the very earliest of the regnal or dynastic years which afterwards developed into the Śaka era, this exact equation may not hold good; in consequence of the date belonging to a period anterior to the adoption of the era by the astronomers.

The Śaka era is emphatically one of the eras that originated in an extension of regnal or dynastic years. The chief Hindu tradition about it, is, that it was founded in celebration of a defeat of the Śaka king by the king Vikrama or Vikramāditya who is also the supposed founder of the Vikrama era, commencing a hundred and thirty-five years earlier.¹ This tradition is mentioned by Albérûnî,² but he saw through it so far as to remark "since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his." And the tradition has now been quite exploded by the Bādāmi cave inscription of the Chalukya king Maṅgaliśa,³ which is specifically dated "when there have expired five centuries of the years of the installation of the Śaka king (or kings) in the sovereignty." It is certain, from this record, that the real historical starting-point of the era, is the commencement of the reign of some particular king, or kings, of the Śaka

¹ Another tradition (e.g. *Princep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 154) is that the era dates from the birth of Śālivāhana, king of Pratiṣṭhāna, who opposed Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayini. But the introduction of the name of Śālivāhana in connection with the era, is of comparatively modern date, the earliest instance that I have succeeded in obtaining, being one of the thirteenth century A.D.; and the epigraphical instances speak of the year as having been 'established, settled, or decided' (*nirṇita*) by Śālivāhana, but not as running from his birth (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 214 f.).—A passage to the latter effect has been quoted by Prof. Max Müller (*India; What can it teach us?* p. 300 f.) from the *Muhūrtabhuvanōnmārtanḍa* of Nārāyaṇa, which means "in the year measured by three, the (nine) numerals, and the (fourteen) Indras, from the birth of Śālivāhana (i.e. in Śaka-Samvat 1493), in (the month) Tapas (Māgha), this *Mārtanḍa* was composed."—As Prof. Max Müller has pointed out, in his comments on this passage, it is not exactly wrong to speak of the era as the Śālivāhana-Śaka or Śālivāhana era; for there are ample instances in which the Hindus give it that name, in epigraphical records of authority and of some antiquity. At the same time, those instances shew that it was only in comparatively modern times that the name of Śālivāhana came to be connected with the era. And, in all discussions respecting early dates, it is an anachronism and a mistake, to call the era by his name.

² Sachau's *Albérûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 6.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363 f., and Vol. X. p. 57 ff.

tribe; and, therefore, that the years were originally regnal or dynastic years. Now, such years must run on for a considerable time, before they can develop into a recognised era; and this is undoubtedly the reason why we find the earlier years of every such Hindu era quoted simply by the term *varsha* or *samvatsara*, 'a year,' without any dynastic appellation. Again, such regnal or dynastic years can only come to be quoted as expired years, when they have actually developed into an era which has become recognised, or is sought to be applied, by astronomers for astronomical processes; up to that point, the years, being wanted only for quasi-private dynastic purposes, would certainly be quoted as current years. It is impossible to believe that the first Śaka king decreed, immediately after his coronation, that a new era had been established from that event; that it was to come at once into general use; and that, for the convenience of astronomers, the first year, then running, was to be quoted as an expired year, which, in fact, it would be rather difficult to do. If it were sought to fix the exact chronological position of any public act performed in that first year, it might be referred to the expired years of an earlier era; e.g. of that of the Kaliyuga. But, for any reference to the regnal year alone, that act would be recorded as being performed "in the year one," "in the first year," or "while the first year of the reign is current;" as, for instance, "in the first year; while the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Tōramāṇa, is governing the earth," in line 1 f. of the Êraṇ inscription, No. 36, page 158. This custom would continue as long as the years were simply dynastic years; and perhaps, during the whole of that period, the years might remain purely dynastic years, each of them having for its initial day the anniversary of the original coronation from which they started, irrespective of the initial day of the years of the astronomical era still continuing in use. When, however, astronomers came to adopt them as an astronomical era, they would establish an exact epoch by reckoning back from the dynastic year then current to the last year of the Kaliyuga that had expired when the first current dynastic year commenced; in the course of which, they would simplify matters by allotting to the dynastic years the same scheme, as regards the starting-point of each year, and the arrangement of the fortnights of the months, which belonged to the Kaliyuga in their part of the country. Thus they would fix all the data necessary to enable them to use the new era for astronomical purposes. All that would remain, would be to use its expired years, in accordance with the custom and necessities of their science. The substitution of the Śaka era for the Kaliyuga, for astronomical purposes, seems to have taken place after the time of Āryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476),¹ who used the Kaliyuga, and in or just before the time of Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587),² who used the Śaka era; and probably the apparent difference of one year in the reckonings of the Śaka era will be found to have originated not far from Śaka-Samvat 500. * Let us assume that this adoption of the Śaka era was made in Śaka-Samvat 500, equivalent to A.D. 577-78. The astronomers would take it, at starting, as "Śaka-

¹ *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. I. p. 405.

² *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. I. p. 407.

Samvat 499, expired ;" and, in quoting it and several subsequent years, would probably be careful to connect with each year a word distinctly meaning "expired." In course of time, however, such precision of expression would come to seem superfluous to them ; and, in issuing their almanacs, they would drop the word "expired," and would write, for instance, simply "Śakê 510 Chaitra-māsa-śukla-pakṣaḥ." It would cause no difference or inconvenience to them ; because any initiate would know that this really designated the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of Śaka-Samvat 511 current, after Śaka-Samvat 510 had expired. The people at large, however, including persons who would use the almanacs for practical purposes without being properly initiated into the application of them, would be thrown back in their reckoning by a year ; and doubtless at first a good deal of inconvenience and confusion might result. But this would soon be forgotten ; or might, for the sake of convenience, be intentionally put aside. And thus they would very quickly arrive at the understanding, by which, in Northern and Western India, Śaka-Samvat 1808 answers, popularly, as a current year, not as an expired year, to the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887.

Postscript.

In connection with my remarks, on page 140 above, regarding the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg* for Śaka-Samvat 1807 and 1808, I would add that I had drawn Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's attention to the circumstances of the case ; and I now find that, in their almanac for Śaka-Samvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89), the editors have reverted to the phraseology used in their almanac for Śaka-Samvat 1807 (expired.)

APPENDIX II.

A Method of Calculating the Week-Days of Hindu Tithis and the corresponding English Dates,

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In this paper I purpose to exhibit, according to the system laid down by the late Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre in his book entitled *Graha-sādhana-chin Kōshakēm*, or "Tables for Calculating the Places of the Planets," the correct method by which we may determine, for any given Hindu *tithi* or lunar day, the corresponding *vāra* or week-day, and the equivalent English date according to either the Julian or the Gregorian Calendar.

Before detailing, however, the steps of the process, I will explain the principal technical terms which will be used, and which, for the sake of brevity and conciseness, will be retained in their original Sanskrit forms.¹

Explanation of Technical Terms.

The *abdapa*, *lit.* 'lord of a year,' of any particular year, is the conventional term, — in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and others; but not universally, — for the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, or 'entrance of the Sun into Aries,' in that year. The *abdapa* adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is the time of the *spashṭa* or 'apparent,' — *lit.* 'clearly perceived, distinctly visible,'² — *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, as ascertained by the method given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*;³ whereas, in other Hindu works of the same kind, the term *abdapa*

¹ Most of these explanations are my own. Either to reduce the bulk of his book, or for some other reason, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has used the technical terms without explanation, except in the case of a few of the simpler ones; nor does he explain how he obtained certain figures for certain years or the variation for a year.

² English astronomers use the word 'apparent' in all cases in which we use *spashṭa*. 'Apparent,' therefore, is the proper translation of *spashṭa*.

³ There are three schools of astronomers in India. One follows the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, and is called Saurapaksha; another follows the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, and is named Brahmapaksha; while the third follows the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, and is called Āryapaksha. The main point on which they differ is the length of the year; but with differences, between each other, of only a few *vipalas* (a *vipala* is the sixtieth part of a *pala*). Another point of difference is, that the number of revolutions of the moon, planets, &c., in a certain period, — for instance in a Mahāyuga, — is generally different in each of them. Prof. K. L. Chhatre has adopted, from the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, only the length of the year, and its starting-point, that is the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*; in almost every other respect he follows none of these three authorities, but has based his Tables on European Tables of planets. As to his Tables relative to *tithis*, however, in the part of his work called *Kala-sādhana*, see page 149 below, note 11, and the text above note 1 on page 155.

is used as meaning the time of the Sun's entrance into Aries with reference to his *madhyama* or 'mean' longitude. So, also, the length of the solar year adopted by him is that of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, which is accepted, in the present day, in most parts of India. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Tables of the sun and the moon, and those of the planets, given by him, are based on European Tables; and that the places of the sun and other heavenly bodies, obtained from his book, are reckoned from the equinoctial point. The starting-point adopted by Hindu astronomers, for reckoning the places of heavenly bodies, coincided, in their opinion, with the equinoctial point about Śāka-Saṃvat 444 expired (A.D. 522-23). The interval in time between two successive returns of the sun to the vernal equinox,—called "the tropical year,"—amounts at present to 365 *days*, 14 *ghaṭīs*, and 31'972 *palas*; while the length of the year, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is 365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭīs*, and 31'523 *palas*. During this time, the sun's motion amounts to one complete revolution from equinox to equinox, plus about 58'6881 seconds of arc. The starting-point, therefore, of the Hindu astronomers is at present a little more than twenty-two degrees to the east of the vernal equinox. This difference is called *ayanāṃśas*, *lit.* 'degrees of precession;' and the *ayanāṃśas* for the present year, Śāka-Saṃvat 1809 expired (A.D. 1887-88), are 22 degrees, 45 minutes, according to the *Graha-Lāghava* of Gaṇeśa Daivajña.¹ As the longitudes of heavenly bodies, reckoned from the equinox, include these *ayanāṃśas*, they are called *sāyana*, *lit.* 'possessed of *ayana* or precession.' And the places of heavenly bodies obtained by the method given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works, are called, for the sake of distinction, *nirayana*, *lit.* 'destitute of precession.' The places obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables are *sāyana*. The *tithi*, however, obtained by either process, is the same; but this is not the case with the *nakṣatra* or 'lunar mansion,' and the *yōga* or 'addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon.'²

The figures for the *abdapa* are given in Table I. on pp. 10, 11, of Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and are expressed in *vāras*, *ghaṭīs*, and *palas*. Of these, the *vāra*, or week-day, sometimes also called *dina* or *divasa*, or 'solar day (and night),' is counted in regular order from Sunday, as 1, up to Saturday, as 7 or 0; and it is always reckoned by

¹The date of this work is Śāka-Saṃvat 1442 expired (A.D. 1520-21). At present, all the *Pañchāṅgs* (Hindu calendars) in the Dekkan, and in some other parts of India, are prepared from this authority, and from another small work, by the same author, entitled *Tithi-Chintāmaṇi*, containing the necessary Tables.

²To calculate *tithis*, only the difference between the longitudes of the moon and of the sun is to be taken. Therefore it matters not whether these longitudes are *sāyana* or *nirayana*. To find a *nakṣatra*, the *ayanāṃśas* must be applied to the moon's longitude obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables. The *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*, annually published, from Śāka 1806, under the patronage of His Highness the Mahārāja Hōlkar, by Mr. Visaji Raghunath Lele of Gwālior, with the aid of Mr. Janardan B. Modak, B.A. of the Bombay University, of myself, and of Mr. Krishnarao Raghunath Bhide of Indōr, is based on the *sāyana* system.

the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise. The *vāra* of the *abdapa* shews the week-day on which the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of the year fell. A *ghaṭi*, also *ghaṭi* and *ghaṭikā*, is the sixtieth division of a mean solar day and night; and it is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English minutes. As a matter of convenience, the word *ghaṭi* is also, used for the sixtieth part of a *tithi*; but in that application it is not identical with the sixtieth division of a solar day and night. A *pala* is the sixtieth division of a *ghaṭi*; and is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English seconds. And the *ghaṭis* and *palas* of the *abdapa* give the time after sunrise, on the particular *vāra*, at which the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* took place. Thus, the *abdapa* of Śaka-Samvat 0 expired, is given (opposite the entry *Mēsha-Samkrāntīchi vēl* or 'time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*,' p. 10) as 1 *dina*, 10 *ghaṭis*, 10 *palas*; which indicates that the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* then took place on Sunday, and 10 *ghaṭis* and 10 *palas*, or four hours and four minutes, after sunrise. The solar year adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is equal to 365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭis*, 31'52 *palas*. Dividing 365 by 7 (the number of days in a week), the remainder is 1. And so, if in one year the Sun enters Aries at the time of sunrise on a Sunday, then, in the following year, he will come to Aries on Monday, and 15 *ghaṭis*, 31'5 *palas*, after sunrise. Therefore, the **variation in the abdapa in one year** is given (p. 10, col. 3, under *vāra*) as 1 *day*, 15 *ghaṭis*, 31'5 *palas*; the decimals being supplied from column 2, in which is given the number of days, corresponding to the number of years in column 1.

The word *tithi* denotes the thirtieth part of a lunation or lunar month; that is, as applied to the ecliptic circle, it denotes exactly the one-thirtieth part of that circle, *viz.* twelve degrees; but, taken as an apparent *tithi*, and applied to the period of a lunation, it may be the exact thirtieth part of that period, or it may vary from fifty to sixty-six *ghaṭis* as subdivisions of a solar day. If the word *tithi* requires to be rendered into English, it is best represented by 'lunar day.' Of the thirty *tithis* of each month, fifteen belong to the bright fortnight, or period of the waxing moon, and fifteen to the dark fortnight, or period of the waning moon. The fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight is called *pūrṇimā*, *pūrṇamāsī*, or *paurṇamāsī*, *lit.* 'that which has the full-moon, or that on which the month is completed;' and the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight is called *amāvāsya*, *lit.* 'that on which there is the dwelling-together (of the sun and moon).' At the end of the *amāvāsya*, the sun and the moon are together; that is, they have the same longitude. When the moon, moving towards the east, leaves the sun behind by twelve degrees of longitude, then ends the first *tithi*, which is technically called *pratipad* or *pratipadd*. So, a *tithi* is the time which the moon takes to out-go the sun by twelve degrees. With the exception of the *pratipadd*, the *tithis* are denoted by the regular ordinal numerals, *dvitīyā*, *trītiyā*, &c., up to *chaturdaśī*, 'the fourteenth.' The *pūrṇimā* and *amāvāsya* are called sometimes by their own special names, and sometimes *pañchadaśī*, 'the fifteenth;' but the *amāvāsya* is generally entered in *Pañchāṅgs* as the thirtieth *tithi*,

even in Northern India, where the dark fortnight of the month precedes the bright.¹ In *Pañchāṅgs*, the *ghaṭīs* and *palas* of *tithis* are given; and, by them, it is to be understood that the *tithis* end so many *ghaṭīs* and *palas* after sun-rise.² In general, the expression *tithi* means the end of a *tithi*; not its beginning, or its duration.

The term **tithi-suddhi**, *lit.* 'the subtraction of *tithis*,' denotes the number of *tithis* that elapse from the beginning of the month Chaitra (March-April) up to the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*. In Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, this term is used to shew the number of *tithis*, calculated from the difference between the moon's mean longitude and the sun's apparent longitude, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's *spashṭa* or 'apparent' *Mēsha-Samkrānti*.³ Thus, for Śaka-Samvat 0 expired, at the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* the sun's mean longitude was 11 signs, 20 degrees, 46'1 minutes (p. 46); and the apparent longitude obtained from it, according to the method given by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, is 11 signs, 22 degrees, 38'9 minutes. The moon's mean longitude at that time was 4 signs, 25 degrees, 42'4 minutes (p. 87). The difference between the longitudes of the sun and the moon,—the sun's longitude being subtracted from that of the moon,—is, therefore, 5 signs, 3 degrees (= 153 degrees), 3'5 minutes. Then $153^{\circ} 3'5 \div 12 = 12 + (9^{\circ} 3'5 \div 12)$ *tithis*; that is, 12 *tithis*, and about 45 *ghaṭīs* and 14 *palas*, had elapsed. This, therefore, is given as the *tithi-suddhi* for Śaka-Samvat 0 expired. In one solar year, the mean *tithis* are 371, and 3 *ghaṭīs*, 53'4 *palas*. Dividing 371 by 360, the remainder, 11 *tithis*, 3 *ghaṭīs*, 53'4 *palas*, is given as the **variation in the tithi-suddhi in one year** (p. 10, col. 4).

The *tithis* obtained from the mean places and mean motions of both the sun and the moon, are *madhyama* or 'mean' *tithis*. So, also, those calculated from the apparent place and motion of the sun and the mean place and motion of the moon,—as in the case of the *tithi-suddhi* and the mean solar equivalents of *tithis* given in Table III. pp. 13-19, col. 2,—may be called mean *tithis* and not apparent. But the *tithis*, &c., given in our *Pañchāṅgs* are always *spashṭa* or 'apparent';⁴ that is, they are calculated from the apparent places and motions of the sun and the moon. The *spashṭa-tithi* differs from the *madhyama-tithi* sometimes by nearly twenty-five *ghaṭīs*; and this is chiefly owing to the fact that the moon's apparent longitude differs from her mean longitude sometimes by about five degrees.⁴ Many corrections have to be applied to the mean place of the

¹ In astronomical works, it is always the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights that is actually taken for calculations.

² In the *Siddhānta-Sirōmaṇi* and other works, the term *tithi-suddhi* is used in the sense of the number of *tithis*, calculated from the mean places of the sun and the moon, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's *madhyama* or 'mean' *Mēsha-Samkrānti*.

³ Though not always in the strictest sense. I say so, because, in practice, extreme accuracy is not, and cannot be, sought. But, in theory, they are required to be 'apparent' in the strictest sense.

⁴ According to European Tables, the difference is sometimes about eight degrees.

moon, in order to find her apparent place; but only one of these, called *phala-samskṛā*, which is 'the equation of the centre,' is taken into account by Hindu astronomers;¹ and this, as given by them, amounts to a little more than five degrees at the greatest. This correction varies according to the moon's *kēndra* or 'anomaly;' which is taken to be her distance from apogee.² From this correction is calculated the correction in time to be applied to the mean *tithi*; it is named *parākhya*; and it is given in Table IV., on p. 20, in the column headed *parākhya*. It evidently varies according to the moon's *kēndra*. One revolution of the moon's *kēndra* is completed in 27 days, 33 *ghaṭis*, 16'56 *palas*. This period is called *nichōchcha-māsa*;³ and is known to English astronomers by the name of the 'anomalistic month.' This period, converted into *tithis*,⁴ is equal to 27 *tithis*, 59 *ghaṭis*, 33'36 *palas*; that is, nearly and practically, 28 *tithis*. It is converted into *tithis* for the sake of convenience; since, the variation in the *kēndra* is one *tithi* of *kēndra* in one *tithi* of time; and it is called *tithi-kēndra*, or 'the anomaly of the *tithi*, expressed in *tithis*.' The moon's mean *kēndra* at the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of Śāka-Samvat 0 expired, was 10 signs, 19 degrees, 58'8 minutes (p. 87). This, converted into *tithis*, is equal to 24 *tithis*, 52 *ghaṭis*, 50 *palas*;⁵ and this is given (p. 10) as the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra*, or 'mean anomaly of the *tithi*,' at the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of Śāka-Samvat 0 expired. It shews that so many *tithis* and parts of a *tithi* had elapsed, up to that *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee. The variation in the moon's *kēndra*, in one solar year, is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6'2 minutes (p. 87, col. 3). This, changed into *tithis* by the rule of three, *viz.*— $360^\circ : 92^\circ 6'2 :: ti. 27, gh. 59, p. 33'36 : ti. 7, gh. 9, p. 42$,—is given, therefore, as the **variation in the tithi-kēndra in one year** (p. 10, col. 5).

A few other points and terms will be explained, as we proceed with the following example.

To find the Week-Day of a given Tithi.

The process will be best illustrated, step by step, by actually working out an example. And, at Mr. Fleet's request, I take, as my example, the date of **Śāka-Samvat 406**

¹ The amount of this correction, adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, in finding out *tithis* in his *Kḍla-sādhana* Tables (pp. 1 to 30 of his book), is nearly the same as that adopted by ancient Hindu astronomers. Therefore, the *tithis* obtained by his method, as described above, should agree very closely with those obtained from the methods prescribed in Sanskrit works. But, in the *abḍapa* and other elements, the *Sārya-Siddhānta* and other authorities themselves slightly differ, one from the other. And, accordingly, the difference will be sometimes about five or six *ghaṭis*. There are, also, some other minute causes of difference.

² In European astronomical works, the anomaly is reckoned from perigee or perihelion; but in Hindu works it is reckoned from apogee or aphelion.

³ In this term *nicha* means 'perigee;' and *uchcha*, 'apogee.' And *nichōchcha-māsa* is the period in which the moon comes from perigee or apogee to the same point again.

⁴ One *tithi* is equal to 0'9843529572 of a mean solar day.

⁵ $360^\circ : 319^\circ 58'8 :: ti. 27, gh. 59, p. 33'36 : ti. 24, gh. 52, p. 50$.

expired (A.D. 484-85); the month **Āshādha** (June-July); the **bright fortnight**; the **twelfth tithi**.

From Table I. p. 10, write down (see Table V. on page 151 below), in three separate columns, three quantities, for Śaka-Samvat 0 expired, which are technically called the **kshēpaka** or 'additive quantities,' viz. in (a) the *abdapa*, enter *vāras* 1, *ghaṭis* 10, *palas* 10; in (b) the *tithi-suddhi*, enter *tithis* 12, *ghaṭis* 45, *palas* 14; and in (c) the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra*, enter *tithis* 24, *ghaṭis* 52, *palas* 50. Below each of them respectively, in its proper column, enter, from the same Table, the **bhēda** or 'variation' for the component parts of the given Śaka year;¹ viz. for 400, in (a) *vāras* 6, *gh.* 30, *p.* 9'3, in (b) *tithis* 15, *gh.* 55, *p.* 49'2, and in (c) *tithis* 9, *gh.* 24, *p.* 45; and for 6 years, in (a) *vāras* 0, *gh.* 33, *p.* 9'1, in (b) *tithis* 6, *gh.* 23, *p.* 20'2, and in (c) *tithis* 14, *gh.* 58, *p.* 39.

Now, as the given year is anterior to Śaka-Samvat 1622 expired, a **correction**, to be arrived at from Table II. p. 12, is to be applied, and is always to be added, in respect of the *tithi-suddhi* and the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra*. The reason for this correction, is this. As explained above, the *tithi-suddhi* and the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra* depend respectively on the mean longitude and the mean anomaly of the moon. But the moon's mean motion is not always the same. Therefore, to her mean longitude and mean anomaly, obtained from the general Table of annual variation in them (Table III. p. 87 f., cols. 2, 3), a correction (Table IV. p. 89 f., cols. 2, 3) is to be applied. Thus, for Śaka-Samvat 0 expired, the correction in the moon's mean longitude is 44 seconds, and that in the *kēndra* is 2 degrees, 55 seconds (p. 90). These, turned into *tithis*, are 3 *ghaṭis*, 40 *palas*, with regard to the *tithi-suddhi*; and 14 *ghaṭis*, with regard to the *tithi-kēndra*. These figures, therefore, are given as the correction in respectively the *tithi-suddhi* and the *tithi-kēndra* for Śaka-Samvat 0 expired. In the Table, this correction is given for intervals of 1000 years each. Taking first the *tithi-suddhi*, the correction for Śaka-Samvat 0 expired, is *gh.* 3, *p.* 40; and the correction for Śaka-Samvat 1000 expired, is *p.* 32. Therefore, deducting the latter from the former, the difference, *gh.* 3, *p.* 8, or 188 *palas*, is the variation of correction in 1000 years.² Then, by the Rule of Three,—1000 years : 406 years :: 188 *palas* : 76 *palas*. And 76 *palas* are *gh.* 1, *p.* 16. As the quantities are decreasing ones, this is to be subtracted from *gh.* 3, *p.* 40, for Śaka-Samvat 0 expired. And the remainder gives us, as the sufficiently approximate correction for Śaka-Samvat 406 expired, *gh.* 2, *p.* 24, to be added in (b). Similarly, the correction for the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra*, worked out in the same way, is *gh.* 9, *p.* 8, to be added in (c).

¹ The decimals in the *palas* of (a) the *abdapa* are taken from the *ahargana*, or total number of solar days of the solar year, in col. 2.

² Properly speaking, this variation is for Śaka-Samvat 500 expired, midway between Śaka-Samvat 0 and 1000. It should be reduced first for the year midway between Śaka-Samvat 0 and the given year; in this instance 406. But there is no absolute necessity for such exact precision.

TABLE V.

Calculation of the Week-day of a given Tithi.

Śaka-Samvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Āshāḍha (June-July) ; the bright fortnight ; the 12th tithi ; Suraguruvara (Thursday).

(a) Ābdapa.	(b) Tithi-buddhi.	(c) Tithi-madhyama-kēndra.
vāra gh. p.	tithi gh. p.	tithi gh. p.
Śaka-Samvat 0 expired (p. 10) I 10 10	..... 12 45 14	..... 24 52 50
Add variation for 400 Śaka years (p. 11) 6 30 9'3	..... 15 55 49'2	..... 9 24 45
Add variation for 6 Śaka years (p. 10) 0 33 9'1	..... 6 23 20'2	..... 14 58 39
Add correction for a date prior to Śaka-Samvat 1622 expired .....	..... 0 2 24	..... 0 9 8
Week-day and time of the <i>Mṛgsha-Samkrānti</i> of Śaka-Samvat 406 expired I 13 28'4	<i>tithi-dhruva</i> and <i>bhukta-tithi</i> .. 5 6 47'4	21 25 22
	From one <i>tithi</i> . 1 0 0	
	Deduct <i>bhukta-tithi</i> 0 6 47	
	<i>bhōgya-tithi</i> 0 53 13	Add, from (b) the <i>bhōgya-tithi</i> ... 0 53 13
<i>ghaṭṭis</i> and <i>palas</i> only, from above 0 13 28	Deduct as many <i>palas</i> as there are <i>ghaṭṭis</i> in the <i>bhōgya-tithi</i> .. 0 0 53	<i>tithi-spashṭa-kēndra</i> 22 18 35
Add, from (b), the mean solar day 0 52 20	Mean solar day . 0 52 20	
<i>tithi-bhōga</i> 1 5 48		
Add:—		
expired <i>tithis</i> :—		
Chaitra 15		
Vaiśākha 30		
Jyēṣṭha 30		
Āshāḍha 26		
101		
minus, from (b), <i>tithi-dhruva</i> 5		
expired <i>tithis</i> from end of Chaitra śukla 5 96		
solar equivalent of 96 <i>tithis</i> (p. 14) 94 17 36		
95 23 24		
Add <i>pardhva</i> , obtained from (c) <i>tithi-spashṭa-kēndra</i> of Āshāḍha śukla 12 0 24 19		
Days elapsed up to end of apparent Āshāḍha śukla 12 95 47 43		
Add week-day of <i>Mṛgsha-Samkrānti</i> of Śaka-Samvat 406 expired 1		
Reduce to weeks 7) 96 (13		
91		
Remainder, the 5th day, is Thursday 5	Result; Thursday.	
		Add <i>tithi-kēndra</i> of (a) 96 <i>tithis</i> (p. 14) 12 1 20
		<i>tithi-spashṭa-kēndra</i> at end of Āshāḍha śukla 12 6 19 55

Now add together the respective quantities in (a) (b) and (c), bearing in mind that, in doing so, when the *vāras* in (a) the *abdapa* exceed 7, or any multiple of 7, only the remainder, above 7 or its multiple, is to be brought to account, because there are 7 *vāras* or week-days in each week; and that, when the *tithis* in (b) the *tithi-suddhi* and in (c) the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra* exceed 30 and 28 respectively, or any multiple of them, only the remainders above 30 and 28, or their multiple, are to be taken notice of, because there are 30 *tithis* in one lunar month, and, as nearly as possible, 28 *tithis* in one revolution of the *tithi-kēndra*.

We thus obtain in (a) the *abdapa*, *vāras* 1, *gh.* 13, *p.* 28·4. The first quantity, of the days, shews that the week-day on which occurred the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of the given year, Śaka-Samvat 406 expired, was Sunday. And the remaining quantities shew that the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* took place at the end of *gh.* 13, *p.* 28·4, after sunrise on that Sunday. The small decimal which we have here, as also in (b) the *tithi-suddhi*, under the *palas*, may be disregarded in the following steps of the process.

In (b) the *tithi-suddhi*, we obtain *tithis* 5, *gh.* 6, *p.* 47·4. From this we learn that, when the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of the given year, Śaka-Samvat 406 expired, occurred, 5 mean *tithis* of the month Chaitra were completed, and also 6 *ghaṭīs* and 47 *palas* of the 6th *tithi* had elapsed. The number of completed *tithis*, here 5, is technically called the *tithi-dhruva* or 'constant of the *tithi*;' because, when it has been determined for any given year, it remains uniform or constant in working out any example in that same year. And the remainder, here *gh.* 6, *p.* 47, is called the *bhukta-tithi* or 'elapsed portion of the (current) *tithi*.'

Subtracting the *bhukta-tithi*, *gh.* 6, *p.* 47, from 1 *tithi* or 60 *ghaṭīs*, the remainder, *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, gives the portion of the 6th *tithi* that was still to run. This is technically called the *bhōgya-tithi*, *lit.* '(that portion of) the *tithi* which is still to be enjoyed.'

In (c), the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra*, we obtain *tithis* 21, *gh.* 25, *p.* 22. This gives us the moon's *kēndra*, reduced to *tithis*, at the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of the given year, Śaka-Samvat 406 expired.

To this, the *bhōgya-tithi*, viz. *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, is to be added. And the result, *tithis* 22, *gh.* 18, *p.* 35, is the *kēndra* at the end of the 6th *tithi* of Chaitra. This is called the *tithi-spashta-kēndra* or 'apparent *kēndra* of the *tithi*.'

Next, by subtracting from the *bhōgya-tithi*, viz. *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, as many *palas*, 53, as there are *ghaṭīs* in it,¹ we convert it into a mean solar day, with the result of *gh.* 52, *p.* 20.

¹ i.e. by subtracting the sixtieth part. This proportion is taken for the sake of easy calculation. Properly speaking, to convert a *tithi* into a solar day, the sixty-fourth part should be subtracted; because one mean *tithi* is equal to 984353 of a solar day, i.e., as nearly as possible, sixty-three sixty-fourths of a solar day. The difference, however, does not introduce any material error.

Add this *gh.* 52, *p.* 20, to the *ghaṭṭis* and *palas* only of (a) the *abdapa*. The result, *vdra* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, shews that the 6th mean *tithi* of Chaitra ended with *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, after sunrise on the following day, Monday, after the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, Sunday. This quantity, *vdra* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, is called the *tithi-bhōga*, *lit.* 'the enjoyment or duration of the *tithi*;' and it is the end of the *tithi-dhruva*, increased by one *tithi*. It is, of course, a mean *tithi*. And it shews that *days* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, up to the end of Chaitra śukla 6 as a mean *tithi*.

We have now to bring into consideration the **number of tithis elapsed** up to the commencement of the given *tithi*. And, in doing this, we must of course take account of any intercalary month that there may be, preceding the given *tithi*, in the given year.

In our example, however, the result in (b) the *tithi-suddhi*, is less than nineteen *tithis*. And a reference to Table VI. *p.* 22, — which would enable us to determine the intercalary month approximately, if there were one, — shews us that there was, therefore, no intercalary month at all in the given year, Śaka-Samvat 406 expired. The explanation of this, is, that, when the *tithi-suddhi* is less than nineteen, it shews that the *samkrānti* in Chaitra occurred within the first nineteen *tithis* of that month. And, as, generally, the solar months are longer than the lunar months, the *samkrāntis* of the sun, *i.e.* his passage from one sign of the zodiac into the next, occur continuously later in each successive lunar month. But, when the *samkrānti* in Chaitra falls within the first nineteen *tithis*, no *samkrānti*, up to the end of the year, can go beyond the thirtieth *tithi* of any lunar month; and, therefore, no month will be intercalary.

Consequently, from the beginning of Chaitra, up to the commencement of the given *tithi*, Āshāḍha śukla 12, there had elapsed only the usual number of one hundred and one *tithis*; *viz.* in the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 15; in Vaiśākha, 30; in Jyēṣṭha, 30; and in Āshāḍha, 15 in the dark fortnight, and 11 in the bright.¹ From this number of *tithis*, 101, we subtract the *tithi-dhruva*, 5. And the remainder, 96, is the number of *tithis* elapsed from the end of Chaitra śukla 5 up to the end of Āshāḍha śukla 11. But the *tithi-bhōga*, which we have already arrived at, is the end of Chaitra śukla 6; and the same number of *tithis*, 96, expire from the end of Chaitra śukla 6 up to the end of Āshāḍha śukla 12. Therefore, adding to the *tithi-bhōga* the solar equivalent, now to be introduced, the result will bring us to the end of the given *tithi*, Āshāḍha śukla 12.

Turning to Table III. *p.* 14, we find that the **equivalent, in mean solar days**, of 96 *tithis*, is *days* 94, *gh.* 17, *p.* 36. And, adding this to the *tithi-bhōga*, the result, *days* 95, *gh.* 23, *p.* 24, gives the interval that had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* up to the end of Āshāḍha śukla 12 as a mean *tithi*.

¹ We are dealing with a northern date; and that is why the *tithis* are counted in this way. If we were dealing with a southern date, the enumeration would be, in Chaitra, 30; in Vaiśākha, 30; in Jyēṣṭha, 30; and in the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, 11. The total is the same, 101, since a bright fortnight is concerned.

Now, however, we have to determine the **spashta-tithi**, or apparent *tithi*. For this purpose, we require the *parakkhya*-correction, which is to be ascertained through the *tithi-kēndra*.

Turning again to Table III. p. 14, we find that the variation in the *tithi-kēndra* for 96 *tithis* is *tithis* 12, *gh.* 1, *p.* 20. Enter this in (c), below *tithis* 22, *gh.* 18, *p.* 35, which we have already arrived at as the *tithi-kēndra* at the end of Chaitra śukla 6. Add the two quantities together; and the result, — excluding 28 *tithis*, as before, — is *tithis* 6, *gh.* 19, *p.* 55; which is the *tithi-spashṭa-kēndra* at the end of the given *tithi*, Āshāḍha śukla 12.

With this argument, we turn to Table IV. p. 20, for the *parakkhya*-correction. In this Table, the correction is given for *tithis* and *ghaṭis*, at intervals of ten *ghaṭis*. Thus, for the *tithi-spashṭa-kēndra*, *tithis* 6, *gh.* 10, the *parakkhya* is *gh.* 24, *p.* 10; and for *tithis* 6, *gh.* 20, it is *gh.* 24, *p.* 19. The difference, 9 *palas*, is shewn in the last column of the Table, and would serve to calculate the exact *parakkhya* for the *tithi-spashṭa-kēndra*. But here it is sufficiently close for our purposes to take the *parakkhya* as *gh.* 24, *p.* 19.

Under (a) the *abidapa*, enter this *parakkhya* below the sum of the *tithi-bhōga* and the solar equivalent of 96 *tithis*, and, — as is indicated by the sign plus at the top of col. 1 in Table IV., — add it to that sum.

The result, *vāras* 95, *gh.* 47, *p.* 43, gives the number of days, and parts of a day, that had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, up to the end of the apparent Āshāḍha śukla 12. To the days, 95, add 1, the week-day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*. Divide the sum, 96, by 7, and the result is 13 weeks, and 5 days over; which shews that the current week-day of Āshāḍha śukla 12 was the fifth day in the week; that is **Thursday**. The remaining quantities, *gh.* 47, *p.* 43, shew the time after sunrise, on that Thursday, on which the given *tithi*, Āshāḍha śukla 12, ended.

The Tables in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, however, are adapted to the **meridian of Bombay**. The *ghaṭis* and *palas*, therefore, of a *tithi* worked out by the method exhibited above, are for Bombay; and are to be reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay. When the *tithi* is required for any other particular place, the difference of longitude in time (one degree = ten *palas*) is to be added or subtracted, according as the place is east or west of Bombay. In the present instance, as I learned after first working it out, the above Śaka date was selected in consequence of its being the equivalent of the date, in Gupta-Samvat 165, recorded in the pillar inscription of Budhagupta at Êraṇ in the Central Provinces. We have therefore now to determine the *tithi* for Êraṇ itself. The longitude of Bombay is 72° 51'; and that of Êraṇ is 78° 15'; both east of Greenwich. Êraṇ, therefore, is 5 degrees, 24 minutes, east from Bombay. Adding (5° 24' × 10 =) 54 *palas* to 47 *ghaṭis* and 43 *palas*, which we have obtained above for Bombay, the *tithi* at Êraṇ is *gh.* 48, *p.* 37, reckoned from mean sunrise on the same day, Thursday.

The above result is sufficient for all practical purposes. But it is further to be noted that the *tithis* in our *Pañchāṅgs* are intended to be given from apparent sunrise. In practice, however, so much minuteness is not always and everywhere attempted; at least, in the present day, in the Dekkan. For this reason, it seems, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has not noticed this point in his method exhibited above. But I will now give the *tithi* in question from apparent sunrise at Êraṇ. Without going through the process, which is rather too complicated to be given in the present paper, I will state only the result, that the apparent sunrise at Êraṇ, on the day in question, took place *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, before the mean sunrise; the latitude of Êraṇ used in the process, being $24^{\circ} 5'$. Adding, therefore, *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, to the above result from mean sunrise, we get *gh.* 50, *p.* 33, reckoned from apparent sunrise, as the time at which the given *tithi*, Âshâḍha śukla 12, ended at Êraṇ on the Thursday.

Before dismissing this part of the subject, I would point out that the calculation of a *tithi*, by the above method, is not of necessity absolutely accurate, according to the present absolutely accurate European Tables of the sun and the moon. Absolute accuracy, in this sense, could be ensured only by working from the actual places or longitudes of the sun and the moon, to be determined in strict accordance with the method prescribed for that purpose. The *tithi* obtained by the method exhibited above, will differ, sometimes by as much as ten *ghaṭīs*, from that which would be obtained from the apparent places of the sun and the moon, actually calculated from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables for the sun and the moon. The difference, however, at full-moon and new-moon will be very small, one *ghaṭī* at the greatest; and it reaches its maximum on the eighth *tithi* of the bright and of the dark fortnight. But, in respect of this second possible method of Prof. K. L. Chhatre, it must be stated that we have nothing to do with it in dealing with Hindu *tithis*; for the reason that, with the exception of the *phala-saṃskāra*, the corrections introduced by him in finding the apparent longitude of the moon, were not taken into account by ancient Hindu astronomers.

And, on the other hand, the method exhibited above being in close agreement with Hindu works, it may be claimed that the *tithi* obtained by it will differ but very little from the *tithi* obtained by the method prescribed in the *Sārya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works. The difference¹ will amount to five or six *ghaṭīs* at the utmost; and that in but very few cases.

In order, however, that no room may be left for doubt, I have also calculated the *tithi* in the present example actually by the *Āryabhaṭīya* or *Ārya-Siddhānta* of the first Āryabhaṭa, the *Brahma-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta, the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the *Siddhānta-*

¹ See page 149 above, note 1.

Śirōmaṇi, and the *Ārya-Siddhānta* of the second Āryabhaṭa.¹ I calculated it first for Ujjain, *i.e.* for the Hindu meridian, reckoning from the mean sunrise there; and then turned it into the *tithi* for Ēraṇ. The longitude of Ujjain is $75^{\circ} 43'$, east of Greenwich. I have also calculated the *ghaṭis* and *palas* from the apparent sunrise at Ēraṇ; and all the results are given in Table VI., on the upper part of page 157 below. From them we see that **the tithi fell on a Thursday,**² according to all the authorities.

¹ *i.e.* the work that is usually called the *Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta*.—There are two distinct and separate works, each bearing the name of Āryabhaṭa as its author. The one published by Dr. Kern contains one hundred and eighteen verses in the Āryā metre, and is called *Āryabhaṭīya* in general and by the author himself; but it may, and justly so, be called *Ārya-Siddhānta*; and it is called so by many Hindu astronomers. The date of this work is Śaka-Samvat 421 expired (A. D. 499-500). The other, which, I believe, has not yet been printed, contains about six hundred and twenty-five verses in the Āryā metre, divided into eighteen chapters. The date of it is not given. But, from internal evidence, I find that it is later than the *Brahma-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta (Śaka-Samvat 550 expired; A.D. 628-29); and there is a reference to it in the *Siddhānta-Sirōmaṇi* (Śaka-Samvat 1072 expired; A.D. 1150-51). Its date, therefore, lies somewhere between these two limits. In the first verse of it, the author calls himself Āryabhaṭa; and his work, a *Siddhānta*, without *Laghu* or any other epithet. In a manuscript copy of it, I find that it is named *Mahā-Siddhānta* at the end of some chapters, and *Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta* at the end of others. For the sake of distinction and convenience, it is better to call the authors of these two works, the first and the second Āryabhaṭa. The numbers of the revolutions of the planets &c. given, as belonging to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, in the Rev. E. Burgess' Translation of the *Sārya-Siddhānta*, and in some instances those given by Prinsep (*Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 153) as belonging to the same authority, belong really to the second Āryabhaṭa. Probably, when these gentlemen wrote, they had not themselves seen the *Siddhānta* of the first Āryabhaṭa. Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, also, was not, it seems, aware of the two different Āryabhaṭas, when he wrote (*Indian Eras*, p. 88) "according to Warren the number of days assigned by Āryabhaṭa to a Mahāyuga of 4,320,000 years is 1,577,917,500 in the south of India and 42 more in the MSS. preserved in Bengal." Of these two numbers, the former belongs to the first, and the latter to the second, Āryabhaṭa.

² [*i.e.* on a Hindu Thursday.—It must be borne in mind that the Hindu week-day is reckoned, with the solar day and night, from sunrise to sunrise, as stated at page 146 f. above; but the English week-day, and the civil date coupled with it, from midnight to midnight. In comparing Hindu and English dates, the only course is to take mean sunrise and mean midnight (6'0 A.M. and 12'0 P.M. respectively), and to give, as the English equivalent, that week-day, with its civil date, which is actually running during these eighteen hours, when of course the same week-day is running in India; *i.e.* the week-day which is identical for the greater part by both the English and the Hindu reckonings. And, if the difference in mean time between Greenwich and Ujjain, *viz.* 5 hours, 2 minutes, 52 seconds (using the same longitude for Ujjain, $75^{\circ} 43'$, taken from Keith Johnston's Atlas, that is used by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit for his calculations in this paper and for the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*) be taken into consideration, of course the week-days of the two places are absolutely identical, except for the space of 57 minutes, 8 seconds, or 2 *ghaṭis*, 22'8 *palas*, at the end of the Hindu week-day; during that time, while at Ujjain a Hindu Thursday, for instance, is still running, at Greenwich the week-day will be Friday. Owing to this, there may sometimes be a nominal discrepancy in the resulting English week-day for a given *tithi*; but the instances will be few and far between, as very few *tithis* will be found to end so late after sunrise; and the discrepancy will be confined mostly to such occurrences as the heliacal rising of Jupiter (see, for instance, the double dates which it has been necessary to quote at page 104 ff. above). In the present case, not one of the ending-points of the given *tithi* falls within the debatable period; either for Ujjain, or for Ēraṇ, which is appreciably to the east of Ujjain.—J. F. F.]

TABLE VI.

The Times, after Sunrise, of the ending of a given Tithi.

Śaka-Samvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Āshāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).

The Time, after Sunrise, at which the Tithi ended.	By K. I., Chhatre's method exhibited above.		By the Ārya- Siddhānta of the first Āryabhaṭa.		By the Brahma- Siddhānta of Brahma- gupta.		By the Sūrya- Siddhānta.		By the Siddhānta- Siromani.		By the Ārya- Siddhānta of the second Āryabhaṭa.	
	gh.	p.	gh.	p.	gh.	p.	gh.	p.	gh.	p.	gh.	p.
Reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay ..	47	43	49	19	49	46	50	42	52	52	54	24
„ „ „ „ „ Ujjain	48	12	49	48	50	15	51	11	53	21	54	53
„ „ „ „ „ Ēraṇ	48	37	50	13	50	40	51	36	53	46	55	18
„ „ „ „ „ apparent sunrise at Ēraṇ ..	50	33	52	9	52	36	53	32	55	42	57	14

TABLE VII.

Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi.

Śaka-Samvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Āshāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).

	days	gh.	p.
Date of the <i>Mēsha-Samkrānti</i> in March of A.D. 0 (p. 30)	13	59	10
Add variation for 400 years A.D. (p. 30)	3	30	9
„ „ 84 years A.D. (p. 27)	0	44	7
 Date of the <i>Mēsha-Samkrānti</i> in March of A.D. 484	18	13	26
Add days elapsed from the <i>Mēsha-Samkrānti</i> up to the given <i>tithi</i> , from col. (a) of the previous process	95		
	113		
Deduct number of days in completed months from the 1st March:—			
March	31		
April	30		
May	31		
	92		
Remainder is the current day of the next month, and the current day of the given <i>tithi</i> ..	21		
Result; 21st June, A.D. 484.			

If, by the calculations detailed above, we find that a certain *tithi* ended nearly at the end of a Hindu day,—for instance, fifty-seven *ghaṭis* after sunrise on a Sunday; *i.e.* three *ghaṭis* before sunrise on Monday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly after sunrise on the following day, Monday. And, on the other hand, if our results shew that a certain *tithi* ended shortly after the commencement of a Hindu day,—for instance, three *ghaṭis* after sunrise on a Sunday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly before the termination of the preceding day, Saturday.

In dealing with a particular record that, on a certain week-day, there was a certain *tithi*, we can only be sure of absolute accuracy in our results, if we can ascertain, so as to apply, the actual authority and method used by the author of the calendar which the drafter of that record consulted in preparing his statement. The method exhibited above, however, may be safely relied on for all practical purposes.

To find the English Date for a given Tithi.

The materials for this process are to be found in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, in Table IX. on page 27, and in Table XI. on page 30.

The English date answering to the given Hindu date in our present example, has obviously to be worked out according to the Julian Calendar, or Old Style; being long anterior to A.D. 1752, when the Gregorian Calendar, or New Style, was introduced.

From the heading of Table XI. p. 30, we find that, in A.D. 0, the Hindu *Mēsha-Samkrānti* occurred on the 13th March, and *gh.* 59, *p.* 10, after sunrise (civil time). Enter these quantities (see Table VII. on the lower part of page 157 above). And below them, enter the *bhēda* or variation for the component parts of the given current year A.D., in this instance A.D. 484-(85), which is always obtained by adding A.D. 78-(79) to the given expired Śaka year; *viz.* for 400, *days* 3, *gh.* 30, *p.* 9, from Table XI.; and for 84, *days* 0, *gh.* 44, *p.* 7, from Table IX.

Add these quantities together. The result, for A.D. 484, is *days* 18, *gh.* 13, *p.* 26. And this shews that, in A.D. 484, the Hindu *Mēsha-Samkrānti* occurred on the 18th March, and 13 *ghaṭis* and 26 *palas*¹ after sunrise.

Add 95, which we have already ascertained, in the previous process, under (a) the *abdapa*, to be the number of days that had elapsed from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, up to sunrise on the day on which the given *tithi* ended. The sum, 113, gives the number of days up to, and inclusive of, the given *tithi*, from, and inclusive of, the 1st March.

¹ The *ghaṭis* and *palas* ought to agree with the *ghaṭis* and *palas* of the *abdapa* of Śaka-Samvat 406 expired, in col. (a) of the previous process. Here there is a difference of 24 *palas*; which shews that there is a small mistake somewhere in the Tables.

From this sum subtract the number of days in as many entire months as were completed within the total of 113 days; *viz.* in the present instance, in March, 31 days; in April, 30; and in May, 31; total, 92.

The remainder, in this instance 21, gives the current day of the next month, corresponding to the given *tithi*. The result, therefore, in the present instance, is the **21st June, A.D. 484, Old Style**. The identification of this date with the week-day previously obtained for the given *tithi*, may be verified by any of the ordinary means available. For instance, from General Sir A. Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, Table II. p. 98, we find that the 1st January, A.D. 484, Old Style, was a Sunday. And then, turning, as the given year was a Leap-year, to the right-hand side of his Table I. p. 97, we find that the 21st June of the same year was a **Thursday**, as required.

APPENDIX III.

The Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

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The names of the *samvatsaras*, or years, of the **Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter**, are determined in accordance with the following rule in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, adhyāya viii. verse 1, — *nakshatrēṇa sah=ōdayam upagachchhati yēna dēvapati-mantri*¹ | *tat-samjñam vaktavyam varsham māsa-kramēṇ=aiva* II, — “with whatever *nakshatra* (Jupiter) the counsellor of (Indra) the lord of the gods attains (*his*) rising, the year is to be spoken of (*as*) having the appellation of that (*nakshatra*), in accordance with the order of the months.”

Here, by the word *udaya*, ‘rising,’ we have to understand, not the daily rising of Jupiter, but his **heliacal rising**. Jupiter becomes invisible for some days before and after his conjunction with the sun. The sun’s daily motion is faster than that of Jupiter. So, when the sun in his course comes near Jupiter, the latter becomes invisible, on the west side of the horizon; and he is then said to set. He remains from twenty-five to thirty-one days in this state of invisibility. And, when he is left behind by the sun, he again becomes visible, in the east; and then he is said to rise. Generally, in India, when the interval between the daily settings or risings of the sun and Jupiter amounts to forty-four minutes

¹ The reading that I give, is from an old manuscript in my possession. But the commentator, Utpala, explains the verse with the reading—*nakshatrēṇa sah=ōdayam astam vā yēna yāti sura-mantri*,—‘with whatever *nakshatra* (Jupiter) the counsellor of the gods attains (*his*) rising or setting.’ It is curious that the text, in my manuscript copy, stands as given above. The copyists, however far they might go wrong in ordinary transcribing, could not, unless intentionally, turn the letters *mastam vā yēna yāti sura*, if they were original at all, into *mupagachchhati yēna dēvapati*. And Utpala himself gives the note—*Rishiputr-ādibhiḥ udaya-nakshatra-māsa-samjñā-kramēṇa varsham jñātavyam ity=uktam*,—“it is said by Rishiputra and others, that the year is to be known according to the order of the name of the month of the *nakshatra* of the rising (of Jupiter).” Also, all the other authorities, which I find giving the rule of naming the years of the cycle according to the risings of Jupiter, make each year take its name from only the rising of the planet; not from its setting.—[The reading in the text above, is the one adopted by Kern, in his edition of the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, p. 47. His translation (*Four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 45*) is—“each year (during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution) has to bear the name of the lunar mansion in which he rises: the years follow each other in the same order as the lunar months.” Both in his *Various Readings*, p. 6, and in the note to his translation, he notices the reading *sah=ōdayam astam vā yēna yāti sura-mantri*. But he points out that “the comparison of the MSS. leaves little doubt that this reading is a correction, suggested by the remark of Utpala, that, in case the planet should set in one and rise in another *nakshatra*, only that name must be taken which agrees with the order of the month.—J. F. F.]

(of time), then the so-called setting or rising of Jupiter, *i.e.* his heliacal setting or rising, takes place.

To such a system, as is taught in this verse of Varāhamihira, and by no less than eleven other authorities, as will be seen further on, of determining the commencement of a *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle, and of naming it, from Jupiter's heliacal-rising, I would give the name of **the heliacal-rising system**, in order to distinguish it from the other system in which the duration and name of a *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle are determined from the particular sign of the zodiac in which Jupiter stands with reference to his mean longitude, and which latter system, to be mentioned more fully further on, I would name **the mean-sign system**.

Now, the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter and of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the mean-sign system, are determined by his mean longitude,¹ which sometimes differs from his apparent longitude by as much as fifteen degrees. But, as the disappearance or reappearance of Jupiter is no imaginary thing, it is evident that it can be calculated, and is to be calculated, only according to Jupiter's actual place, that is, his apparent longitude (or right ascension), and not from his mean longitude. And, consequently, the beginning of each *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the heliacal-rising system, depends on **Jupiter's apparent longitude** at the time of his heliacal rising.

One revolution of Jupiter, in the zodiac, is completed in about twelve years; and, in twelve years, there are twelve revolutions of the sun (that is, of the earth). So that, in this period of about twelve years, there are only eleven conjunctions of the sun and Jupiter. Therefore, in twelve years there are only eleven heliacal risings of Jupiter.² The interval between two risings is generally 399 days. And thus, in each cycle of the heliacal-rising system, **there are only eleven samvatsaras in twelve years**; the duration of each being about 400 days, and one *samvatsara*, determined by the circumstances of the particular cycle, being altogether omitted.

The **names of the lunar months** are used as the names of the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. And the names of these months are given to the *samvatsaras*, in accordance with the particular *nakshatra* in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. Of the twenty-seven *nakshatras*, two are assigned to each of nine of the twelve months; and three to each of the remaining three months. The rule for this is given in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, viii. 2, — varshāṇi Kārttik-ādīny-āgnēyād bha-dvay-ānuyōgñi kramaśas tri-bhaṃ tu pañchamam upāntyam antyaṃ cha yad varsham II,—“the years Kārttika and others (*that follow*) combine two *nakshutras*, from (*the nakshatra*) belonging

¹ The mean longitude of a heavenly body is the longitude of an imaginary body, of the same name, conceived to move uniformly with the mean motion of the real body.

² In his note on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, xiv. 17 (see the Rev. E. Burgess' Translation, p. 271), Prof. Whitney says that Jupiter “would set and rise heliacally twelve times in each revolution, and each time about a month later than before.” But this is evidently a mistake.

TABLE VIII.

Regulation of the Names of the *Samvatsaras* from the *Nakshatras*.

Names and Grouping of the <i>Nakshatras</i> .	Names of the Months to be allotted to the <i>Samvatsaras</i> .
Kṛittikā; Rōhiṇī	Kārttika
Mṛiga; Ārdra	Mārgaśīrsha
Punarvasu; Pushya	Pausha
Āślēṣhā; Maghā	Māgha
Pūrvā-Phalgunī; Uttarā-Phalgunī; Hasta	Phālguna
Chitrā; Svāti	Chaitra
Viśākhā; Anurādhā	Vaiśākha
Jyēṣṭhā; Mūla	Jyēṣṭha
Pūrvā-Ashādhā; Uttarā-Ashādhā; (Abhijit)	Āshādhā
(Abhijit); Śravana; Dhanishṭhā	Śravana
Śatātārakā; Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā; Uttarā-Bhādrapadā	Bhādrapada
Rēvatī; Āśvini; Bharanī	Āśvina (Āsvayuja)

to Agni (*as the starting-point*),¹ in regular succession; but that year which is the fifth, (*or*) the last but one, or the last, has three *nakshatras*.² And, from this and similar authorities, we obtain the results exhibited in Table VIII. above, for the naming of the *samvatsaras* from the *nakshatras*.³

Now, the twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic circle is called a *nakshatra*. And 360 degrees, divided by 27, gives 13 degrees, 20 minutes (of arc). Therefore, according to such a division of the circle into equal parts, there is this much distance from the beginning of one *nakshatra* to the beginning of the next following. And, when the longitude of a heavenly body exceeds *nil*, but does not exceed 13 degrees, 20 minutes, it is said to be in Āśvini; and so on. The longitudes of the ending-points of all the *nakshatras*, on this **system of equal spaces**, are given in the last column but two

¹ *i.e.* from Kṛittikā. Agni is the regent of the *nakshatra* Kṛittikā, which was, at one time, the first in order of the lunar mansions.

² [Kern's text is the same. His translation is—"the years Kārttika and following comprehend two lunar mansions beginning with Kṛittikā, and so on, in regular succession, except the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth years, to each of which appertain three asterisms."—J. F. F.]

³ I should state, however, that there is a little difference of opinion on this point. Utpala, the commentator on the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, has discussed it at length; and arrived at the conclusion which is exhibited in Table VIII. In the ancient and modern works that I have referred to, I find ten authorities,—and such ancient names as those of Vṛiddha-Garga and Kaśyapa among them,—giving the rule regulating the names of the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the *nakshatras*. Out of these ten, Garga (not Vṛiddha-Garga), and Parāśara, as quoted by Utpala,—but these two only,—hold that the tenth and eleventh months, Śravana and Bhādrapada, have three *nakshatras* each; *vis.* Śravana, Dhanishṭhā, and Śatātārakā, are assigned to Śravana; and Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā, Uttarā-Bhādrapadā, and Rēvatī, to Bhādrapada; and, consequently, Āśvina has only Āśvini and Bharanī.

in Table IX. on page 165 below. And generally, whenever we meet with a *nakshatra* spoken of with reference to the place of a heavenly body, that *nakshatra* is to be taken in the above sense.

There is, however, a second method of determining the *nakshatras* with reference to the places of heavenly bodies. And, though it has now gone almost out of use, yet it was undoubtedly prevalent to a great extent in early times, and was much made use of, on important religious occasions at least. The chief feature of it is, that the space on the ecliptic allotted to each *nakshatra* is not equal. Fifteen *nakshatras* are held to be of an equal average space; but six, of one and a half times the average; and six others, of only half the average.

One system of unequal spaces, according to this method, is referred to in some of the verses from the *Garga-Samhitā*, which are quoted by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*. The commentary, with the passages quoted in it, runs — *tathā cha Gargaḥ | Uttarās cha tath-Ādityam Viśākhā ch=aiva Rôhipi | étāni śaṭ adhyardha-bhōgāni || Paushṇ-Āśvi-Kṛittikā-Sōma-Tishya-Pitrya-Bhag-āhvayāḥ Sāvitra-Chitr-Ānūrādhā Mūlam Tōyam cha Vaishṇavam Dhanishṭh-Ājaikapāch ch=aiva sama-vargaḥ prakṛtitah | étāni pañchadaśa sama-bhōgāni || Yāmy-Aindra-Raudra-Vāyavya-Sārpa-Vāruṇa-samjñitāḥ | étāni śaṭ ardha-bhōgāni ||* —“ and so Garga (*says*), ‘the Uttarās (*i.e.* Uttarā-Phalgunī, Uttarā-Ashādhā, and Uttarā-Bhādrapadā), and Āditya (Punarvasu), Viśākhā, and also Rôhipi;’ these six (*are*) of one-and-a-half times (*the average*) longitude. ‘(*The nakshatras*) of which the names are Paushṇa (Rêvati), Āśvi (Āśvini), Kṛittikā, Sōma (Mriga), Tishya (Pushya), Pitrya (Maghā), and Bhaga (Pûrvā-Phalgunī), (*and also*) Sāvitra (Hasta), Chitrā, Anūrādhā, Mūla, Tōya (Pûrvā-Ashādhā), and Vaishṇava (Śravaṇa), (*and*) Dhanishṭhā, and also Ājaikapād (Pûrvā-Bhādrapadā); (*this class of nakshatras*) is called the equal class;’ these fifteen (*are*) of equal (*average*) longitude. ‘(*The nakshatras*) which have the appellations of Yāmya (Bharanī), Aindra (Jyêshṭhā), Raudra (Ārdrā), Vāyavya (Svāti), Sārpa (Āślêshā), and Vāruṇa (Śatatārakā);’ these six (*are*) of half (*the average*) longitude.” In this system, which I would name **the Garga system of unequal spaces**, the number of the *nakshatras* is twenty-seven, as usual. The average space of a *nakshatra*, therefore, is 13 degrees, 20 minutes; a one-and-a-half space is 20 degrees; and a half space is 6 degrees, 40 minutes. The longitudes of the ending-points of all the *nakshatras*, according to this system, are given in the last column but one in Table IX. on page 165 below; and the entries of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in the sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space. Nārada and Vasishṭha give this system in the same way as Garga. It seems to have originated in the fact that the distances between the chief stars, called *yōga-tārā*, of the different *nakshatras*, are not equal. The distance is naturally expected to be 13 degrees, 20 minutes. But, in some cases it is less than 7 degrees; while in others it is more than 20 degrees. However, be the reason of the system what it may, there is no doubt that it was extensively in use in ancient times. And, that either it,

TABLE IX.
Longitudes of the Ending-points of the Nakshatras.

Order of the Nakshatras.	System of Equal Spaces.			Systems of Unequal Spaces.								
				Garga System.			Brahma-Siddhanta System.					
	deg.	min.	sec.		deg.	min.	sec.	deg.	min.	sec.		
Āśvini	13°	20'	0"	...	13°	20'	0"	13°	10'	35"		
Bharani	26	40	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	20	0	0	19	45	52 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Kṛittikā	40	0	0	...	33	20	0	32	56	27 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Rōhiṇi	53	20	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	53	20	0	52	42	20		
Mṛiga	66	40	0	...	66	40	0	65	52	55		
Ārdra	80	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	73	20	0	72	28	12 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Punarvasu	93	20	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	93	20	0	92	14	5		
Pushya	106	40	0	...	106	40	0	105	24	40		
Āślēṣhā	120	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	113	20	0	111	59	57 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Maghā	133	20	0	...	126	40	0	125	10	32 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Pūrvā-Phalguni	146	40	0	...	140	0	0	138	21	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Uttarā-Phalguni	160	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	160	0	0	158	7	0		
Hasta	173	20	0	...	173	20	0	171	17	35		
Chitrā	186	40	0	...	186	40	0	184	28	10		
Svāti	200	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	193	20	0	191	3	27 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Viśākhā	213	20	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	213	20	0	210	49	20		
Anurādhā	226	40	0	...	226	40	0	223	59	55		
Jyēṣṭhā	240	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	233	20	0	230	35	12 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Mūla	253	20	0	...	246	40	0	243	45	47 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Pūrvā-Aśāḍhā	266	40	0	...	260	0	0	256	56	22 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Uttarā-Aśāḍhā	280	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	280	0	0	276	42	15		
(Abhijit) . . . . .	.....			(Balance)	.....			280	56	30		
Śravaṇa	293	20	0	...	293	20	0	294	7	5		
Dhanishṭhā	306	40	0	...	306	40	0	307	17	40		
Śatātārakā	320	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	313	20	0	313	52	57 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā	333	20	0	...	326	40	0	327	3	32 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Uttarā-Bhādrapadā	346	40	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	346	40	0	346	49	25		
Révatī	360	0	0	...	360	0	0	360	0	0		

or the very similar system of the *Brahma-Siddhanta*, explained below, was still in use, at least on important occasions, up to A.D. 862, is proved by the Dēōgaḍh inscription of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj; the results for which, calculated by me, have been exhibited by Mr. Fleet at page 107 above, note 1.

Another system of unequal spaces is given in the *Brahma-Siddhanta*,¹ chapter xiv. verses 45 to 53. In its leading feature, it is the same with Garga's system; but it differs a little from Garga's, in introducing Abhijit, in addition to the twenty-seven *nakshatras*. The moon's daily mean motion,—13 degrees, 10 minutes, 35 seconds,—is taken as the average space of a *nakshatra*. And, as the total of the spaces thus allotted to the

¹ By this name, is to be understood, throughout this paper, the *Siddhanta* by Brahmagupta

usual twenty-seven *nakshatras*, on a similar arrangement of unequal spaces, amounts to only 355 degrees, 45 minutes, 45 seconds, the remainder,—4 degrees, 14 minutes, 15 seconds,—is allotted to Abhijit, as an additional *nakshatra*, placed between Uttarā-Aśādhā and Śravaṇa. This system, which I would name the **Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces**, is best explained by Bhāskarāchārya,¹ in his *Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi*, Part iii., chapter 2 (Grahagaṇitaspashtādhikāra), verses 71 to 74. His text, and his own commentary on it, are as follows, —

sthūlaṁ kṛitaṁ bh-āyanam yad ētaj jyōtirvidāṁ
 samivyavahāra-hétōḥ || 71 || Sūkshmaṁ pravakshyētha muni-praṇītaṁ vivāha-yātr-ādi-
 phala-prasiddhyai | adhyardha-bhōgāni śhaḍ atra taj-jñāḥ prōchur Viśākh-Āditibha-
 dhruvāni || 72 || Śhaḍ ardha-bhōgāni cha Bhōgi-Rudra-Vāt-Āntak-Ēndr-āḍhipa-Vāruṇāni |
 śśhāny-ataḥ pañchadaś-aika-bhōgāny=uktō bha-bhōgaḥ śaśi-madhyā-bhuktiḥ || 73 ||
 Sarv-arksha-bhōg-ōnita-chakra-liptā Vaiśv-āgrataḥ syād Abhijid-bha-bhōgaḥ | 74 || *Com-
 mentary*.—Iha yan nakshatr-āyanam kṛitaṁ tat sthūlaṁ lōka-vyavahār-ārtha-mātram
 kṛitaṁ || Atha Pulīsa-Vasishṭha-Garg-ādibhir yad vivāha-yātr-ādau samyak-phala-siddhy-
 arthaṁ kathitaṁ tat sūkshmaṁ idānīm pravakshyē || Tatra śhaḍ adhyardha-bhōgāni |
 Viśākhā Punarvasu Rōhiṇy=Uttarā-trayam | atha śhaḍ ardha-bhōgāni | Āślēśh-Ārdrā Svātī
 Bharanī Jyēsthā Śatabhishak | ēbhyaḥ śśhāni pañchadaś-aika-bhōgāni || Bhōga-pramā-
 ñam tu śaśi-madhyā-bhuktiḥ 790 35 | adhyardha-bhōgaḥ 1185 52½ | ardha-bhōgaḥ 395
 17½ || Sarv-arksha-bhōgair ūnitānām chakra-kalānām yach chhēsham sō=Bhijid-bhōgaḥ
 254 15 || *Translation*.—"This bringing out of *nakshatras* (i.e. the method of finding
nakshatras, with their *ghaṭis* and *palas*) which has been made (in the preceding verses),
 (is) rough, (and is only) for the practical purposes of astrologers. Now I will explain the
 accurate (method) taught by [Pulīsa, Vasishṭha, Garga, and other] sages, for the purpose
 of securing [good] results in the case of a marriage, a journey, &c. On this point, those
 who are versed in that (branch of the science) say, that six (*nakshatras*) have (each) a
 space which is one-and-a-half (times of the average space); (viz.) Viśākhā, Aditibha
 (Punarvasu), and the *dhruvas* (Rōhiṇī, Uttarā-Phalgunī, Uttarā-Aśādhā, and Uttarā-Bhā-
 drapadā). And six have a half space (each); (viz.) those the lords of which are Bhōgin,
 Rudra, Vāta, Antaka, and Indra, and Vāruṇa [Āślēśhā, Ārdrā, Svātī, Bharanī, Jyēsthā,
 (and) Śatabhishaj (Śatatārakā)]. The remaining fifteen (*nakshatras*) have one space
 (each). The (average) space of a *nakshatra* is declared to be the (daily) mean motion
 of the moon [790° 35' (=13° 10' 35'')]. [A one-and-a-half space (is) 1185° 52½' (=19° 45'
 52½'')]. A half space (is) 395° 17½' (=6° 35' 17½''). The space of the *nakshatra* Abhijit,
 (which comes) next after Vaiśva (Uttarā-Aśādhā), is [the remainder, 254° 15' (=4° 14'
 15''), of] the minutes of the whole circle, diminished by the spaces of all the (other)
nakshatras." The longitudes of the ending-points of all the *nakshatras* according to this
 system, are given in the last column of Table IX., on page 165 above. And, as before,

¹The system explained by Bhāskarāchārya, now given, is just the same as that in the *Brahma-Siddhānta*. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to give the verses from the *Siddhānta* itself.

TABLE X.
Details of two Twelve-Year Cycles of Jupiter.

Śaka-Samvat, expired.		English Date.	Longitude of Jupiter.	Nakshatra.	Month and Name of the Samvatsara.
			deg. min.		
1780	Adhika-Jyēshtha śukla 10	7th June, 1858 . . .	41° 47'	Rōhiṇī	Kārttika
1781	Āshāḍha śukla 14 . . .	13th July, 1859 . . .	77 2	Punarvasu	Pausha
1782	Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 13 . . .	15th August, 1860 . .	110 20	Āślēṣhā	Māgha
1783	Bhādrapada śukla 13 . .	16th September, 1861	141 38	Uttarā-Phalgunī . .	Phālguna
1784	Āśvina kṛishṇa 9	17th October, 1862 . .	171 55	Chitrā	Chaitra
1785	Kārttika śukla 6	16th November, 1863 .	201 32	Viśākha	Vaiśākha
1786	Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 3 . .	16th December, 1864 .	232 3	Mūla	Jyēshtha
1787	Māgha śukla 2	18th January, 1866 . .	263 48	Uttarā-Ashāḍhā . .	Āshāḍha
1788	Māgha kṛishṇa 4	22nd February, 1867 .	298 0	Dhanishṭhā	Śrāvaṇa
1790	Chaitra śukla 5	29th March, 1868 . .	334 3	Uttarā-Bhādrapadā	Bhādrapada
1791	Adhika-Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 10	6th May, 1869	10 27	Āśvini	Āśvina
1792	Jyēshtha śukla 14	12th June, 1870 . . .	46 39	Rōhiṇī	Kārttika
1793	Śrāvaṇa śukla 1	18th July, 1871 . . .	81 47	Punarvasu	Pausha
1794	Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 1	19th August, 1872 . .	114 45	Maghā	Māgha
1795	Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 14 . .	20th September, 1873 .	145 53	Uttarā-Phalgunī . .	Phālguna
1796	Āśvina śukla 11	21st October, 1874 . .	175 52	Chitrā	Chaitra
1797	Kārttika kṛishṇa 8	20th November, 1875 .	205 36	Viśākha	Vaiśākha
1798	Pausha śukla 1	16th December, 1876 .	235 21	Mūla	Jyēshtha
1799	Pausha śukla 15	18th January, 1878 . .	267 22	Uttarā-Ashāḍhā . .	Āshāḍha
1800	Phālguna śukla 6	27th February, 1879 .	302 46	Dhanishṭhā	Śrāvaṇa
1801	Phālguna kṛishṇa 10 . . .	4th April, 1880	339 0	Uttarā-Bhādrapadā	Bhādrapada
1803	Vaiśākha śukla 12	11th May, 1881	15 30	Bharanī	Āśvina

the entries of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in the previous sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space.

Now, the additional nakshatra **Abhijit**, introduced in this system, is not taken into account among the *nakshatras* from which the names of the months are derived.¹ The question, therefore, occurs,—What name is to be given to the *samvatsara*, when Jupiter rises in **Abhijit**? It can be solved thus. **Abhijit** is considered to be composed of the last quarter of **Uttarā-Ashāḍhā**, and the first fifteenth part of **Śrāvaṇa**. This is stated in the following verse of **Vasiṣṭha**, as quoted in the commentary, called *Pīyūṣhadhārā*, on the *Mukūrta-Chintāmaṇi*;—**Abhijid-bha-bhōgam ētaḍ Viśvēdēv-āntya-pādam akhilaṁ tat I ādya-chataśrō nādyō Haribhasya**,—"this (*is*) the longitude of **Abhijit**; the whole last quarter of **Viśvēdēva** (**Uttarā-Ashāḍhā**), (*and*) the first four *ghaṭis* (*i.e.* the fifteenth part) of **Haribha** (**Śrāvaṇa**)." And other later authorities give the same rule. A quarter of a *nakshatra* is 3 degrees, 20 minutes; and a fifteenth part is 53 minutes, 20 seconds; and the sum of the two amounts to 4 degrees, 13 minutes, 20 seconds. In other words, **Abhijit** consists of nineteen parts; of which, the first fifteen come from, and properly belong to, **Uttarā-Ashāḍhā**; and the last four come from, and properly belong to, **Śrāvaṇa**. And the name of the *samvatsara* is to be determined as **Āshāḍha** or **Śrāvaṇa**, according to the particular part of **Abhijit** in which Jupiter rises.

As a practical illustration of the application of the rules, I give in Table X. above, a list, in which the dates of the heliacal risings of Jupiter are shewn for twenty-

¹ See the verse *varṣhāṇi Kārttik-dāṇi*, &c., at page 162 above.

four years, from Śaka-Saṃvat 1780 to 1803 (expired);¹ with Jupiter's apparent longitudes at the time, and his *nakshatras* determined from those longitudes. The dates of the risings of Jupiter are taken from ordinary *Pañchāṅgs* in my possession, printed in different Presses at various places. The lunar months in which the risings took place, are all given by the *Amānta* southern reckoning.² The longitude of Jupiter at each rising, is calculated from his longitude, given in the *Pañchāṅgs*, at some stated interval; for instance, of seven or fifteen days. In naming the *nakshatras*, the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, in the last column of Table IX. on page 165 above, is the one that has been resorted to. In the last column, the months, that is, the names of the *saṃvatsaras* which then began, are given. It will be seen, that Mārgaśīrsha is omitted in each of these two cycles. Other *saṃvatsaras* also may be omitted, in the same way, according to the circumstances of the particular cycle.

From this Table X. it will be seen that, from one rising of Jupiter to another, the motion of the planet amounts to from 30 to 36 degrees. By the systems of unequal spaces, some months, and the *saṃvatsaras* which are named from them, have the average space of one and a half *nakshatras*; that is, about 20 degrees only; they are Mārgaśīrsha, Māgha, Chaitra, and Jyēsthā; and these are the *saṃvatsaras* that are most apt to be omitted. For example, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1780 expired, when Jupiter rose, he was in Rōhiṇī. The following rising took place in Punarvasu; that is, from the first rising, he passed entirely through Mṛiga and Ārdra, before the next rising occurred. And, therefore, Mārgaśīrsha was omitted. Again, by these two systems, Śrāvaṇa contains the average space of two *nakshatras*; that is, about 26 degrees, 40 minutes; and, therefore, it also is liable to be omitted. Kārttika, Pausha, Vaiśākha, Āshāḍha, and Āśvina, contain the average space of two and a half *nakshatras* each; that is, about 33 degrees; and will but rarely be omitted. And Phālguna and Bhādrapada, containing not less than 40 degrees each, will never be omitted. So also, by the system of equal spaces, the nine months that contain two *nakshatras* each (excluding Abhijit), are sometimes likely to be omitted. But the remaining three, *viz.* Phālguna, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina, containing three *nakshatras* each, will never be omitted.

On the other hand, sometimes it is possible that a *saṃvatsara* may be repeated. By either system of unequal spaces, this may happen in respect of Kārttika, Pausha, Phālguna, Vaiśākha, Āshāḍha, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina; but, by the system of equal spaces, only in respect of Phālguna, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina. And, whenever a *saṃvatsara* is repeated, then two *saṃvatsaras* will be omitted in the same cycle; one, under ordinary circumstances; and one, on account of the repetition.

¹ Out of these years, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1789 expired, and again in 1802 expired, no heliacal rising took place.

² See page 148 above, note 1.

In the preceding remarks, my object has been to explain concisely the system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter that is based on his heliacal risings; and the three methods for determining the *nakshatra* with which the heliacal rising takes place. I have now to make a few **observations of a more general kind**; and to introduce the eleven other authorities of which I have spoken at page 162 above. Before doing so, however, I must refer more fully to another system, which also has been incidentally mentioned, of naming the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to Jupiter's passage from one sign of the zodiac into another, with reference to his mean longitude.

The rule for that which I have named **the mean-sign system**, is thus given by Āryabhaṭa in his *Ārya-Siddhānta* or *Āryabhaṭīya*, Kālakriyāpāda, verse 4,—Guru-bhagaṇā rāśi-guṇās tv=Āśvayuj-ādyā Gurōr abdāḥ,—“the revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the signs (twelve), (*are*) the years of Jupiter, the first of which is Āśvayuja.” And it is given, in very similar words, by Brahmagupta, in his *Brahma-Siddhānta*, adhyāya xiii. verse 42,—Guru-varshaṇy=Āśvayujād dvādaśa-guṇitā Gurōr bhagaṇāḥ. In this rule, the revolutions (*bhagaṇa*) are meant to be taken from the beginning of the Kalpa, or of a Mahāyuga. But, for practical purposes, we need not go back so far. One Twelve-Year Cycle is completed in one revolution. And, therefore, we can determine the *samvatsara* for a given year, or for any given date in it, by taking Jupiter's signs, including the current sign, of the current revolution, and counting from Āśvayuja. In this system, the signs are intended to be taken, and in practice are taken, according to Jupiter's mean longitude. Now, suppose that on a certain day Jupiter's mean longitude is 9 signs and 12 degrees; *i.e.* that he is in the tenth sign. Then, counting from Āśvayuja, we have Āśhāḍha, as the current *samvatsara* for the given day.¹

The names of the *samvatsaras* of **the Sixty-Year Cycle** also,—according to that which is usually called the northern system, but which is, in reality, the only truly astrono-

¹ In his treatment of the Twelve-Year Cycle (*Indian Eras*, p. 26 ff.), Gen. Sir A. Cunningham opens the subject by quoting Kern's translation (see page 161 above, note 1) of the same verse in the *Bṛihat-Samhitā* which I use for the same purpose. But, for the rest, he altogether ignores the force of the reference to Jupiter's rising, and treats the subject as if the heliacal-rising system, described by me above, did not exist at all. What he has deduced from the verse, is only the mean-sign system, which the verse does not really refer to at all; and in respect of which he is wrong in making the *samvatsaras* of both the Twelve-Year and the Sixty-Year Cycle, begin and end with the luni-solar years. The rules that he applies give, at the best, only the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, and of the Sixty-Year Cycle, that are current at the commencement of a given solar year; they do not provide for the essential point in both the cycles, *vis.* the determination of the exact day on which a given *samvatsara* of either cycle commences.—I have not had an opportunity of seeing the writings of Davis and Warren on this subject. But, with all due deference, I may safely say that the Twelve-Year Cycle by the heliacal-rising system, has hitherto remained quite unknown to European scholars.—I would take this opportunity of remarking that I can find no authority for the introduction, in Kern's translation, of the bracketed words “(during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution).” Jupiter completes a twelfth part (*rāśi*) of his revolution in about three hundred and sixty-one days; while the interval between two of his heliacal risings is about four hundred days.

mical system of it, and was current, as is shewn by many epigraphical quotations of it, in Southern India also,—are determined by Jupiter's mean place. And the rule is thus given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, i. 55,—dvādaśa-ghnā Gurōr yāta-bhagaṇā yartamānakaiḥ | rāśibhiḥ sahitāḥ śuddhāḥ shashṭyā syur Vijay-ādayaḥ ||,—“the expired revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by twelve, (*then*) increased by the current signs (*of the current revolution*), (*and then*) divided by sixty, are (*i.e.* the remainder is) (*the saṃvatsaras counted from*) Vijaya as the first.” In fact, the Sixty-Year Cycle, and the Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, are quite identical with regard to the day of the commencement of each *saṃvatsara*; and, consequently, with regard also to its duration, which, according to Jupiter's mean motion as given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is 361 days, 1 *ghaṭī*, 36 *pālas*. The Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, therefore, with regard to its other details, may be most properly described with the Sixty-Year Cycle, which I shall treat of fully on a separate occasion. And I have introduced the present brief mention of it, only because references to it are unavoidable in the following observations.

The **eleven authorities** for the heliacal-rising system, in addition to the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, of which I have spoken, are as follows;—(1) **Parāśara** says—Kṛittikā-Rōhiniś-ūditē kshuch-chhastr-āgni-vṛiṣṭi-vyādhi-prābalyam Chitrā-Svātōr uditē nṛpa-sasya-varsha-kshēm-ārōgya-karaḥ.—(2) **Garga** says—pravās-āntē sah-arkshēṇa hy-uditō yuga-pach charēt | tasmāt kālād ṛiksha-pūrvō Gurōr abdaḥ pravartatē ||.—(3) **Kaśyapa** says—saṃvatsara-yugē ch-aiva shashṭy-abdē¹-ṅgirasas sutaḥ | yan-nakshatr-ōdayam kuryāt tat-samjñam vatsaram viduḥ ||.—(4) **Ṛishiputra** says—yasmin tiśṭhātī nakshatrē saha yēna pravardhatē | saṃvatsaras sa vijñēyas tan-nakshatr-ābhidhānakah ||.—(5) Also, in the following, **Ṛishiputra** quotes **Vasishṭha** and **Atri**, in addition to **Parāśara**, who is separately referred to above,—Tishy-ādika-yugam prāhur Vasishṭh-Ātri-Parāśarāḥ | Bṛhaspatēs tu Saumy-āntam sadā dvādaśa-vārshikam || Udēti yasmin māsē tu pravās-ōpagatō-ṅgirāḥ | tasmāt saṃvatsaraḥ.—(6) In the **Samāsa-Saṃhitā**, a short work by **Varāhamihira**, we have²—Gurur udayati nakshatrē yasmin tat-samjñitāni varshāni.—(7) **Bṛhaspati**, as quoted in the *Kīraṇāvalī*, a commentary by **Dādabhāi** on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, says—yadā Gur-ūdayō bhānōr Gurōr abdas tad-āditah.—(8) In the **Nārada-Saṃhitā**, **Guṛuchārādhyāya**, we have — yad-dhishṇy-ābhyuditō Jivas tannakshatr-āhva-vatsaraḥ.—(9) In the **Muhūrta-Tattva**, **Guṛuchāra**, verse 7, we have — dvy-ṛikshō-Gnēḥ Kārttikāt try-ṛiksha ishuv-ravi-Śivō-bdaḥ sa yēn-ōdit-Ējyaḥ.—(10) In the **Jyōtishadarpaṇa**, **adhyāya** v., we have — yasminn abhyuditō Jivas tan-

¹ From this, it appears that the *saṃvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle also, were originally determined by the heliacal risings of the planet. And corroboration of this is afforded by a verse of **Varāhamihira**, quoted further on. The above verse of **Kaśyapa**, evidently applies to the Twelve-Year Cycle also.

² I have taken this, and the preceding five quotations, from **Utpala's** commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*.

nakshatrasya vatsarah. — It is unnecessary to translate these ten quotations; as the general purport of all of them is the same; viz. that “a *samvatsara* is to be named after that *nakshatra* in which Jupiter attains his rising.”—(11) In the remaining authority, the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the rule appears to be a little different from that of all the other authorities; though the general features are the same. And, for this reason, though the work is one of the earliest, I have quoted it last. The rule is given in the verse—*Vaiśākh-ādishu kṛishṇe cha yōgaḥ pañchadaśe tithau | Kārttik-ādini varshāṇi Gurōr ast-ōdayāt tathā ||*,—“and the years *Kārttika* and others (*that follow*) (*are to be named*) from the rising, after setting, of Jupiter,¹ according to the occurrence (*of Kṛittikā and other nakshatras*)² on the fifteenth *tithi* in the dark fortnight of *Vaiśākha* and other (*months that follow*).” The application of this rule seems to be thus:—The years are to be named, according as *Kṛittikā* and other *nakshatras*,—evidently those in which the sun and the moon stand,—occur on the *amāvāsya* of *Vaiśākha* and others, immediately preceding or following³ the day on which Jupiter rises; that is, on whatever day Jupiter may rise, the *nakshatra* on either the preceding, or the following, *amāvāsya*, gives the name to the *samvatsara*. This rule seems to have been alluded to, though not in the name of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, by Utpala; but it is rejected by him. It may possibly have been occasionally in use; but it certainly does not apply to the Gupta records.

Now, all these quotations distinctly refer, in some form or another, to the rising of Jupiter; which it is impossible to understand as meaning anything but his heliacal-rising. And, if the rising referred to is the heliacal-rising, then no astronomer can deny that, in the period of about twelve solar years, there are only eleven conjunctions of Jupiter

¹ I should remark that Raṅganātha, one of the best commentators on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, explains this verse with the understanding, into which he seems to have been led by Utpala's comments on the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, viii. 1, that *ast-ōdayāt* means “from the setting or rising.” He adds, however, — *idāṁ udaya-varsha-vyavahārō gaṇakair ganyatē*,—“at the present time, the practice of (naming) the year by the rising, is taken into account by astronomers.” For the sake of consistency, it is justifiable to translate the expression *ast-ōdayāt* as I have translated it above; and the use of the compounded base in the singular, supports that translation. I also find that Dādābhāṭ, in his commentary on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, explains it in the same way; his words being — *tath-āstād udaya-kālē Gurōs tad-yukta-nakshatra-samjñō Gurōr abdō jñīyah*,—“so the year of Jupiter is to be known as having the appellation of that *nakshatra* with which he is joined at the time of (his) rising after setting.”—[There can be no doubt that *ast-ōdayāt* is used here in the sense of “from the rising after setting;” compare such compounds as *supt-ōthhita*, ‘having arisen from sleep;’ *lit.* ‘having slept and then having risen.’—J. F. F.]

² These words, in connection with *yōgaḥ*, have to be supplied from the preceding verse, in which the result exhibited in Table VIII. page 163 above, is given.

³ Which of the two, cannot be determined from the context; and I can find no commentator who has explained the point properly. I myself think that the following *amāvāsya* is intended. But seems that Utpala, in his allusion to this rule, takes the preceding *amāvāsya*.



and the sun, and consequently eleven heliacal risings of the planet. And, this fact being established, the interval of about four hundred days between two successive risings, —the same period, for the duration of each *samvatsara*,—the omission of one *samvatsara* in each cycle of twelve years,—and all the other points described by me,—follow of necessity.

It will, doubtless, have been noticed that I have not been able to give any quotations from the first **Āryabhaṭa** (born A.D. 476) or **Brahmagupta** (born A.D. 598), in support of the heliacal-rising system. And it might be sought to base some argument against its existence, on the grounds that these two early authorities, who moreover may be said to be the originators of two of the three schools of astronomers in India, are silent about it, though they do give the mean-sign system. But the facts only prove the early existence and use of the mean-sign system; which I do not seek to deny. They do not prove, either that the heliacal-rising system did not exist; or that, having existed, it had gone out of use in their time. To take another instance, Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta give no rule for finding the *samvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle; but, to say that this cycle was not known to either of them, would hardly be sensible. The mean-sign system for the Twelve-Year Cycle is undoubtedly early. But the heliacal-rising system is earlier still. Among the authorities quoted above, the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*¹ is as early a work as the *Āryabhaṭīya*, if not earlier. And, that Parāśara, Garga, and Kaśyapa, are earlier than Āryabhaṭa, cannot be denied. Utpala quotes a verse of Garga, which, with some proposed emendations, I give as it stands in my manuscript copy,—*ēvam Āśvayujam ch-aiva Chaitram ch-aiva Bṛhaspatiḥ | samvatsarô(?ram) nāma(?śa) yatê saptaitêda (? saptaty-abda)-śatê-dhikê II.*² This verse seems to refer to the mean-sign system; though I can say nothing definitely about it, without seeing the context; of which I have not the opportunity at present. But, supposing that it does refer to the mean-sign system, still it is not unfavourable to the heliacal-rising system; for the same Utpala also quotes a verse of the same Garga, given at page 170 above, in which Garga says—"when Jupiter, after dwelling together (*with the sun*).³ rises and walks along with a *nakshatra*, then commences the year of Jupiter, of which the first part (*of the name*) is the (*name of that*) *nakshatra*."

Not only that **the heliacal-rising system** is very early, but that it alone **is the original system of the Twelve-Year Cycle**, is self-evident. The heliacal rising of Jupiter is a natural phenomenon. No scientific apparatus is needed for the observation of it; nor are

¹ To say that the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* is a work of Varāhamihira, is simply a mistake. I cannot enter into this point at present; but would refer any who hold that view, to Varāhamihira's *Pañcha-Siddhāntikā*, and to Kern's Preface to his edition of the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*.

² [Gen. Cunningham also has quoted this verse (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 114); and in such a way, his authority giving *nāśyatê*, where Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's MS. gives *nāmayatê*, as to shew that, in the second half of it, we certainly have to read *nāśyatê saptaty-abda-śatê*.—] F. F.]

³ *pravāsantê* may be translated by "after having completed his journey;" i.e. having completed a revolution of some kind or another.

any calculations required.¹ But such is not the case with the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac into another. No kind of apparatus can determine Jupiter's mean longitude. It is to be found only by calculations, the rules for which must have been established after observations carried on during a very long time; to lay down the means of determining Jupiter's mean yearly or daily motion, is not a thing that can be accomplished in a few years. It seems, therefore, quite evident that the system of naming the *samvatsaras* after the *nakshatras* in which Jupiter rises, i.e. the heliacal-rising system, is the only original one.

So much, as regards the antiquity of the heliacal-rising system. Let us now look into its somewhat later use. Varāhamihira is later than Āryabhaṭa. And his verse with which I have opened my account of the Twelve-Year Cycle, undoubtedly refers to this system. So, also, another of his verses, in the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, viii. 27, points to the same thing. It runs—*ādyaṁ Dhanishṭhām samabhiprapannō² Māghē yad=Āyāty-udayaṁ Surōjyaḥ* I

¹ The phenomenon, moreover, is one to which much attention has always been paid in India. Even in the present day, almost all the Hindu *Pañchāṅgs* give the dates of the heliacal rising and setting of Jupiter. This is for religious purposes; since, when Jupiter is invisible, some duties and ceremonies, such as investiture with the sacred thread, marriage, pilgrimages, &c., are not to be performed; and the dates in question are necessary, in order to know when he is visible, and when he ceases to be so. In *Pañchāṅgs* printed in Mahārāshṭra, the custom of naming the *samvatsaras* after the months is not in use; in fact, the Twelve-Year Cycle is now almost unknown to the people at large of the Dekkan. But in a *Pañchāṅg* prepared by Jwālāpati Siddhānti, and printed in the Jñānasūryodaya Press at Madras, I find that the author, in the *samvatsara-phala*, after giving the two *samvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, according to the northern and the southern reckoning, goes on to say—*sarvatra Gur-udaya-vasāt (Chaitr)-ābdō grāhyah*,—"all over (India) a (certain) year (i.e. such *samvatsaras* as Chaitra, &c.), which depends on the rising of Jupiter, is to be taken;" from which it is evident that some such rising-system, as that described above, is followed in this *Pañchāṅg* from Madras. Also, in the *Chāṇḍu-Pañchāṅg*, prepared for the meridian of Jūdhpur in Mārṇāḍ, and used there and by Mārṇāḍis in other parts of India, the *samvatsaras* are named as Chaitra-Varsha, Vaisākha-Varsha, &c.; the system adopted in that *Pañchāṅg*, however, for naming the *samvatsaras*, is the mean-sign system.

² The reading that I give, is from my manuscript copy. But, *s* and *ś* being very liable to confusion, the reading *ādyaṁ Dhanishṭh-āmsam abhiprapannō*, which is given in some printed copies, may also be of some authority. By calculation, however, I find that Jupiter does not always stand just at the beginning of Dhanishṭhā, at the time of his rising at the commencement of the Prabhava *samvatsara*. And I think, therefore, that the reading which I give, is the author's original reading. I take *ādyaṁ* to qualify the word *nakshatram* understood. And Varāhamihira calls the *nakshatra* in question "the first," because his opinion was, I think, that Dhanishṭhā was the first *nakshatra* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, as it was of the Five-Year Cycle of the Vēdāṅga-Jyautisha [see its verse—*svar ākramēlō sōm-ārkau yadō sūkām sa-Vāsavau syāt tad=ādī-yugam Māghah*,—"when the moon and the sun, being in (the *nakshatra*) Vāsava (Dhanishṭhā), go together in the heavens, then there is the beginning of the Yuga (and of the month) Māgha"], which two he intends to reconcile.—[Kern would seem to have known only the reading *ādyaṁ Dhanishṭh-āmsam*. His translation (*Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 49 f.*), which follows also the reading of *pravartatō* for *prapadyatō*, is—"when Jupiter, on reaching the first quarter of Dhanishṭhā, rises in the lunar month of Māgha, then begins the first year of the cycle of sixty, named Prabhava, a year salutary to all beings." And he adds the

shashty-abda-pûrvaḥ Prabhavaḥ sa namnâ prapadyatê bhûta-hitas tad=âbdaḥ II,—“when Jupiter, having come to the first (*nakshatra*) Dhanishṭhâ, attains (*his*) rising in (*the month*) Mâgha, then commences that year, beneficial to beings, which is named Prabhava, the first of the sixty years.” Now, in eighteen centuries from the beginning of the Śaka era, the Prabhava *samvatsara* has occurred thirty times. And, by approximate calculations, I find that Varāhamihira's assertion, though not quite correct, is nearly so by the heliacal-rising system. Out of the thirty occasions, Jupiter rose, according to the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the fortnights,¹ twenty-six times in the month of Mâgha; three times early in Phālguna; and once in Pausha, nearly at the end of it. And, on many occasions he rose in the Dhanishṭhâ *nakshatra*; and on some, in Śravana. The assertion, however, is not correct for the mean-sign system. According to that system, at the commencement of the Prabhava *samvatsara*, which always begins when Jupiter, by his mean longitude, enters Kumbha or Aquarius, he evidently always stands in the middle of Dhanishṭhâ.² But the Prabhava *samvatsara* may begin, and as a matter of fact I find by calculation that it has begun, in any of the twelve months; as will be shewn when I treat of the Sixty-Year Cycle. It is evident, therefore, that the verse in question supports the heliacal-rising system. Moreover, the word *udaya* itself is used in it. It might be argued that Varāhamihira's rule (*Bṛihat-Samhitâ*, viii. 22; êk-aikam abdêshu nav-âhatêshu, &c.) for finding the *nakshatra* of Jupiter, has reference to his mean longitude; and, consequently, that it gives the mean-sign system. But it is absurd to suppose that so learned an astronomer as he, stating the rule that a *samvatsara* is to be named from the *nakshatra* in which Jupiter rises, did not know that the *nakshatra*, at the time of his rising, can be determined only from his apparent longitude. The reason why he gives a rule for finding the mean longitude only, is, in my opinion, this:—Anyone conversant with Hindu mathematical astronomy, knows how tedious a task it is to find the mean longitude of a planet from the *ahargana*, or number of elapsed days, counted from the beginning of the Kalpa or of a Yuga. But, when once it has been found, it is much less tedious to calculate, from it, the apparent longitude by the general rules. So, Varāhamihira, I think, gives a simple rule for finding the mean longitude of Jupiter on a given day, and leaves to the astronomer the calculation of the apparent longitude. Or, it may also be said, as the difference between the mean and the apparent longitudes of Jupiter, on the day of his heliacal-rising, is not very much,—sometimes about five degrees, and sometimes nearly nil, as I have found from several calculations,—Varāhamihira gives the simple rule for rough practical purposes only; leaving it to the

note—“cf. Davis, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. p. 220. The word *amśa* also means ‘degree,’ but is here rendered by ‘quarter,’ according to Utpala, who explains it by *pāda*.”—J. F. F.]

¹ See page 148 above, note 1.

² The sign Kumbha commences in the middle of Dhanishṭhâ, and ends at the end of the third quarter of Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ.

astronomer to make more detailed calculations, when absolute accuracy is required. But, even supposing that the said verse of Varāhamihira implies the mean-sign system, it will only prove that he gives both systems.

Let us now turn to the **more modern period**. Of the authorities quoted above in support of the heliacal-rising system, the *Muhūrta-Tattva* and the *Jyōtishadarpāṇa* are comparatively modern. The author of the first is the father of the well-known Gaṇeśa Daivajña, the author of the *Grahalāghava*; and, therefore, its date is about Śāka-Samvat 1420 expired (A.D. 1498-99); and it was written at Nandgaṇm on the western coast, about forty-five miles south of Bombay. The date of the second, as I have determined from certain data in it, is Śāka-Samvat 1479 expired (A.D. 1557-58); and it was written at Koṇḍapalli, somewhere in the Karṇāṭaka country. And, in addition to these two, a third reference to the heliacal-rising system has been given above, at page 171 note 1, from Raṅganātha's commentary on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. The date of this commentary is Śāka-Samvat 1525 expired (A.D. 1603-1604); and it was written at Benares. These details suffice to shew that the heliacal-rising system is referred to in works of a modern period, and belonging to different parts of the country.

It is true that **the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle is rare**. This is shewn by the fact that some astronomical works do not refer to it, in either system, though it would not have been beyond their sphere to do so; and by the fact that, out of many hundreds of inscriptions, only seven have been found, mentioning the *samvatsaras* of it.¹ But, if the use of the heliacal-rising system is rare, the use of the mean-sign system is still more so. The *samvatsaras* mentioned in the four records of the Early Gupta period, which give full details for calculation, are proved to belong to the heliacal-rising system. And, while I have been able to quote no less than eleven authorities referring to that system, a distinct reference to the mean-sign system is to be found in only two; viz. Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta, as quoted above. If to these we add an interpolated verse in the *Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi*, and also hold that Garga and Varāhamihira give the system, even then the number comes to only five.² And, in about eight of such works as would be expected to refer to the system, of a date later than A.D. 1478, which I have examined, I find a reference to it in none at all.

Looking to **the present time**, if the mean-sign system is used in one part of the country, the heliacal-rising system is used in another;³ while, in others, both systems are almost, if not quite, unknown. The mean-sign system is doubtless the more convenient

¹ viz. the five records of the *Mahārājās* Hastin and Saṅkshābha; and the two grants of the Kadamba chieftain Mṛigēśavarman, referred to at page 106 above, note 1.

² A verse containing a reference to the system, is given, as belonging to Śrīpati, in Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri's edition of the *Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi*, p. 13, note; but I do not find it in the *Ratnamālā* of Śrīpati.

³ See page 173 above, note 1.

of the two; since the duration of the *samvatsara*, roughly three hundred and sixty-one days, approaches so near to that of the solar year; and the omission of a *samvatsara* occurs only once in about eighty-five years. And this point of convenience seems to be the reason for which the system was invented by the astronomers. But, as both the systems are given in astronomical works, both of them must certainly have been actually used. And such will always be the case, as long as those works exist.

APPENDIX IV. •

The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl.

The inscriptions which give the matter for this Appendix all belong to Khâtmandu and its vicinity, and consist of fifteen collected by the late **Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji**, and published by him and Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.; and of four obtained by **Mr. Bendall**, of which the most important one was published originally in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has been reprinted in his *Journey in Nêpâl and Northern India*, p. 72 ff. and Plate viii., with the first publication of the other three, p. 74 ff. and Plates ix. x. and xi.

The **historical results** of the former set were discussed at length by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his paper entitled "Some Considerations on the History of Nêpâl," edited by Dr. Bühler, and published in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 411 ff. His results, however, are unfortunately vitiated by a radical error; *viz.* the reference of one series of the dates to the Vikrama era, instead of to the Gupta era nearly four hundred years later. This was due, partly to the misinterpretation of an important verse in the inscription of Jayadêva II. of Harsha-Samvat 153; and partly to the want of the key-note supplied by Mr. Bendall's inscription of Gupta-Samvat 316. And it was, of course, the publication of this last inscription that led me to look carefully into the whole matter, and at length to hit upon the fundamental mistake, without a recognition of which it might still be argued that Mr. Bendall's date of 316, for Śivadêva I. and Amśuvarman, stands alone in belonging to the Gupta era, and that, in spite of it, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was right in referring the other larger dates to the Vikrama era.

Taking the inscriptions in question in **regular chronological order**, the dates and other important points are as follows:—

A.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 1; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and *Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 72 ff. and Plate viii.—The charter recorded is issued from the house or palace called **Mânagriha** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Bhattâraka* and *Mahârāja*, the illustrious¹ **Śivadêva I.** (l. 2 f.), the banner or glory of the **Lichchhavikula**.² And it records a grant made by him on the advice, or at the request,³ of the *Mahāsāmantu* **Amśuvarman** (l. 6 f.). The *Dâtaka* is the *Svāmin* Bhôgavarman (l. 15.)⁴ The date

¹ *śrī*.

² *Lichchhavi-kula-kétu*, line 2.

³ *Mahāsāmant-Amśuvarmanā vijñāpitēna mayā*; line 6-7.

⁴ This person would seem to be Amśuvarman's sister's son, who is mentioned in inscription E. below.—He must not be confused with Śivadêva II.'s father-in-law, the Maukhari Bhôgavarman, who is mentioned in inscription R. below, and was at least a full generation later.—See page 180 below, note 3, on another point.

(l. 15), in numerical symbols here and throughout the series, is (Gupta)-Samvat 316, Jyaishṭha-śukla-divā-daśamyām; which, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20, answers, approximately, to the 3rd May, A.D. 635.

B.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 5; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168 f.—The charter is issued from **Mānagriha** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Śivadēva I.** (l. 2 f.), the banner of the **Lichchhavikula**. It recorded some act, the details of which are broken away and lost, done by him, as in inscription A., on the advice, or at the request, of the *Mahāśmanta*, the illustrious **Amśuvarman** (l. 8 f).¹ The **date**, and the name of the *Dātaka*, are broken away and lost in line 11 ff.

C.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 6; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 169 f.—The charter is issued from the house or palace called **Kailāsakūṭabhavana** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Mahāśmanta*, the illustrious **Amśuvarman** (l. 2). The *Dātaka* is the *Mahāsarva[daṇḍa]yaka* Vikra[masēna] (l. 14).² The **date** (l. 14) is (Harsha)-Samvat 34, Jyaishṭha-śukla-daśamyām; which, with the epoch³ of A.D. 605-606, answers, approximately, to the 18th May, A.D. 639.

¹ As in page 177 above, note 3.

² This is the name as completed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. But, if we accept it as correct, we must be careful not to confuse this person with the *Rājaputra* Vikramasēna who was the *Dātaka* of inscription S. below, more than two hundred years later.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

³ This epoch is taken from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation of the date in the Dighwā-Dubault grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla. At the end (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 113, line 14) we have, for the assignment of the charter, the year 155, Māgha śu di 10; and from line 12 we learn that, when making the grant, the *Mahārāja* had bathed on the occasion of the *Kumbha-Samkrānti* or entrance of the Sun into Aquarius. The epoch of the era is fixed approximately by a statement of Albérūnt (*Albérūnt's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 5), to the effect that, in a Kāśmīrī almanac, he had read that Harshavardhana was six hundred and sixty-four years later than Vikramāditya. Subject to some doubt as to whether Albérūnt is speaking of the epoch of the era, or of its first current year, and as to whether the Vikrama year indicated by him is to be taken as current or as expired, this statement indicates, approximately, Śaka-Samvat 528 expired, and 529 current (A.D. 606-607), as the epoch or year 0 of the era. And this is the epoch selected by Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, pp. 64 f., 157 ff.), on the authority of Albérūnt's statement. By calculations based on the *Sārya-Siddhānta*, however, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that an epoch one year earlier than this is required, in order that the details of the date in the Dighwā-Dubault grant may work out correctly. Thus, with the basis of Harsha-Samvat 155 + Śaka-Samvat 527 expired = Śaka-Samvat 682 expired, the *Kumbha-Samkrānti* occurred at 43 *ghaṭis*, 40 *palas*, on Monday, the 19th January, A.D. 761; and the ninth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended about four hours later, at 53 *ghaṭis*, 15 *palas*, on the same day. Or, by the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, the times were, for the *Samkrānti*, 42 *ghaṭis*, 30 *palas*; and for the *tithi*, 52 *ghaṭis*, 41 *palas*. In both cases, the *ghaṭis* and *palas* are from mean sunrise at Ujjain. And he adds the note—"the *punyakāla* or meritorious time for performing religious duties in connection with a *samkrānti*, is, according to some authorities, from sixteen *ghaṭis* before, to sixteen *ghaṭis* after, the time of the *samkrānti*; and, according to others, in the case of some *samkrāntis*, from ten to

D.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 2; *Journey in Népal*, p. 74f., and Plate ix.—The charter is issued from **Kailāsakūṭabhavana** (line 1). The inscription is one of an illustrious *Mahāsāmanta*, whose name is effaced, but may with tolerable certainty be restored as **Amśuvarman** (l. 2). And it records the grant of two fields, for the purpose of providing for the repairs of some building. The *Dūtaka* (l. 17) is the *Mahābālādhyaksha* Vindusvāmin. The date (l. 16) is (Harsha)-Samvat 34, prathama-Pausha-śukla-dvityāyām; which should answer,¹ approximately, to the 3rd December, A.D. 639.

E.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 7; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 170f.—The charter is issued from **Kailāsakūṭabhavana** (line 1). The inscription is one of the illustrious **Amśuvarman** (l. 5), to whom no formal titles are allotted here. It mentions

sixteen or even forty *ghaṭṭs* before the *samkrānti*, up to the time of the *samkrānti*, and, in the case of the other *samkrāntis*, from the time of the *samkrānti*, up to from ten to sixteen or even forty *ghaṭṭs* after it. But generally, when a *samkrānti* occurs at midnight,—as it did, roughly, in the present instance,—the *punyakāla* is held to be on the following day. And, in the present case, there is every probability of the bathing &c. having been performed on the following day; i.e. on Māgha śukla daśamī."—With other years, the given *samkrānti* cannot be brought into accordance with the given day and *tithi*. Thus, with Śaka-Samvat 680 expired, the *samkrānti* occurred six or seven days after the given *tithi*, on the *Pārṇimānta* Phālguna kṛṣṇa 2; with 681 expired, on the *Pārṇimānta* Phālguna kṛṣṇa 13; with 683 expired, on the *Pārṇimānta* Phālguna kṛṣṇa 5; with 684 expired, on Māgha śukla 1; and with 685 expired, on Māgha śukla 12. It is certain, therefore, that the correct English equivalent is the one obtained with Śaka-Samvat 682 expired. And, taking the given Harsha year as a current year, and treating it as having the same scheme with the northern Śaka year, the epoch is Śaka-Samvat 527 expired, or A.D. 605-606 current; and 528 years have to be added, to convert current Harsha years into current Śaka years, and 527, to convert them into expired Śaka years as the basis of calculations. The commencement or first current year of the era, is A.D. 606-607 current.—I should remark, as I did when editing the grant, that a slight doubt may be felt as to the value of the third numerical symbol, in the units place, which I interpret as 5. And the exact epoch would be varied, by allotting a different value to this symbol. But the choice lies only between 4, 5, and 8. I do not think that any authority can be found for interpreting it as 4. And, if it were interpreted as 8, then the epoch of the era would be A.D. 602-603; and its first current year would be A.D. 603-604, for which year, as the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana, there seems to be no authority whatever.—I should also point out that the next inscription, D. below, of Harsha-Samvat 34, refers to an intercalation of the month Pausha; and that Prof. Adams of Cambridge, and Prof. Schram of Vienna, as reported by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 338 (see also *Journey in Népal*, p. 76), obtained a mean intercalation of Pausha in A.D. 640; which would necessitate the adoption of A.D. 606-607 as the epoch. But this intercalation remains to be examined in detail; and, for the present, I have only a note by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit that, according to the verse *Mēsh-ādi-sthē savitārī &c.* (see page 88 above, note 5), the intercalated period should be called Mārgaśīrsha; and that, in calling it Pausha, exactly the contrary is done of the process by which we obtain Mārgaśīrsha as the name of the intercalated period that is referred to in the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330 (see page 93 ff. above).—The question will, I hope, be treated more fully by Mr. Dikshit hereafter. Meanwhile, for present purposes, I adopt A.D. 605-606 as the epoch.

¹ As regards the equivalent English date, however, see a remark, in the preceding note, on the indicated intercalary nature of this month Pausha.

Amśuvarman's sister Bhôgadêvî, who was the wife of the *Râjaputra* Sûrasêna,¹ and the mother of the illustrious Bhôgavarman² and Bhâgyadêvî. It records certain orders addressed by Amśuvarman to the officials of the Western Province (*paśchim-ādhikaraṇa-vṛttibhujah*, lines 5-6; and *paśchim-ādhikaraṇa*, line 14), in connection with three *līṅga* forms of the god Īśvara or Śiva. The *Dātaka* is the *Yuvarāja* Udayadêva.³ The date (l. 22) is (Harsha)-Samvat 39, Vaiśākha-śukla-divā-daśamyām; answering, approximately, to the 24th April, A.D. 644.

F.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 8; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 171.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records that, by the favour of the illustrious **Amśuvarman** (line 2), a *praṇālī* or 'conduit' was caused to be built by the *Vārta*⁴ Vibhuvarman, for the increase of his father's religious merit. The date (l. 1) is (Harsha)-Samvat⁵ 44 or 45, Jyêṣṭha-śukla; which has its equivalent in the month of May or June, A.D. 649, or May, A.D. 650.

G.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 9; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 173 f.—The charter is issued from **Kailāsakūṭabhavana** (line 3 f.). The inscription is one of the illustrious **Jishnugupta** (l. 4). It records that, at the request of the *Sāmanta* Chandravarman, a *tilamaka* or 'water-course,' which had been constructed by the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja-dhirāja*, the glorious **Amśuvarman** (l. 6 f.), was made over by Jishnugupta to Chandravarman, to be repaired; &c. The *Dātaka* (l. 21) is the *Yuvarāja*, the illustrious **Viṣṇugupta**. The date (l. 21) is (Harsha)-Samvat 48, Kārttika-śukla-2; answering, approximately, to the 30th September, A.D. 653.—Lines 1 and 2 of this inscription mention **Mānagriha**,⁶ and, in connection with it, the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja Dhruvadêva*; but the passage is much mutilated, and does not in itself suffice to explain the connection between Dhruvadêva and Jishnugupta.⁷

¹ The original is somewhat damaged, but it has undoubtedly *s* in the first *akṣhara* of this name; not *ś* as given by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text and translation. And the spelling is the same in line 3 of an inscription of the Sûrasêna family published by him in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 34 ff. But very probably *ś* is the more correct spelling; especially as line 8 of the present inscription mentions the *līṅga* named Śûrabhōgêśvara.

² See page 177 above, note 4.

³ The dates seem to prevent the identification of this person with the Udayadêva of the Ṭhākurl family, mentioned in inscription R. below.—He was perhaps a Lichchhavi, as suggested by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. If so, in this Lichchhavi *Dātaka* of a Ṭhākurl charter, we have an instance parallel to the Ṭhākurl *Dātaka* of a Lichchhavi grant, suggested in page 177 above, note 4.

⁴ Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji took *Vārta* as a family or tribal name. It seems more likely, however, that, as suggested by himself, it is an official title, synonymous with the *vṛttibhuj* of inscription E. above; and that the correct form is *vārta* (with the double *t*) from *vṛitti*.

⁵ The second symbol is doubtful; but it is either 4 or 5.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

⁶ The two syllables *māna*, immediately after *svasti*, are clear enough in the original rubbing, though they hardly shew in the lithograph, and were not given by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text.

⁷ The purport of it, however, must have been the same as in the next inscription H.

H.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 10; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 173 f.—The charter is issued from **Kailāsakūṭabhavana** (line 6). The inscription is one of the illustrious **Jishnugupta** (l. 7). The details are much mutilated; but the subject is a *tilamaka* or 'water-course,' which had been constructed by the *Mahāśmanta*, the illustrious' **dēva**. The name of the *Dūtaka*, and the date, have peeled off and are lost.—Lines 3 and 4 of this inscription again mention **Mānagriha**, and, in connection with it, the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Dhruvadēva**, the banner of the **Lichchhavi**kula. Between *mānagriha* and *dita-chitta* in line 4, there are four (or perhaps five) *aksharas* which are much damaged, and are quite uncertain even in the rubbing; but the *ha* (not *hd*) is distinct enough; and this, and the whole construction, shews that we have here,—not *Mānagrihāt*, the formal ablative of issue,—but the base *Mānagriha*, as the first member of a compound, ending with *santati*, that qualifies *śrī-Dhruvadēva*, and means something like "who belonged to a lineage which had its thoughts [gladdened by residing] at Mānagriha." As regards the connection between Dhruvadēva and Jishnugupta,—in line 5, after *śrī-Dhruvadēva*, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read *purassarē sakala*, and interpreted the passage as shewing that Jishnugupta acknowledged Dhruvadēva as his lord paramount. The interpretation is possibly correct; though the text may equally well mean nothing more than a courteous reference by Jishnugupta to one whose position was equal to his own. But, from the rubbing, the proper reading is certainly *purassara-sakala*, in composition. The whole passage, in fact, from *Mānagriha*, line 4, down to *mānasa*, lines 5-6, is one continuous compound, meaning, in the latter part, that Jishnugupta's mind had been brought into a state of contentment by devising the means of freeing from calamity all the people headed by Dhruvadēva, &c. And the expression *Dhruvadēva-purassara-sakalajana* is analogous in its purport to the *sa-nṛpatér=jjagatô (hitāya)*, " (for the welfare) of the world (*i.e.* of all the people), together with the king," of line 2 of inscription M. below.

I.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 11; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 174.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records certain grants made in the augmenting victorious reign of the illustrious **Jishnugupta** (line 9). The era-date, if any was recorded, is lost with lines 27 ff.

J.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 3; *Journey in Népal*, page 77 ff. and Plate x.—The charter is issued from **Kailāsakūṭabhavana** (line 1). The king's name is lost, somewhere in lines 2 to 7. The inscription provides for the worship of the god Vajrēśvara (l. 17), and other religious matters. The *Dūtaka* (l. 28) is the *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the *Yuzarāja* Skandadēva. The date (l. 29) is (Harsha)-Samvat 82, Bhādrapada-śukla-divā; which has its equivalent in the month of August, A.D. 687.

In the original rubbing, *śrī* is very distinct at the beginning of line 14. Two *aksharas* are illegible between it and *dēvāna*.

K.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 1; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.—This furnishes the following short genealogy:—**Vṛishadēva** (line 8);—his son **Śamkaradēva** (l. 12), with a reference in lines 9 and 10 to other sons, who, however, are not mentioned by name;—Śamkara's son, **Dharmadēva** (l. 16), who with justice [governed] a great hereditary kingdom (*kula-kram-dgatam* *rājyam mahat*, line 17), and whose wife was Rājyavatī;—and Dharmadēva's son **Mānadēva** (l. 20), who was appointed to reign by his mother on his father's death. The inscription then records that Mānadēva made an expedition to the East, and reduced to obedience some "roguish," ill-behaved, or rebellious *Śamantas* there; and then went back to the West, where also he heard of misdoings on the part of a *Śamanta*. Here, unfortunately, the available part of the inscription terminates, the rest being buried underground. The **date** (l. 1 f.) is (Gupta)-Samvat 386, Jyêsthâ-mâsa-śukla-pakshê pratipadi 1 Rôhini-nakshatra-yuktê chandramasi muhûrtê praśastê-Bhijiti; the exact equivalent of which, as we have seen at page 95 ff. above, is Tuesday, the 28th April, A.D. 705.

L.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 12; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 174 ff.—The charter is issued from **Kailāsakûṭābhavana** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Śivadēva II.** (l. 3). The *Dūtaka* (l. 23) is the *Rajaputra* Jayadēva. The **date** (l. 23) is (Harsha)-Samvat 119, Phālguna-śukla-divā-daśamyām; answering, approximately, to the 20th February, A.D. 725.

M.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 2; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 166 f.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records that, by the favour of the illustrious 'king' **Mānadēva** (line 1), a certain Jayavarman erected a *linga* named Jayêśvara, for the welfare of the world, (*i.e.* of all the people), together with the king,¹ and endowed it with a permanent endowment.² The **date** (l. 1) is (Gupta)-Samvat 413, equivalent to A.D. 732-33, without any further details.

N.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 13; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 176 f.—This inscription is very much damaged.³ The name of the palace whence the charter was issued, is lost. And the king's name is illegible in line 3; but, as it is preceded by the titles of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the name was probably that of **Śivadēva II.**, as in inscription L. above; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji filled up the *lacunæ* in that way. This is a Buddhist inscription. The *Dūtaka* (line 36) is the *Bhāṭṭāraka*, the illustrious, or perhaps the venerable, Śivadēva. The **date** (l. 37) is somewhat doubtful;⁴ but

¹ *sa-nṛ-patér=jagatô hitāya*; line 2.

² *akshaya-nivâ*; line 2.

³ I have not seen the rubbing of this inscription.

⁴ In Śaka-Samvat 672 current, or 671 expired, the month Jyêsthâ was intercalary (see *Indian Eras*, p. 161, and *Chronology*, p. 126). And the absence of any hint of this in the present record, would, if the reading of the second numerical symbol as 40 could be established, be a point in favour of the year being Śaka-Samvat 671 current, or 670 expired; which is in accordance with the epoch of A.D. 605-606.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī read it as (Harsha)-Samvat 143, Jyaisṭha-śukla-divā-trayōdaśyām; answering, approximately, to the 25th May, A.D. 748. There is, however, the possibility that the second numerical symbol is 20 or 30, instead of 40.

O.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's inscription No. 14; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 177 f.—All the introductory part of this inscription, recording the palace whence the charter was issued and the name of the king, is broken away and lost. The *Dātaka* (line 17) is the *Yuvarāja* Vijayadēva. The date (l. 17) is (Harsha)-Samvat 145, Paṃsha-śukla-divā-tritīyāyām; answering, approximately, to the 6th December, A.D. 750.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, taking Vijayadēva as a "vicarious" name of Jayadēva II., allotted the inscription, chiefly on this account, to Śivadēva II. As far as the date goes, the inscription may be one either of him, or of **Jayadēva II.** But Vijayadēva cannot be a "vicarious" name of Jayadēva II. Occasional instances may be cited, in which the special terminations of names vary; thus, the Vasantasēna of inscription P. below, appears in R. line 10, and in the *Paṃśāvali*, as Vasantadēva; and Jayadēva I. of R. line 8, perhaps appears in the *Paṃśāvali* as Jayavarman. But even this is rare enough. And, apart from the substitution of *birudas* or secondary titles, the only epigraphical instance that I can quote, of any variation in the first and really distinctive part of a king's name, is to be found in line 46 ff. of the Kauthēm grant¹ of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya V., of Śāka-Samvat 930, where the Daśavarman of other inscriptions is called Yaśovarman. But that instance is not a very satisfactory one.² And in the present case there is not any metrical exigency, as there is in the places where the name of Daśavarman occurs, to justify any variation. If the present inscription is one of Śivadēva II., then Vijayadēva was another son of his; if, as seems to me more probable, it is one of Jayadēva II., then Vijayadēva was a son of the last-mentioned person.

P.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's inscription No. 3; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 167.—The charter is issued from **Mānagriha** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Vasantasēna**.³ The *Dātaka* (l. 21) is the *Sarvaḍaṇḍāyaka* and *Mahāpratihāra* Ravigupta. The date (l. 20 f.) is (Gupta)-Samvat 435, Āsvayujī śukla-divā-1; answering, approximately, to the 23rd September, A.D. 754.

Q.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 4; *Journey in Népāl*, p. 79 f. and Plate xi.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place; nor does it give any king's name. It only records a grant by a private person to a *Pāñchaka* or Committee. The date (line 1) is (Harsha)-Samvat 151, Vaiśākha-śukla-dvitiyāyām; answering, approximately, to the 8th April, A.D. 756.

R.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's inscription No. 15; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 178 ff.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. The inscription, which gives a

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 23.

² See *id.* p. 19 f.

³ In inscription R. below, line 10, he is called Vasantadēva.

good deal of genealogical information, to be commented on below, is one of **Jayadēva II.** (line 14), who also had the second name or *biruda* of Parachakrakāma (l. 18). The object of it is to record that he caused a silver water-lily to be made, for the worship of Śiva under the name of Paśupati; and that it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadēvi. The **date** (l. 35) is (Harsha)-Samvat 153, Kārttika-śukla-navamyām; answering, approximately, to the 16th October, A.D. 758.

S.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 4; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168.—The commencement of the inscription, recording the place whence the order was issued and the king's name, is broken away and lost. And the inscription, therefore, is of importance only as indicating the period during which the era that is referred to in it, continued to be used. The *Dātaka* (line 17) is the *Rājaputra* Vikramasēna.¹ The **date** (l. 18) is (Gupta)-Samvat 535, Śrāvaṇa-śukla-divā-saptamyām; answering, approximately, to the 1st July, A.D. 854.

When Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji summed up, according to his view of them, the historical results of his inscriptions, Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 1, A. above, was not known; and the only available clue was the mention, in B. C. E. F. and G., of Amśuvarman, who was evidently to be identified with the king of that name who was reigning during, or shortly before, Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Northern India, in or about A.D. 637. Acting on this identification, he very properly referred the dates of (C.) 34, (E.) 39, (F.) 44 or 45, (G.) 48, (L.) 119, (N.) 143 (?), (O.) 145, and (R.) 153, to the era dating from the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanauj in A.D. 606 (or 607).

Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gōlmādhītōl inscription, furnished the key-note for the interpretation of the whole matter. For, mentioning Amśuvarman as the contemporary of Śivadēva I., and giving for the latter the date of the year 316, it shews that this date, and all belonging to the same uniform series, must be referred to an era commencing just about three centuries before the Harsha era; *i. e.* to the so-called Gupta era, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20; for then the year 316 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 635-36, which is in the closest possible accordance with the first recorded date of Amśuvarman, in A.D. 639.

But, when Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, nothing was certain about the other larger dates of (K.) 386, (M.) 413, (P.) 435, and (S.) 535; except that all the circumstances of the case shewed that they were not of the same series with the smaller dates belonging to the Harsha era. And, after examining the theory of the Śaka era, commencing A.D. 78, and rejecting it on the grounds that even this was not early enough, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji finally referred them to the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 58.

Curiously enough, the Nēpāl *Vamśāvali* states that Vikramāditya came to Nēpāl, and established his era there. And, as we have seen at page 74 f. above, an offshoot of the Vikrama era certainly was introduced into Nēpāl in A.D. 880. But the statement of the *Vamśāvali* refers to the time of the predecessor of Amśuvarman; *i. e.* to the end of the

¹ See page 178 above, note 2.

sixth, or the beginning of the seventh, century A.D. And Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji shewed¹ that the statement is certainly quite wrong as regards the name of the king and the particular era intended; and that what it probably contains, is a reminiscence of the conquest of the country by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and the adoption of the Harsha era as the result. This statement, therefore, can have influenced him but little, if at all, in his assignment of the above-mentioned dates to the Vikrama era.

The real grounds for his doing so,—grounds which, in spite of the existence of the date of (Gupta)-Samvat 316 for Śivadēva I. and Amśuvarman, still require to be cleared away, in order that we may properly adjust the whole of the early chronology of Nēpāl,—are to be found in his erroneous treatment of R., the inscription of Jayadēva II. of (Harsha)-Samvat 153.

Starting with a mythological genealogy, this inscription carries the descent from the god Brahman (line 3), through Sūrya or the Sun,² Manu, Ikshvāku, and others, down to Raghu, Aja, and Daśaratha (l. 6). After Daśaratha, there were eight kings, in lineal succession of sons and sons' sons, who are passed over unnamed; and then there was the illustrious Lichchhavi (l. 6). Then comes verse 6, which records that "even still," at the time of the writing of the inscription, "there exists a family which bears the pure second name of Lichchhavi;"—svachchham Lichchhavi-nāma vi(bi)bhrad-aparam vaṇṣaḥ, (l. 7). Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his lithograph, text, and translation, gave *aparō vaṇṣaḥ* "a new race which bears the pure name Lichchhavi." But, on examining his original rubbing, I find that the real reading is *aparam (nāma)*, "another name, a second name;"—not *aparō (vaṇṣaḥ)*, "another race, a new race." This verse, therefore, is of some interest, in shewing that,—in addition to the appellation of Lichchhavivamśa or Lichchhavikula, the latter of which actually occurs in inscriptions A. B. and H. above,—the family had another original name, which, however, is not recorded. After Lichchhavi there came some kings, who again are passed over unnamed, and the number of whom is illegible³ at the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8; and then the illustrious king Supushpa (l. 8) was born at the city of Pushpapura.⁴ After him, "omitting in the interim (to mention the names of) twenty-three kings," there was another⁵ king, the famous

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 421 f.

² In accordance with this, the *Vamśāvali* enters the historical Lichchhavis of this inscription as members of a Sūryavamśi family.

³ But the number was probably twelve, as *hitv=āpa[rān=dvādaśa]* seems to suit best the metre and such traces as are discernible in the rubbing.

⁴ *i.e.* Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna in Bihār; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 180, note 44.—This part of the inscription, therefore, relates to a period antecedent to the settlement of the Lichchhavis in Nēpāl.

⁵ As no previous Jayadēva, with whom this one could be contrasted, is mentioned in the inscriptions, *apara* seems to introduce another branch of the Lichchhavi family, not directly descended from Lichchhavi and Supushpa.

Jayadêva I. (l. 8), who was treated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji as the first really historical member of the family, and the founder of the Nêpâl branch of it,¹ and on the Vikrama-Samvat theory, was placed about A.D. 1. After this "victorious" Jayadêva I., and again "omitting in the interim (*to mention the names of*) eleven kings," the inscription gives the first unbroken succession of names that it contains; *vis.*—**Vrishadêva** (l. 9);—his son, **Śamkaradêva**;—his son, **Dharmadêva**;—his son, **Mânadêva** (l. 10);—his son, **Mahidêva**;—and his son, **Vasantadêva**. The first four of these names have already been made known by inscription K. above; and the sixth, in the form of Vasantasêna, by inscription P. And these six kings plainly belong to the family, the genealogy of which forms the subject of all the preceding part of the inscription; *vis.* the Lichchhavikula.

Then follows, in lines 10 and 11, the eleventh verse, which was entirely misunderstood by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and which, through that misunderstanding, led to the erroneous reference of the larger dates of his inscriptions to the Vikrama era. He read this verse—*asy-ântarê-py-Udayadêva iti kshitiśāj-jâtās-trayôdaśa [tata]ś=cha Narêndradêvaḥ mân-ônnaṭô nata-samasta-narêndra-mauli-mâla-rajô-nikara-pâmsûla-pâdapiṭhaḥ*; and translated—"afterwards came thirteen (*rulers*), sprung from king **Udayadêva** (l. 10),² and then **Narêndradêva** (l. 11), who was proud, and whose footstool was covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings." With the exception that the original has *pâmsûla*, not *pânsûla*, the reading and translation of the second half of the verse represent the original correctly. It is the first half that has not been properly treated. In the first place, *asy-ântarê* does not mean 'afterwards,' or 'after him.' The literal meaning of *antara* is 'an interval,' and in *anantaram* it helps to make up the equivalent of 'afterwards,' only from its meaning in the first place 'no interval after.' But, standing without the negative particle, *antara* can have only the meaning of 'interval;' and it is used twice before by the composer of this inscription, in lines 8 and 9, distinctly in that sense. *Asy-ântarê* can only mean "in an interval of this;" and, supplying *vaṅśasya*, from the *vaṅśaḥ* of line 7, in apposition with *asya*, we have "in an interval, *i.e.* at an intervening point, of this (*lineage that has just been detailed*)." The expression plainly introduces some names, in respect of which it is intended to be conveyed that they are of another family or branch; and that the last of them comes contemporaneously with or immediately after the name of Vasantadêva, the last mentioned of the immediately preceding succession, and the first comes at some unspecified point intervening between Vrishadêva and Vasantadêva. In the second place, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's reading of *kshitiśāj-jâtās* cannot be maintained. In the two syllables *jjâtâ*, the rubbing shews distinctly the double *jj*, of which, in the lithograph, the lower one is only sketched in faintly, as if it were doubt-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 424.

² Or, again,—"after him (Vasantadêva), followed thirteen, sprung from the lord of the earth called Udayadêva;" *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII. p. 425, note.

ful; but the second is as distinctly *ta*, not *td*, as is in fact shewn in the lithograph. There is a slight abrasion mark between the *ta* and the following *akshara*, which does not appear in the lithograph; but the rubbing shews most distinctly that this mark is no remnant of a half-obliterated *d*, and that the stroke for *d*, for which in fact there is no room, never was engraved here. The reading of the original, in short, is *jātas*, the nominative singular; not *jātds*, the nominative plural. This is the first objection to the more serious error, the introduction of *trayōdaśa*, 'thirteen,' immediately after *jātas*. The second is, that, of the six following *aksharas* which are read *s-trayōdaśa* [*tata*], the only parts that can be pronounced on with any certainty, are *s*, as part of the first, and, at the beginning of line 11, *da*, the third, which is well preserved and unmistakable. The others are hopelessly injured and unrecognisable; and,—with the exception that the first probably had a *t* below the *s*; and that the second looks more like *thā* (*tathā*), or *dā* (*tadā*), or *pō* (*tapō*), than *yō*,—it is quite impossible, even from the rubbing, to say what they may be. But the culminating and final objection to the reading of *trayōdaśa* [*tatu*]*ś=cha* is, that, in the passage, as thus read, there is no such word as *vyatitya*, *vihāya*, *hitvā*, or *tyaktvā*, "having passed over or omitted (*to mention the names of*)," which we have in lines 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9, where, in each case, a specified number of kings is passed over; and that the metre does not allow of our introducing any such word. The *lacunæ* at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 render it, as I said, impossible to decide what the original reading may have been. But the whole structure of the passage leaves no doubt whatever that the original contained nothing but an epithet, or perhaps two, of Narēndradēva; and that, so far from thirteen rulers having intervened between him and Udayadēva, he was the son of Udayadēva.

Narēndradēva's son was Śivadēva II. (line 12), who married Vatsadēvī, of the family of the Maukharis who abounded in strength of arm,¹ the daughter of the illustrious Bhôgavarman, and the daughter of the daughter of "the great" Ādityasēna, the lord of Magadha (l. 13). And their son was the Rāja, the illustrious Jayadēva II. (l. 14), also called Parachakrakāma (l. 18), whose wife was Rājyamati, of the family of king Bhagadatta or of the Bhagadatta kings (l. 16), the daughter of Harsha, king of Gauḍa, Ōḍra, &c., and Kalinga, and Kōsala (l. 15). The rest of the inscription details the beauty of the silver water-lily which Jayadēva II. caused to be made, and how it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadēvī; and then concludes with the date.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's acceptance of Udayadēva as the successor of Vasantadēva, and insertion of thirteen rulers between him and Narēndradēva, led of necessity to the reference of the dates for Mānadēva of (K.) 386 and (M.) 413, and for Vasantadēva of (P.) 435, to the Vikrama era. It is unnecessary to repeat his calculations in full. But, starting with fifteen names between Vasantadēva and Śivadēva II., or nineteen from Māna-

¹ The original has *dēvī vā(bā)hu-va(ba)l-ādhyā-Maukhari-kulā śrīvarmma* &c.; not *kula-śrī-varmma*, in composition, as in the published text.

dēva to Śivādēva II. (both included), all of which denote "*generations* of kings, not reigns of *collaterals*,"¹ and taking twenty-one years as the smallest possible average for these generation-reigns, he found that no era later than the Vikrama era would meet the requirements of the case; and that that era would meet them. For, on the Vikrama-Saṃvat theory, Mānadēva's first date represented A.D. 329; the interval from this to A.D. 759, the date of Jayadēva II., was 430 years; and this, divided by nineteen, gave about twenty-two years and three-quarters as the average for each generation-reign. This was all right enough from his point of view.

But let us now take the matter from the correct point of view; *vis.* that Udayadēva did not come after Vasantadēva. This frees us at once from the necessity, under which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī laboured, of forcing Vasantadēva and his ancestors back to such early times; and leaves us at liberty to follow the analogy of inscription A., and to refer his date and Mānadēva's to the Gupta era. The result is, that we have for **Vasantasēna** the date of (P.) A.D. 754, just synchronous with the dates of perhaps (O.) A.D. 750, and certainly (R.) A.D. 758, for **Jayadēva II.**, exactly what inscription R. seeks to convey; and we have for **Mānadēva**, the grandfather of Vasantasēna, the dates of (K.) A.D. 705 and (M.) A.D. 732-33, just about one generation before Jayadēva II.'s father Śivādēva II., for whom we have the dates of (L.) A.D. 725 and probably (N.) A.D. 748 (?).

Here the question naturally suggests itself:—As Udayadēva and his descendants were not successors and descendants of Vasantasēna, who were they? I think the answer is perfectly plain:—That they were successors of Aṃśuvarman; and, though not his direct lineal descendants, belonged, like him, to the family which in the *Vaṃśāvalī* is called the Thākuri family.

Inscription R., in fact, furnishes another instance of the **double government of Nêpāl**, to which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī drew attention in the case of Śivādēva I. and Aṃśuvarman; and which is illustrated in the most pointed way throughout these inscriptions.² We have two separate families, ruling contemporaneously and mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own.

On the one side (see Table XI. page 189 below), we have the **Lichchhavikula** of the inscriptions,—the **Sūryavarṃśī** family of the *Vaṃśāvalī*,—issuing its charters from the house or palace called **Mānagriha**; and using the **Gupta era**. To this family belong inscriptions A. B. K. M. P. and S.; and it was represented in A.D. 635 by

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 425.

² So also in later times. See, for instance, the colophon of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist MSS.* p. 4), dated in Nêpāl-Saṃvat 128 (A.D. 1007), which speaks of the double rule, of Nirbhaya and Rudradēva; and another manuscript bearing the same title (*id.* p. 151), dated in Nêpāl-Saṃvat 135 (A.D. 1015), which speaks of the government being enjoyed, half by Bhōjadēva and Rudradēva, and half by Lakṣmīkāmādēva.

TABLE XI.
List of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl.

THE LICĤCHHAVI OR SŪRYAVAMŚI FAMILY OF MĀNAGRIHA.		THE THĀKURĪ FAMILY OF KAILĀSAKŪṬABHAVANA.
	1. Jayadêva I.—About A.D. 330-355.	
	2.	
	3.	
	4.	
	5.	
	6. Names not re- } A.D.	
	7. corded in the } 355-630.	
	8. inscription. }	
	9.	
	10.	
	11.	
	12.	
Śivadêva I., <i>Mahârāja</i> .—A.D. 635.	13. Vṛishadêva.—About A.D. 630-655.	Amśuvarman, <i>Mahāsāmanta</i> , and afterwards <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> .—A.D. 635, 639, 644, and 649 or 650.
Dhruvadêva, <i>Mahārāja</i> .—A.D. 653.	14. Śaṅkharadêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 655-680.	Jishnugupta. — A.D. 653.
	15. Dharmadêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 680-704.	Udayadêva. — About A.D. 675-700.
	16. Mānadêva, son of preceding.—A.D. 705 and 732.	Narêndradêva, son of preceding. — About A.D. 700-724.
	17. Mahidêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 733-753.	Śivadêva II., <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> , son of preceding. — A.D. 725 and 748 (?).
	18. Vasantasêna, or Vasantadêva, <i>Mahārāja</i> , son of preceding.—A.D. 754.	Jayadêva II., <i>Rāja</i> , son of preceding.—A.D. 750 (?) and 758.

Śivadêva I., (in A.D. 653 by **Dhruvadêva**),¹ in A.D. 705 and 732-33 by **Mānadêva**, and in A.D. 754 by **Vasantasêna** or Vasantadêva.

And, on the other side, we have a family, the name of which is not given in the inscriptions hitherto brought to notice, but which in the *Vamśāvalī* is called the **Thākuri family**; issuing its charters from the house or palace called **Kailāsakūṭabhavana**; and using the **Harsha era**. To this family belong inscriptions C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. L. N. O. Q. and R.; and it was represented in A.D. (635),² 639, 644, and 649 or 650, by **Amśuvarman**, in A.D. 653 by **Jishnugupta**, in A.D. 725 and 748 (?) by **Śivadêva II.**, and in A.D. 750 (?) and 758 by **Jayadêva II.**

From the fact that each of the two families issued its charters from a palace, not a town, and the fact that all the inscriptions are either at Khātmandu itself, or close in the neighbourhood, the two palaces of **Mānagriha** and **Kailāsakūṭabhavana** appear to

¹ From Jishnugupta's inscription, G.

² From inscription A. of Śivadêva I.

have been in the immediate vicinity of each other, in different divisions of one and the same ancient capital. And, though the inscriptions give no specific information on this point, from the fact that the order of Amśuvarman, recorded in inscription E., is issued to the officials of the western province, and from the way in which, in inscription K., Mānadēva is described as marching to the east and reducing to obedience the rebellious *Sāmantas* there, and then returning to the west, it seems pretty clear that the Lichchhavigula or Sūryavamśi family had the government of the territory to the east of the capital; and the Thākuri family, of the territory to the west of it.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji treated **Amśuvarman** as if he was at first the feudatory of Śivadēva I. There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions to support this. The inscriptions of Śivadēva I., it is true, record acts that were done by him "on the advice," or "at the request," of Amśuvarman; but this expression, though often used in respect of feudatories and officials, does not of necessity imply any state of subordination. And, whereas Śivadēva I. uses in respect of himself only the feudatory title of *Mahārāja*, in his own inscriptions he allots to Amśuvarman the equal title of *Mahāsāmanta*; not simply *Sāmanta*, as represented almost throughout by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. Śivadēva I. and Amśuvarman were only co-ordinate feudatories of a paramount sovereign, viz. Harshavardhana of Kanauj. During the time when **Amśuvarman** was a *Mahārājādhirāja* or paramount sovereign, as recorded in inscription G., the Lichchhavis must have been feudatory to him. This was after his inscription C. of A.D. 639. His other two inscriptions E. and F., which give him no titles except that of *śrī*, "the illustrious, or the glorious," perhaps belong to a transitional period, when he hesitated about adopting the paramount title, and yet was unwilling to use a feudatory title any longer. He probably assumed the paramount rank and title, on the death of Harshavardhana; when, as Matwan-lin tells us,¹ the kingdom of Kanauj fell into a state of anarchy, and the minister *Nāfo-ti-a-la-na-shun* usurped the supreme power. And Amśuvarman is probably the king of Népāl, who came with seven thousand horsemen to help the Chinese general Wang-hiwen-tse who defeated the usurper. In the time of **Dhruvadēva** and **Jishnugupta**, it is possible that the Thākuri family may to a certain extent have acknowledged the Lichchhavis as superior to them. But **Śivadēva II.** again had the paramount title and rank; and the Lichchhavis were then, of course, again the feudatories of the Thākuri family. Finally, the fact that the Lichchhavi genealogy is given in the Thākuri inscription R., coupled with the use by **Jayadēva II.** in this inscription, of no title but that of *Rāja* (line 14), with the epithet *śrī*, 'the illustrious,' may perhaps indicate that at this latter time the Thākuris again acknowledged a certain amount of superiority on the part of the Lichchhavis. Or it may be nothing more than another expression of the mutual courtesy of the two families, already exhibited in the inscriptions of Śivadēva I. and Jishnugupta.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 20.

In the **Lichchhavi family**, the earliest name for which we have as yet a definite date, is that of **Śivadēva I.**, A.D. 635. And either Śivavṛiddhivarmaṇ, No. 14 in the *Vamśāvali* list of the Sūryavamśi family, or Śivavavarman, No. 16 in the same, seems to be intended for him. The next name is that of **Dhruvadēva**, A.D. 653, who is not given or represented in the *Vamśāvali*. The connection between Śivadēva I. and Dhruvadēva, is not as yet explained. But they probably belonged both to one branch of the family; though, from their not being mentioned in inscription R., certainly not to the same branch with Vasantadēva and his ancestors. Their contemporaries of the Thākuri family were respectively Amśuvarman and Jishnugupta. They were followed by another branch of the same family, introduced about A.D. 630 (not A.D. 260, as proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji) by **Vṛishadēva**, who was the contemporary of Śivadēva I.; and represented, as far as definite dates go, by **Mānadēva** in A.D. 705 and 732-33 (not A.D. 329 and 356), and by **Vasantasēna** or Vasantadēva in A.D. 754 (not A.D. 378). The six names from Vṛishadēva to Vasantasēna, are given correctly in the *Vamśāvali*, as Nos. 18 to 23 of the Sūryavamśi family. If inscription R. is to be accepted throughout, this branch of the family was founded by **Jayadēva I.** He is doubtless the person who is intended by Jayavarman, No. 3 in the *Vamśāvali* list of the Sūryavamśi family. And, calculating back fifteen generations, at the average rate of twenty-five years, from Mānadēva, whose generation is represented by his recorded dates, we have for Jayadēva I. the initial date of about A.D. 330 (not A.D. 1). But, if Vṛishadēva was a direct lineal descendant of Jayadēva I., it is rather peculiar that the composer of inscription R., writing only five generations after him, was unable to give the names of the persons, only eleven in number, who intervened before him and after Jayadēva I. It would seem, therefore, that, though the number of generations may be accepted, there was at this point a break in the direct succession.

In the **Thākuri family**, the earliest name is that of **Amśuvarman**, with the extreme dates of A.D. 635 and 649 or 650; and the next is that of **Jishnugupta**, A.D. 653. Amśuvarman is mentioned in the *Vamśāvali*, under exactly the same name, as the founder of the Thākuri family; but Jishnugupta's name is not given or represented. The connection between them is not as yet explained. They were followed by **Udayadēva** (about A.D. 675, not A.D. 400) and his descendants, who, from there being no mention of Amśuvarman and Jishnugupta in inscription R., plainly belonged to another branch of the family. Udayadēva was contemporaneous with Dhruvadēva of the Lichchhavi family; he is not mentioned in the *Vamśāvali*, being certainly not the Udayadēvavarman, No. 24 in the *Vamśāvali* list of the Sūryavamśi family. His son, **Narēndradēva**, is possibly the person intended by Narēndradēva, No. 7 in the *Vamśāvali* list of the Thākuri family. His son, **Śivadēva II.**, A.D. 725 and 748 (?), is not mentioned in the *Vamśāvali*. His son, **Jayadēva II.**, A.D. 750 (?) and 758, is possibly the person intended by Jayadēva, No. 11 in the *Vamśāvali* list of the Thākuri family.

APPENDIX V.

System of Transliteration.

The system of transliteration followed in this volume, except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	झ	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ड	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ड	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍa
ए	ए	ṛi	ड	ड	ḍha
ऐ	ऐ	ṛī	ण	ण	ṇa
ओ	ओ	lṛi	त	त	ta
—	—	e	थ	थ	tha
अ	अ	ē	द	द	da
आ	आ	ai	ध	ध	dha
इ	इ	o	न	न	na
ई	ई	ō	प	प	pa
उ	उ	au	फ	फ	pha
—	—	ḥ	ब	ब	ba
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	भ	भ	bha
Fihvāmānya, or old Visarga be- fore अ and आ	—	h	म	म	ma
Upadhmanīya, or old Visarga be- fore ए and ओ	—	ḥ	य	य	ya
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m	र	र	ra
Anundsiḥ	—	m̐	—	—	ra
अ	अ	ka	ल	ल	la
आ	आ	kha	ळ	ळ	(la)
इ	इ	ga	—	—	la)
ई	ई	gha	व	व	va
उ	उ	ṇa (ṇa)	ख	ख	śa
ए	ए	cha (ca)	ग	ग	sha
ऐ	ऐ	chha (cha)	घ	घ	śa
ओ	ओ	chha (cha)	ङ	ङ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on

into the next line; intermediate necessities, have been made only when the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a text written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules. When a double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. When a double hyphen is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *sandhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions, and does not occur at all in the present series. Where it does occur, I find it most convenient to represent it by its own *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also, practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* marks of punctuation; than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets**, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets, than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and, in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

No. I; PLATE I.

ALLAHABAD POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SÂMUDRAGUPTA.

THIS inscription appears to have been first brought to the notice of the public in 1834, when, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III. p. 118 ff., Captain A. Troyer published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate vi.), which was reduced by Mr. James Prinsep from a copy commenced by a brother of Lieutenant T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, finished by a Munshi, and revised by Lieutenant Burt himself.—In the same volume, p. 257 ff., the Revd. Dr. W. H. Mill, working from the same lithograph, published a revised version of the text and translation; followed, at p. 339 ff., by a supplementary paper containing the first genealogical tree of the dynasty. His version, however, though it was an improvement on that of Captain Troyer, still fell very far short of exhibiting the original completely or accurately; especially in his failing, like Captain Troyer, to recognise that the inscription is a posthumous one; in his misreading lines 11 and 21, in such a way as to introduce into the translation and genealogical tree, without any foundation whatever in the original, the independent princess Samhârikâ, with a daughter, name unknown, who was the wife of Samudragupta, other mothers-in-law of the same king, and a royal issue expected at the date of the inscription; and in his treatment of line 30, where, instead of *âchakshâna iva bhuvô bdhur=ayam=uchchhritah stambhah*, “this lofty column (*is*) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming (the fame of Samudragupta),” he read *rôma-charmanah ravi-bhuvô bdhur=ayam=uchchhritah stambhah*, and translated “of this child of the Sun, though clothed in hairy flesh, this lofty pillar is the arm,” which led him to refer Samudragupta and his dynasty to the Solar Race, a mistake that sometimes seems to have been not even yet completely eradicated.—In 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 969 ff., Mr. James Prinsep gave a fresh and much improved lithograph of the inscription and its alphabet (*id.* Plate lv.), reduced from impressions on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own version of the text and translation.¹ His rendering of the inscription still failed to represent the original with any real approach to accuracy and completeness. But it was a very great improvement on the two versions that had preceded it; especially in avoiding the leading mistakes of Dr. Mill, pointed out above. And it has remained the standard version up to the present time; except that in 1872,

¹ The translation is reprinted in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 233 ff.

in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. cxcvi. ff., Dr. Bhau Daji notified, from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, some corrections in the historical part, in the names of the kings and countries conquered by Samudragupta.¹

The round monolith sandstone column, thirty-five feet in height, on which this inscription is, dates ~~from the third century B.C.~~, as is shewn by the famous edicts of Aśoka on it. It now stands in a conspicuous position inside the Fort at **Allahābād** (properly **Ilāhābād**), the seat of Government of the **North-West Provinces**. It is doubtful, however, whether the column was originally erected at this place, or whether, as has been suggested by General Cunningham,² it was first set up at the ancient **Kausāmbī**, now represented by the village of **Kōsam**³ on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahābād; and, being still at that place when the present inscription was engraved, was afterwards moved from there to Allahābād by one of the early Musalmān kings of Dehli, just as the two Aśoka columns now at Dehli were brought there from original positions at Mēraṭh and in the Siwālik hills. The points in favour of the latter supposition are (1) that the column contains ~~a short Aśoka edict~~ addressed to the rulers of **Kausāmbī**;⁴ and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim **Hsien Tsiang** makes no mention of this column in his account of *Po-lo-ye-kia*, i.e. Prayāga or Allahābād.⁵

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 6' 8" broad by 5' 4" high, commences on the north of the column, towards the north-east, and in the longest part, line 30, runs all round the column, except for a space of about 1' 9". The bottom line is about 6' 0" above the point where the column starts from its present pedestal. There is a large crack in the column, from above the first word of the first line, and extending down to the beginning of the fourteenth. And the upper part of the inscription has suffered very much, partly from some of the mediæval inscriptions, which are so abundant on the column, being engraved on and between the original lines here, and partly from the peeling off of the surface of the stone in several places. But nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost; except, perhaps, after the mention of Nāgasēna in line 13, and in connection with the mention of Pushpapura in line 14. A few letters, again, have been damaged or destroyed by the peeling off of the stone near the beginning of line 23, and in the centre of lines 23, 24, 31, and 32; but, except in line 32, the letters can be supplied without any doubt. The really important part of the inscription, the historical and genealogical passages commencing with line 19 and ending in line 30, is fortunately in a state of

¹ This notice was published in 1872; but it was read before the Society two years earlier, on the 11th August 1870. It records that Dr. Bhau Daji submitted to the Society a revised facsimile, text, and translation, of the inscription; but they do not appear to have been ever published, or to be now forthcoming. His suggestions were perhaps more correct in his own notes, than in the form in which they stand printed in the *Journal*.

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. p. 39.

³ The 'Kosam and Kosim Kheraj' of maps; about eight miles to the south of Karārī, the chief town of the Karārī Parganā in the Manjhanpur or Mānjhandpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20' N.; Long. 81° 27' E.

⁴ *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. pp. 39, 116, 141, and Pl. xxii.; see also after the end of line 10 of the present inscription in the Plate now published.

⁵ Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. p. 230 ff.; Stanislas Julien's *Hsien Tsiang*, Vol. II. p. 276 ff.—At the same time, it must be noted that Hsien Tsiang also makes no mention of any such column in his immediately following account of *Kiau-shang-mi* or Kausāmbī.

excellent preservation, and is decipherable without the slightest doubt from beginning to end.—The **size** of the letters (by which I mean, here and throughout, the height of such letters as *cha*, *da*, *pa*, *ma*, *ba*, *va*, &c., which are formed entirely within the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below) varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{4}$ ". As regards the **palæography** of this and the other inscriptions in the volume, this division of the subject is so extensive as to require a separate treatise to itself; and I cannot here do more than touch in a general way on such special points as call for particular notice. The **characters** of the present inscription belong to what it has been customary to call the Gupta Alphabet. This, however, like all other similar, dynastic appellations, is an unsatisfactory and misleading term. In the first place, these characters were not confined to the inscriptions of the Early Gupta dynasty; for they were used, with slight modifications, but not such as to affect their essential nature, on the coins of the later Indo-Scythian kings of the Pañjāb. Even in respect of a character of such leading importance as the letter *m*,—though some of these coins exhibit what is called the Indo-Scythic form,¹ in distinction from the *m* of the northern Gupta inscriptions, yet, on one coin which I had the advantage of examining in General Cunningham's collection, and which has on it the name of Samudra,² the *m* that is used is the so-called Gupta *m*, somewhat later than the *m* of the present inscription, but of exactly the same shape with the *m* of *mahārāja* in line 8 (to choose a clear example) of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA. And in the second place, the inscriptions of the Early Guptas themselves were by no means written exclusively in this alphabet. To say nothing of the frequent use of the Indo-Scythic *m* on Samudragupta's coins,—illustrated, for

¹ Setting aside the few exceptional instances that we have of irregular usage, confined, I think, entirely to coins, this letter is in itself sufficient to shew, for the whole period covered by the inscriptions in this volume, whether the characters of a particular record belong to the northern or to the southern class of alphabets. The *m* of the Indo-Scythic inscriptions, a good representation of which may be seen in the word *mahārājasya* at the beginning of the Mathurā inscription of Huvishka of the year 39 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. Pl. xiv. No. 1), is simply a stiff angular development of the *m* of the Aśoka period. This particular form was not confined, however, to the Indo-Scythian records. We have it, in all its angularity, in the word *svāmi* in the Sāñchi pillar inscription, No. 73 below, Plate xliiA.; and, with very little modification, in the early inscriptions from Nāsik and that neighbourhood published in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. Plates xlv. ff. And in the slightly modified form, with simply the angles rounded off, which it must have had in the earliest stages of development of the southern alphabets, we have it throughout the Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., e.g. in *mahāvihārā*, line 1; the Gaṅgdhār inscription of Viśvavarman, No. 17 below, Plate x., e.g. in *appratimēna*, line 4; and the Mandasār inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvārman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., e.g. in *bhavanam=idam=uddraṁ*, line 23. While, in a more modified form, which must have been of later development, though the instances in this volume happen to be of earlier date, we have it throughout the Ēraṇ inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA., e.g. in *samara*, line 21; and throughout the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., e.g. in *mahārāja*, at the beginning of line 2.—The *m* of the inscription now under notice must also be simply a development of the Aśoka *m*, arrived at by forming the left part of the letter in a different way, viz. by one unbroken movement, leading gradually to its being separated entirely from the right part, which then eventually assumed a straight form, instead of curved. And, though the instances in this volume happen to be of later date, undoubtedly the form that we have in, for instance, *mahārāja*, in line 8 of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA., must have preceded the form used in the inscription now under notice.

² The three components of the name are written one above the other, inside the spear and under the left arm of the king, on the obverse; and they are practically identical with the components of the same name on the coin of Samudragupta given by Mr. V. A. Smith in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part i. Pl. ii. No. 6.

instance, by the coins given by Mr. V. A. Smith in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Plate ii. Nos. 3, 7, 9, 10, and 11,—we meet with at least two perfectly distinct alphabets in their inscriptions, in addition to the one now under notice. The Êraṇ inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA., and the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., are in a 'box-headed' and 'nail-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, which has hitherto been called the Nerbudda Alphabet and the Vākātaka Alphabet, and which, in addition to the very distinctive form of *m*, has all the leading characteristics of the southern alphabets. The Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II., again, No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., is distinctly in the characters of the southern alphabets. And the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta is in a somewhat later modification of the Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwāḍ alphabet, exhibited with all its leading characteristics in the inscription of Rudradāman, on the same rock, of which we have a lithograph in the *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, Plate xiv. It is perfectly plain that the alphabets varied, not according to dynasties, but according to localities; and, in establishing any system of comparative palæography, we must select territorial, not dynastic, names. I would propose calling the alphabet of the inscription now under notice, the general North India Alphabet of the fourth century A.D. The characters include two letters which, after the Pāli period, lay for a long time in disuse in the southern alphabets, and were not revived for a considerable time after the present period; *vis.* the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, exhibited in *krīdatā*, line 14, *ḍavḍka*, line 22, and *vriḍita*, line 27; and the lingual *ḍh*, exhibited in *virāḍha*, line 18. On the other hand, in the *l* which occurs in *vyḍlulita*, line 8, *kaurḍaka* for *kairāḍaka*, line 19, *saimhaḍaka*, line 23, and *laḍita*, lines 27 and 30, they include a letter which properly belongs exclusively to the southern alphabets and languages; and its occurrence here seems to furnish an unconscious piece of evidence to the effect that some, at least, of the conquests attributed to Samudragupta in the south of India, were actual facts; in the other inscriptions in this volume, this letter occurs only in the word *ali*, 'a bee,' in line 1 of the Tuṣām rock inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xIA. In *sōbhā*, line 18, *vishnugōpa*, line 19, and *gō-sata*, line 25, the vowel *ḍ* is formed in rather a peculiar way, which, so far as the right-hand stroke is concerned, is followed also in the vowel *ḍ* as attached to the same consonants, *e.g.* in *śāsana*, lines 23 and 24, and *gḍngam*, line 31. In respect of *r* in combination with a following *y*, we have to notice that, as in the case of other consonants, the *y* is doubled, and the *r* is written above the line, *e.g.* in *viryya*, line 13; whereas, in a somewhat later development of this alphabet in Central India, it became the custom, as in the case of *y* in conjunction with other letters, to write the *r* on the line, with a single *y* attached below it, *e.g.* in *maryādayā*, line 6-7, and *kuryāḍi*, line 12, of the Majhgawān plates of the *Mahārāja* Hastin, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. The characters also include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 3, 4, and 8; the intervening symbols are destroyed.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of line 16, and the rest in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *parākkrama*, line 17, *kkriyā*, lines 27 and 28, and *vikkrama*, line 30; (2) the doubling of *dh* (by *ḍ*, as required by the rules), in conjunction with a following *y* and *v*, in *addhyēya*, line 16, and *saddhv-asaddhu*, line 25; and (3) the use of the southern *l*, in the instances pointed out a few lines above.

The inscription is non-sectarian, being devoted entirely to a recital of the glory, conquests, and descent, of the **Early Gupta king Samudragupta**. It is not dated; but, as it describes Samudragupta as deceased, it belongs to the time of his son and

successor **Chandragupta II.**, and must have been engraved soon after the accession of the latter. Its great value lies in the abundant information which, in the conquests attributed to **Samudragupta**, it gives us as to the divisions of India, its tribes, and its kings, about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This, however, is a subject for detailed treatment in the historical chapters which will form the second part of this volume.

In connection with **Samudragupta**, there is mentioned, in line 14, a city named **Pushpapura**, which is spoken of in such a way as to indicate apparently that it was his capital. **Pushpapura**, **Pushpapuri**, and **Kusumapura**, all meaning 'the town or city of flowers,' were names of **Pāṭaliputra**, which is now represented by the modern **Patna** in Bihār, on the Ganges; the original city, **Pāṭaliputra** itself, stood on the opposite south bank of the river, at the place where, in ancient times, the *Sōṇ* used to flow into it. The antiquity of the name **Kusumapura** is vouched for by **Hsien Tsiang**,¹ who speaks of the city under both names,—*K'u-su-mo-pu-lo*, or *Keu-su-mo-pu-lo*, which he also explains by the Chinese *Hwa-kong* or *Hwa-kung*, 'flower-palace,' and *Hiang-hu-kong-sh'ing*, 'city or royal precinct of the scented flower;' and *Po-ch'a-li-tsu-ch'ing*, 'the city of **Pāṭaliputra**.' He tells us that **Kusumapura** was the more ancient name of the two. And, though I cannot find any early authority for it apart from the present passage, there is no reason for declining to think that the synonym **Pushpapura** was in use in early days, quite as much as it was at the time when the *Daśakumāracharita* and other books, which give us this form and **Pushpapuri**, were written. This passage, therefore, may furnish good grounds for locating **Samudragupta's** capital at **Pāṭaliputra**. At the same time, I have to draw attention to the following points, as requiring consideration in determining this question. (1) Until the time of Skandagupta, no inscriptions of this dynasty have been found anywhere in the neighbourhood of Pāṭaliputra.² (2) Though **Pāṭaliputra** is mentioned, under its own proper name, in two of the inscriptions³ of **Chandragupta II.**, yet neither of these passages connects the city with him, as his capital. And (3) **Hsien Tsiang**⁴ mentions another ancient **Kusumapura**,—for which the synonym **Pushpapura** would be equally acceptable,—far distant, and quite distinct, from **Pāṭaliputra**. He tells us that the old capital of **Kanyākubja**, or **Kanauj**, was originally called **Kusumapura**. And, though he is not absolutely specific on the point, yet the way in which he describes how the town came to be invested with the name of **Kanyākubja**, seems to indicate that he understood Kusumapura to be the ancient name of the very site which, in his time, was called Kanyākubja. A capital here, or anywhere in this neighbourhood, would be far more in accordance with the localities at which all the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty exist; and still more so with the selection of a column either at **Allahābād** or at **Kausāmbī**, to contain the record of the conquests of **Samudragupta**, by whom the power of the family was brought to maturity and was placed on an extensive footing. It is a matter for regret that the last *pāda* of the verse that mentions **Pushpapura**, is so hopelessly illegible; it evidently contained a reference to some river, which might have

¹ *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 83 ff.

² I exclude intentionally, of course, the spurious *Gayā* grant of **Samudragupta**, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.

³ The *Udayagiri* cave inscription, No. 6 below, Plate ivA. l. 4; and the *Gadhwa* inscription of the year 88, No. 7, Plate ivB. l. 12.

⁴ *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 207.

made the point quite clear. As it is, we must look for the clue in the identification of the **Kôta** family, tribe, or dynasty, which is mentioned in the same verse. But, for this name, I have not as yet succeeded in obtaining any other reference.

TEXT.¹

- 1 [Yah²] kulyaiḥ svai ātasa
- 2 ya(?)sya(?) [11*] [1]
- 3 Pu(?)mv tra
- 4 sphā(?)ra-dva(?) kṣaḥ sphuṭ-
ōddhva[m]sita pravīṭa [11*] [2]
- 5 Yasya³ prajñ-ānushaṅg-ōchita-sukha-manasaḥ śāstra-tattv-ārttha-bharttuh [- -]
stabdh-ō[]ni[]n-ōchchhri[- - -]
- 6 [sa]t-kāvya-srī-virōdhān-budha-guṇita-guṇ-ājñ-āhatān-ēva kritvā v[i]dval-lōkē
vi[]sphuṭa-bahu-kavitā-klrtti-rājyaṁ bhunakti [11*] 3
- 7 [Ā]ryyō⁴ h-ity-upaguhya bhāva-piṣunair-utkarṇitai rōmabhiḥ sabhyēsh-
ōchchhvasitēshu tulyakulaja-mān-ānan-ōdvikṣi[ta]ḥ
- 8 sn[ē]ha-vyāluṭitēna bāṣpa-gurūṇā tattv-ēkṣiṇā chakṣuṣhā yaḥ pitr-
ābhīhitō ni[r]lṣṣ[]a nikṣi[lām pāhy-ēva]m-[u]rv[]m-iti [11*] 4
- 9 [Dri]śhtvā⁵ karmmāny-anēkāny-amanuja-sadṛśāny-adbhut-ōdbhinna-harṣā
bh[ā*]vair-āsvādaya[- - - - -] [kē]chit
- 10 vīryy-ōttaptās-cha kēchich-chharaṇam-upagatā yasya vṛittē prapāṇm-
py-art[t]ē(?)[- - - - -] [11*] [5]
- 11 Saṁgrāmēshu⁶ sva-bhuja-vijitā nityam-uchch-āpakārāḥ svah-śvō māna-
pra[]
- 12 tōsh-ōttuṅgaiḥ sphuṭa-bahu-rasa-snēha-phullair-mmanōbhiḥ paśchāttāpam
va[]ma[m(?)] sy[ā]d-vasa(?)nta[m(?)] [11*] [6]
- 13 Udvēl'-ōdita-bāhu-vīryya-rabhasād-ēkēna yēna kṣaṇād-unmūly-Āchryuta-
Nāgasēna-g[]
- 14 daṇḍair-grāhayat-aiva Kōta-kula-jam Pushp-āhvayē krīḍatā sūryyē
nē[]tata[] [11*] [7]
- 15 Dharmma⁸-prāchīra-bandhaḥ śaśi-kara-śuchayaḥ klrttayaḥ sa-pratānā vaidu-
shyaṁ tattva-bhēdi praśama[]uku[-]y . k[]mu(?)t[-]t-ārttham(?)
- 16 addhyēyaḥ śūktā-mārggaḥ kavi-mati-vibhav-ōtsāraṇam ch-āpi kāvyaṁ kō nu
syād-yō-sya na syād-guṇa-mati-v[i]dushām dhyāna-pātram ya ēkaḥ [11*] 8
- 17 Tasya vividha-samara-śat-āvataraṇa-dakṣasya sva-bhuja-bala-parākkram-aika-
bandhōḥ parākkram-āṅkasya paraśu-śara-śaṅku-śakti-prās-āsi-tōmara-

¹ From the original column.

² The first four lines, containing the first two verses, are almost entirely destroyed; and the few letters that remain of them do not suffice to shew what the metres were.

³ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁶ Metre, Maṇḍikāvatī.

⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸ Metre, Sragdharā.

ṭipāla-n[ā]rācha-vaitastik-ādy-anēka-praharaṇa-virūdh-ākula-vraṇa-śat-āṅka-
śōbhā-samuday-ōpachita-kāntatara-varshmanah

mausalaka-Mahēndra-Māh[ā*]kāntāraka-Vyāghrarāja-Kaurājaka'-Maṇ-
tarāja-Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndra-giriKauṭṭūraka-Svāmīdatt'-Airāṇḍa-
pallaka-Damana-Kāñchēyaka-Vishnugōp-Āvamuktaka-

20 Nīlarāja-Vaiṅgēyaka-Hastivarmma-Pālakkak-Ōgrasēna-Daivarāśhṭraka-
Kubēra-Kausthalapuraka-Dhanāñjaya-prabhṛiti-sarvva-dakṣhiṇāpatha-
rāja-grahana-mōksh-ānugraha-janīta-pratāp-ōnmīśra-māhābhagyasya

21 Rudradēva-Matila-Nāgadatta-Chandravarmma-Ḣanapati-nāga-Nāgasēn-
Āchryuta-Nandi-Balavarmma-ādy-anēk-Āryyāvartta-rāja-prasabh-ōddharaṇ-
ōdvṛitta-prabhāva-mahataḥ parichāraḥkṛita-sarvv-ātavika-rājasya

¹ Read *kairājaka*, for which the word in the text is obviously a mistake.—The text, as it stands, would give "the country, or city, of Kurāja;" but, though *kurāja* occurs in the sense of 'a light bay horse with black legs,' it is not known as the name of a country or a city. Kēraja, on the other hand, is so well known as one of the countries in the south of India, that it would be strange if it were omitted in a passage like the present one; and it is easy to see how the engraver, or perhaps the writer from whose draft he engraved, formed *kaurājaka*, by mistake for *kairājaka*, through a stroke on the right of the top of the *k* in *kai* and of the *ra*.

² This is not altogether an easy passage to deal with. In the first instance,—coming immediately after the mention of the city of Piṣṭapura, which is the modern Piṭṭapuram (the 'Pittapooram' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6'; Long. 82° 18'), the chief town of the Piṭṭapuram Zamindārī or Estate, twelve miles north by east of 'Cocanada' in the Gōdāvarī District in the Madras Presidency,—the syllables *māhēndragiri* suggest at once a reference to the famous Mahēndra mountain in the Gañjām District, among the Eastern Ghauts, the 'Mahendrogi' of maps (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108; Lat. 18° 58' N.; Long. 84° 26' E.), which is mentioned in other early inscriptions; for instance, as Mahēndrāchala, in lines 1 and 3 of the two 'Chicacole' grants of the Mahārāja Indravarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 120, 123). And this tempts us to divide the passage thus, *Paiṣṭapuraka-MahēndragiriKauṭṭūraka-Svāmīdatta*, and to translate "Svāmīdatta of Piṣṭapura and of Kōṭṭūra on Mahēndragiri."—Another rendering that might suggest itself is "Svāmīdatta of Piṣṭapura, Mahēndragiri, and Kōṭṭūra;" which, in fact, except in respect of his mistake of Kudura, for Kōṭṭūra, was adopted by Dr. Bhau Daji (*Four. Bq. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. IX. p. xcvi.*). But this is not admissible, because it would require *māhēndragirika* in the text, instead of *māhēndragiri*; and, though it is possible to find the final *ka* in the text as it stands, yet this would give us as the next word, instead of Kōṭṭūra (Kōṭṭūr), which is a Drāviḍian name of frequent occurrence, Oṭṭūr, for which I can find no authority at all, or Hoṭṭūr (if we assume an omission of the initial *h*), which occurs, but not in connection with any place of importance.—If *māhēndragiri* is to be taken as one word, and as denoting the mountain, the translation that I have noted above is the one that must be adopted. And it might be supported by the fact that we have a Kōṭṭūr on almost the same range of hills as that to which the Mahēndragiri belongs; viz. the 'Kailaskotta and Kylascottah' of the map, (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 107; Lat. 19° 14'; Long. 83° 36' E.), which represents Kailāsa-Kōṭṭa or Kailāsa-Kōṭṭūr, and seems to be a place of importance.—But the objection to this interpretation is, that none of the other kings' names, mentioned in this inscription, are coupled with more than one locality. This leads us to connect Svāmīdatta with Kōṭṭūra only, and to find the name of another king in connection with Piṣṭapura.—The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmīdatta*; and to translate, "Mahēndragiri of Piṣṭapura, and Svāmīdatta of Kōṭṭūra." But, though *giri* or *gir* is a very common termination of proper names in the present day, my experience is, that it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gōsāyis; and even among these it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Daśanāmī-Gōsāyis (see H. H. Wilson's Works, Rost's edition, Vol. I. p. 202; Molesworth's Marāṭhī Dictionary, s. v. *gir*; and Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. *giri*). I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other analogy, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a personal name.—I accordingly divide this passage thus, *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndra-giriKauṭṭūraka-Svāmīdatta*; and translate, "Mahēndra of Piṣṭapura, and Svāmīdatta of Kōṭṭūra on the hill." And the *Giri-Kōṭṭūra*, or "Kōṭṭūra on the hill," may either be found in the

- 22 **Samatata-Davāka-Kāmarūpa-Népāla-Karttripur-Adi-pratyanta-nr**
Mmālav-Arjunāyana-Yaudhēya-Mādrak-Abhira-Prārjuna-S
nika-Kāka-Kharaparik-Adibhis-cha sarvvakaradān-āṣṭhakarapa-pra
 gamana-
- 23 paritōshita-prāchaṇḍa-śāsanasya anēka-bhrashta-rājyōtsanna-rājavarṇa-pratishṭhā-
 pan-ōdhbūta-nikhila-bh[uva]na-vicha[ra]na-sānta-yasasah **Daivaputra-Shāhi-**
Shāhānushāhi-Saka-Murundaiḥ Saimhalak-Adibhis-cha
- 24 sarvva-dvīpa-vāsibhir-ātmanivēdana-kanyōpāyanadāna-garutmadanta-svavishayabhu-
 kti-śāsana[y]āchaṇ-ādy-upāya-sēva-kṛita-bāhu-vīryya-prasāda-
 pri(pri)thivyām-a-pratirathasya
- 25 sucharita-śat-ālaṅkṛit-anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ōtsiktibhis-charaṇa-tala-pramrīṣṭ-ānya-nara-
 pati-kṛttēḥ sādhdh-asādh-ūdaya-pralaya-hētu-purushasya-chintyasya bhakty-
 avanati-mātra-grāhya-mṛidu-hṛidayasy-ānukampavātō-nēka-gō-śata-sahasra-pra-
 dāyinaḥ²
- 26 kripana-dīn-anāth-ātura-jan-ōddharaṇa-sa(ma)ntradiksh-ādy-upagata-manasah sa-
 middhasya vighrahavātō lōk-ānugrahasya Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Āntaka-
 samasya sva-bhuja-bala-vijit-anēka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarppanā-nitya-vyāpṛit-
 āyuktapurushasya
- 27 nīśita-vidagdha-mati-gāndharvva-lalitair-vṛḍita-tridaśapatiguru-Tumburu-Nārad-
 āder-vividvaj-jan-ōpajīvy-anēka-kāvya-kkriyābhiḥ pratishṭhita-kavirāja-śabdasya
 suchira-stōtavy-anēk-ādbhut-ōdāra-charitasya
- 28 lōka-samaya-kkriy-ānuvidhāna-mātra-mānushasya lōka-dhāmnō dēvasya mahā-
 rāja-śrī-Gupta³-prapautrasya mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pautrasya mahā-
 rājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-putrasya
- 29 Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya mahādēvyām Kumāradēvyām-utpha(tpa)nnasya
 mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptasya sarvva-prithivī-vijaya-janit-ōdaya-
 vyāpta-nikhil-āvanitalām kṛttim-itas-tridaśapati-

Kailāsa-Koṭṭa, mentioned by me above; or, Koṭṭūr (from Koṭṭapura) being a very common Drāviḍian name, may be looked for in any Koṭṭūr of note, in a mountainous part of Southern India, e.g. possibly Koṭṭūr in the 'Coimbatore' District, at the foot of one of the passes in the 'Anaimalai' Hills (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 61 or 62; Lat. 10° 32' N.; Long. 77° 2' E.)

¹ In line 2 of the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below Plate iiB., this name occurs with the short vowel *i* in the fourth syllable.

² This *visarga* is imperfect, the engraver having omitted the upper half of it.

³ Mr. V. A. Smith (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119, and note) has suggested that this name was not simply Gupta, as it is usually accepted, but Śrīgupta, which form he has used throughout; i. e. that, in this instance, *śrī* is an integral part of the name, not the honorific prefix. His grounds for this opinion are (1) that the past participle *gupta*, 'protected,' can hardly stand alone for a proper name, whereas Śrīgupta, 'protected by (the goddess) Śrī or Lakshmi,' would be a complete name, giving a suitable meaning; and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (in India from about A.D. 67 to 693) speaks of a king or *Mahārāja* called Śrīgupta, who preceded his time by about five hundred years (*Four. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. XIII. p. 371; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 110), and who has been identified by some with the founder of the Gupta family.—In addition to the instance quoted just above, Śrīgupta occurs as the name of a persecutor of Buddha (*Beal's Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 151 f.); as the name of a Jain saint (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 252); and as the name of a merchant (Népāl inscription, No. 13, line 12; *id.* Vol. IX. p. 176).—But, with regard to the present passage, I have to point out (1) that, as it is now certain that the era used by the Early Guptas commenced A.D. 319-20, the *Mahārāja* Śrīgupta, mentioned by I-tsing and referred by him to about A.D. 175, cannot be identified with the founder of the Early Gupta family, who lived in

havana-gaman-āvāpta-lajita-sukha-vicharaṇām-āchakṣhāṇa iva bhuvō bāhur-
 ayam-uchchhritāḥ stambhaḥ [1*] yasya 1¹ / pradāna-bhujavikkrama-
 prasāma-śāstravāky-ōdayair-uparyupari-sañchay-ochchhritam-anēka-mārggam
 lyaśaḥ

31 bhuvana-trayam Paśupatēr-ijāt-antar-guhā-nirōdha-parimōksha-śīghram-iva
 Gāngam p[ayah] [11] Ētach-cha kāvyam-ēśhām-ēva bhāṭṭāraka-
 Asasya samlpa-parisarppaṇ-ānugrah-ōnmilita-matēḥ

the fourth century. In the well-known name of the Buddhist saint Upagupta (e.g. *Buddh. Rec. West.* 182; Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273), we have a precisely similar instance of a past participle, *upagūṭṭha*, hidden, concealed, standing by itself as a proper name; as also, in its feminine form, *Upagūṭṭhā*, of the Aśtgaḍh seal of Śārvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA. (3) that, when *śrī* is an integral part of a proper name of importance, it was customary to emphasise it and prevent the possibility of doubt, by inserting the honorific prefix before it; thus, *mahādēvīyām śrī-Śrīmatīyām-utpannah*, "begotten on the *Mahādēvī*, the glorious *Śrīmatī*," in line 2 of the Dēv-Baranārka inscription of Jivitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.; *śrī-Śrīpathāyām purī*, "at the famous city of *Śrīpathā*," in verse in line 6 of the Byānā inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1100 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10); and *śrī-Śrīpathāyām*, "at the famous *Śrīpathā*," in prose in the Byānā inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1503 (*id.* Vol. XV. p. 239). The analogy would require here the reading of *mahārāja-śrī-Śrīgupta-prapautrasya*; which, however, does not once occur in the Early Gupta inscriptions. And (4) the word *gupta* does not appear at all in the name of Ghatōtkacha in the next generation; it is only in the case of his son, Chandragupta I., and the successors of the latter, that the word is of necessity only an integral part of a fuller name.—There is, therefore, no objection, but on the contrary every reason, to read the present name as simply Gupta.—The possibility remains, however, of its being an abbreviation of some fuller original name, other than *Śrīgupta*. And on this point I will produce here a note with which Dr. Bühler has favoured me:—"I should say the name of the founder of the family was Gupta, not *Śrīgupta* in the sense of *śrīyā guptāḥ* (protected by the goddess *Śrī*). The name *Rakṣita* occurs repeatedly among Brāhmanas and Buddhists; and means the same thing. The origin of such names as *Datta*, *Gupta*, *Rakṣita*, &c.," [the two first of these are well-known surnames in Bengal in the present day] "must, I think, be sought for in the habit of the Hindus of shortening their names by giving only the first part or the second. The former practice is alluded to by *Kātyāyana*, in a *Vārttika* on *Pāṇini*, vii. 3, 45, where he teaches that, when the second part of a compound is left out, the *a* is to remain unchanged before the feminine termination *ā*; thus, the feminine form of *Dēvadattaka* is *Dēvadattikā*; but, if *Dēvaka* is substituted for *Dēvadattaka*, then the feminine is to be *Dēvakā*, not *Dēvikā*. The second shortening also is common; thus, we have *nābhi* for *mṛiganābhi*, 'musk'; *idā* for *haritāda*, a kind of tree; *vālī* for *khalvālī*, 'the post of a threshing-floor'; and *Bhāmā* for *Satyabhāmā*, a proper name. From these facts it would seem that *Datta*, *Gupta*, &c., are abbreviations of longer names."—The only epigraphical instance that I can quote, of the omission of the first part of a proper name, is the use of *Sarman* for *Dhruvasarman* in line 11 of the *Bilsad* inscription of *Kumārāgupta*, No. 10 below, Plate v. But instances of the omission of the second part of a name are common enough. Thus, we have the use of *Samudra* on some of *Samudragupta's* gold coins, e.g. *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5, and p. 173;—of *Chandra* and *Kumāra*, for *Chandragupta II.* and *Kumārāgupta*, in the same series;—of *Vikrama* and *Mahendra*, for their full titles *Vikramāditya* and *Mahendrāditya*, illustrated partly in the same series, and partly in *Kumārāgupta's* silver coins (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 66);—of *Śārdūla* and *Ananta*, for *Śārdūlavarman* and *Anantavarman*, in the *Barābar* and *Nāgarjunī* Hill inscriptions, No. 48 below, Plate xxxB. ll. 1, 4, 5, and No. 49, Plate xxxiA. ll. 1, 8;—of *Kakustha* and *Mṛigēśa* for *Kakusthavarman* and *Mṛigēśavarman* in one of the *Halst* grants (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 28, ll. 3, 4);—of *Harsha*, for *Harshavardhana* of *Kanauj*, e.g. in the *Kaūthēm* grant of *Vikramāditya V.* (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 22, l. 26);—of *Vikrama*, for the Western *Chālukya* king *Vikramāditya VI.*, e.g. in one of the *Narēgal* inscriptions (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 226, l. 24);—and of *Padma* and *Sūrya*, for *Padmapāla* and *Sūryapāla*, in the *Gwālīor* inscription of *Mahipāla* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 36 ff., ll. 1, 9, 22, 58.)

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

- 32 Khādyatapākikasya mahādandanāyaka-Dhruvabhūti-putrasya sādhivigrahaka-
kumārāmātya-ma[hādandanāyaka-**Harishēpasya** sarvva-bhūta-hita-sukhī-
āstu I(II)
- 33 Anushtitam cha paramabhāṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātēna mahādandanāyaka-
Tilabhāṭṭakēna I(II)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 29.)—This lofty column (*is*) as it were an arm of the earth,¹ proclaiming the fame,—which, having pervaded the entire surface of the earth with (*its*) development that was caused by (*his*) conquest of the whole world (*has departed*) hence (*and now*) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (*his*) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,²—of the *Mahārājādhirāja*,³ the glorious⁴

¹ By taking an alternative meaning of *uchchhritāḥ*, we might translate—"This column has been erected, as if it were an arm of the earth," &c. But this would include the assumption that the column had fallen, and was set up again in the time of Chandragupta II.; and in that case *sthāpitāḥ* would have been a better word to use than *uchchhritāḥ*, and the word would have stood better after, instead of before, *stambhaḥ*. It seems best to adopt a translation that does not bind us to either view.—Prinsep considered it to be proved that the column had fallen, and was set up again expressly to display the present inscription. His grounds for this opinion (*Your. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 967f.) are, that there are several names on it which he considered to be in characters of a type intermediate between those of the Aśoka and the Gupta inscriptions, and one of which, at least, it would have been exceedingly inconvenient, if not impossible, to have cut while the column was erect. But this particular name, with several of the others referred to by him, is in characters that are certainly of considerably later date than the Gupta inscription; and none of the names are in characters that are any earlier than the inscription.

² i.e. on his death.—Compare the expression in line 23 f. of the Kardā grant of Kakka III. of Śāka-Samvat 894,—“and when (his) elder brother, the glorious Krishnarājādēva, had ascended to the skies, as if from a desire to conquer the realm of Indra” (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 265, 268); compare also line 14, verse 30, of the Gwālior inscription of Mahāpāla of Vikrama-Samvat 1150 (*id.* Vol. XV. pp. 37, 43),—“Padmapāla, still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat [on the lap] of Saṁkrandana (Indra).”

³ *Mahārājādhirāja*, *lit.* ‘supreme king of *Mahārājas*’ (see page 15 below, note 4), is one of the titles indicative of supreme paramount sovereignty, and is the only expression that properly and fully answers to our idea of a ‘king.’ I use it and all other technical titles and terms, without translation, because, if only for the sake of uniformity and convenience of comparison, it is much better to use them in this way, than to attempt to render them into English by expressions which must always vary according to the idiosyncracies of the translators, and which can never suffice to give exact and complete equivalents for the original titles.—The present title, *Mahārājādhirāja*, in somewhat later times, is almost always coupled with two others, *Paramāvara*, ‘supreme lord,’ and *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, ‘most worshipful one;’ e.g. in line 50 ff. of the Altnā grant of Śīlāditya VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv. And the connection of the three titles was so constant, that a Rāwā grant (unpublished) of, Trailōkyamalla, dated Vikrama-Samvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles in full, and contents itself with describing him as *paramabhāṭṭāraka-ṣṭy-ādī-rājāvali-tray-ḍpāta*, ‘possessed of the three kingly titles (*lit.* succession) commencing with *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*.’—Other titles of paramount sovereignty, occurring in this series, are *Rājādhirāja* and *Chakravartin*.

⁴ *śrī*, ‘fortune, majesty, glory,’ and *śrīmat*, ‘possessed of fortune, majesty, glory,’ are words of constant occurrence as honorific prefixes to the names of persons, gods, places, &c. I render them by ‘glorious,’ in the case of paramount sovereigns and their wives; ‘illustrious,’ of feudatories and other ordinary persons; ‘saintly,’ of priests, teachers, &c.; ‘holy,’ of gods; and ‘famous,’ of towns, &c.—The usual rule seems to have been, to use *śrī* before a consonant, and *śrīmat* before a vowel; thus *śrīmad-Indrabala-sūnō* *śrī-Nannadēvasya tanaya-prāptāḥ* *śrī-Mahāśiva-Tivara-rājāḥ*, in the Rājim grant of the Rāja Tivara-dēva, No. 81 below, Plate xlv. l. 16 ff. But instances of deviation from this occur; thus, without *sādhī* or the euphonic joining of vowels, *śrī-Ādityasādēva*, in the Shāhpur image inscription, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA. l. 2 f., and *śrī-Ādityasādēvas* and *śrī-*

Samudragupta,¹—

(L. 1.)—[Who] by his own kinsmen
;—whose;—

(L. 3.)—[Who]
 twanging (*of the bow-string*) burst open and
 scattered dishevelled;—

(L. 5.)—Whose happy mind was accustomed to associate with learned people;—
 who was the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures; firmly fixed
; —who, having overwhelmed, with the (*force of the*) commands of the col-
 lective merits of (*his*) learned men, those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent
 poetry, (*still*) enjoys, in the world of the wise, the sovereignty of the fame (*produced*) by
 much poetry, and of clear meaning;—

(L. 7.)—Who, being looked at (*with envy*) by the faces, melancholy (*through the
 rejection of themselves*), of others of equal birth, while the attendants of the court breathed
 forth deep sighs (*of happiness*), was bidden by (*his*) father,—who, exclaiming “Verily
 (*he is*) worthy,” embraced (*him*) with the hairs of (*his*) body standing erect (*through plea-
 sure*) (*and thus*) indicative of (*his*) sentiments, and scanned (*him*) with an eye turning

Ijjādavyam, in the Dēb-Baraṇārī inscription of Jīvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB., lines 2 f. and 5 f.; and, on the other hand, *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-Suvarṇavarṣhadēva-prithivīvallabha-śrīmad-Vallabhanarēndradēva*, used in respect of the Rāsh-ṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda V. in his Sāṅgī grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 39 f.); and numerous other instances.—It has been suggested that only *śrī*, not *śrīmat*, is used in the case of paramount sovereigns. But this is not the case. In addition to the passage noted above in connection with Gōvinda V., we have *paramēśvara-śrīmad-Avantivarmanā*, in the Dēb-Baraṇārī inscription, l. 15; *śrīmad-Ādityavarman-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara*, applied to the Western Chalukya king Ādityavarman in his Kaṇṇūl grant (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 234, l. 12 f.); *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Dhāravarṣhadēva*, applied to the Rāsh-ṭrakūṭa king Dhruva, in the Wāṇī grant of Gōvinda III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 33 f.); *śrīmad-Amoghavarsha-Nripatunga*, used of king Amoghavarsha I. of the same dynasty, in his Sīrīr inscription (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 219, l. 16); *śrīmad-Vikramāditya-śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalladēva*, used of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya V., in his Kauthēn grant (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 73); and many other examples of the same usage.

¹ As regards the termination *gupta*, the *Vishnu-Purāṇa*, Book iii. Chap. 10, verse 9, says—“(The termination) *śarman* is prescribed for a Brāhman; *varman* belongs to a Kshatriya; (and) a name characterised by *gupta* or *ddsa* is approved of in the case of (respectively) a *Vaiśya* and a *Śūdra*.” The commentary in the Bombay edition gives, as examples, Sōmaśarman, Indravarman, Chandragupta, and Śivadāsa. (See also F. E. Hall’s edition of H. H. Wilson’s Translation, Vol. III. p. 99 f.)—So also in the *Mānavadharmasūtra*, ii. 31 (Burnell’s Translation, p. 20), a rule of the same tendency is laid down, though without specifying any particular terminations.—On this authority, it has been suggested that the Early Guptas were not of high rank, being at the best of the *Vaiśya* caste; and that this is the reason why they felt such pride in their alliance with the Lichchavis, as shewn by the record of the name of Kumārādēvī and of her family on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the epithet, “daughter’s son of Lichchavi (or of a Lichchavi king),” that is always applied to Samudragupta in the genealogical passages.—No doubt some such rules as those prescribed by the *Vishnu-Purāṇa* and *Mānavadharmasūtra*, were followed more or less in early times. But, as instances of deviation from them, we have the name of the well-known astronomer Brahmagupta, who it can hardly be doubted was a Brāhman; and *Dāsavarman* occurs, as the name of a Brāhman, in line 36 of the Nerūr grant of Vijayāditya, dated *Saka-Samvat* 627 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 131; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 20); and doubtless numerous similar instances might be found, if proper indexes were available.

round and round in affection, (*and*) laden with tears (*of joy*), (*and*) perceptive of (*his noble*) nature,—[to govern of a surety] the whole world ;¹—

(L. 9.)—Whose some people (*were accustomed to*) taste with affection, displaying exceeding great joy when they beheld (*his*) many actions that resembled nothing of a mortal nature; (*and*) whose protection other people, afflicted by (*his*) prowess, sought, performing obeisance,;—

(L. 11.)—[Whose] doers of great wrong, always conquered by his arm in battle, to-morrow and to-morrow pride
..... repentance, with minds filled with contentment (*and*) expanding with much clearly displayed pleasure and affection, the spring (?) ;—

(L. 13.)—By whom,—having, unassisted, with the force of the prowess of (*his*) arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds, uprooted Achyuta and Nāgasēna
...;—(*by whom*), causing him who was born in the family of the Kōtas to be captured by (*his*) armies, (*and*) taking his pleasure at (*the city*) that had the name of Pushpa, while the sun the banks;—

(L. 15.)—(*Of whom it used to be said*),—"The building of the pale of religion; fame as white as the rays of the moon, (*and*) spreading far and wide, wisdom that pierced the essential nature of things; calmness; the path of the sacred hymns, that is worthy to be studied; and even poetry, which gives free vent to the power of the mind of poets; (*all these are his*); (*in short*) what (*virtue*) is there that does not belong to him, who alone is a worthy subject of contemplation for those who can recognise merit and intellect ? ;"—

(L. 17.)—Who was skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of various kinds;²—whose only ally was the prowess of the strength of his own arm;—who was noted for prowess;³—whose most charming body was covered over with all the beauty of the marks of a hundred confused wounds, caused by the blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelins for throwing, iron arrows, *vaitastikas*,⁴ and many other (*weapons*) ;—

(L. 19.)—Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by (*his*) glory produced by the favour shewn in capturing and then liberating Mahēndra of

¹ This verse seems to indicate that Chandragupta I. specially selected Samudragupta, from among several brothers, to conquer the land and to succeed him on the throne.—A clear indication of some such custom of selection is afforded by the epithet *tat-parigrihita*, "accepted (as his favourite son and chosen successor) by him (Samudragupta)," which is always applied to Chandragupta II. in the genealogical passages; e.g. in line 9-10 of his Mathurā inscription, No. 4 below, Plate iiiA.—And, that occasionally the widow of a deceased king selected his successor, is perhaps indicated by the way in which, in one of the Nēpāl inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. pp. 164, l. 18 ff. and 165, v. 8 ff.), Rājyavati, the widow of Dharmadēva, is described as bewailing the uselessness of her own life after her husband's death, and as directing her son, Mānadēva, to reign, that she may follow her deceased lord.

² With this expression, compare the legend on some of Samudragupta's gold coins,—*Samara-sata-vitata-vijayā jita* *dēvā jayati*; see, for instance, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5.

³ With this expression and the preceding, compare the word *pardhramah*, 'prowess,' on the reverse of the coins referred to in the preceding note.

⁴ This word is not explained in the dictionaries. It must be a derivative from *vitasti*, 'a long span, measured by the extended thumb and little finger.'

Kōsala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja of Kēraja,¹ Mahēndra of Pishtapura,² Svāmīdatta of Kottūra on the hill,³ Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla, Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñchi, Nilarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Veṅgi, Ugrasēna of Palakka,⁴ Kubēra of Dēvarāshtra, Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura, and all the other kings of the region of the south;⁵—

(L. 21.)—Who abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradēva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapatiṇaga, Nāgasēna, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings of (the land of) Āryāvarta;⁶—who made all the kings of the forest countries' to become (his) servants;—

¹ See page 7, above, note 1.

² and ³ See page 7 above, note 2.—As regards the introduction of the mountain Mahēndragiri in this passage, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 10) accepted it, and identified the mountain with the conical hill close to Mahiyar (the 'Maihar, Meyhar, Meyhere, Myhere, and Myhir,' of maps, &c.; Lat. 24° 16' N.; Long. 80° 47' E.), the chief town of the Mahiyar State, a little to the south of Uchaharā, in the Baghēlkhāṇḍ division of Central India. Mahiyar may perhaps be derived from Mahēndragiri; but, under any circumstances, this identification cannot be upheld.

⁴ Or perhaps Pālakka, with the long vowel *a* in the first syllable.

⁵ dakṣiṇāpatha, lit. 'the path or road of the south; the southern road,' was the technical expression for Southern India.—The analogous technical expression for Northern India was uttarāpatha, lit. 'the path or road of the north; the northern road.' It does not occur in the present series. But it is of constant use in connection with the great king Harshavardhana of Kanauj, e.g. samarasamsakta-sakalottarāpathāśvara-śrī-Harshavardhana, "the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north," in line 8 of the Nēdr grant of the Western Chalukya king Vijāyāditya, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 622 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 127); and, in line 20 f. of the same grant, it is contrasted with the dakṣiṇāpatha, which is there mentioned under the synonym of dakṣiṇāśā, 'the southern quarter or region.'—A perhaps better known name of Northern India is Āryāvarta, 'the abode of the Āryas, or excellent or noble people,' which occurs in line 21 of the present inscription.—In the Mānavadharmasūtra, ii. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 18) Āryāvarta is defined as the land between the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western sea. But a more precise division between the uttarāpatha and the dakṣiṇāpatha is given by the poet Rājasekhara, who, in the Bālarāmīyaṇa, Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte's *Rājasekhara: his Life and Writings*, p. 21), speaks of the river Narmadā (the 'Nerbudda'), which rises in, and runs along close to the south of, the Vindhya range, as "the dividing-line of Āryāvarta and the dakṣiṇāpatha."

⁶ i.e. "of northern India;" see the preceding note.

⁷ Compare the passage in line 8 f. of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Saṃkshōbha, No. 25 below, Pl. xvB, describing his ancestor Hastin as ruling over his hereditary kingdom of Dabhāla, together with the eighteen forest kingdoms.—I have not been able to trace any definition of the terms śavika-rāja, 'forest-kings' or 'kings of forest countries,' and aśarī-rāja, 'forest-kingdoms,' much less to obtain any enumeration of the eighteen forest-kingdoms referred to in connection with the Mahārāja Hastin. But Hastin's territories lay in the direction of Bundēlkhāṇḍ, Baghēlkhāṇḍ, Rājwā, and other neighbouring parts of the Vindhya range. And I notice that the term Vindhya-śavī, the 'forests of the Vindhya mountains' (which are so often referred to in one of the customary imprecatory verses used in inscriptions), is given by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as seeming to have denoted originally the whole extent of country from near Mathurā to the Narmadā. This area corresponds pretty closely with the modern term Central India; and the separate divisions of it would be very suitably represented by the general term 'forest-countries' or 'forest-kingdoms.'—Somewhat similar terms, vana-rāshtra, 'forest-countries,' and vana-rāja, 'forest-kingdoms,' occur in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, xiv. vv. 29, 30. But the countries there spoken of, lay in the north-east division of India, as mapped out by Varāhamihira; and they are, at any rate, not the countries referred to in connection with the Mahārāja Hastin.

(L. 22.)—Whose imperious commands were fully gratified, by giving all (*kinds of*) taxes and obeying (*his*) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier kings¹ of Samatāṭa, Davāka, Kāmarūpa, Nēpāla, Kartripura, and other (*countries*) and by the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas, Abhīras, Prārjunas Sanakānikas,² Kākas, Kharaparikas, and other (*tribes*);—

(L. 23.)—Whose tranquil fame, pervading the whole world, was generated by establishing (*again*) many royal families, fallen and deprived of sovereignty;—whose binding together of the (*whole*) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (*his*) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves a sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (*giving*) Garuḍa-tokens,³ (*surrendering*) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (*his*) commands, &c., (*rendered*) by the Daivaputras, Shāhis, Shāhānushāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Simhala and all (*other*) dwellers in islands;—who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world;—who, by the overflow of the multitude of (*his*) various virtues adorned by a hundred good actions, rubbed out the fame of other kings with the soles of (*his*) feet;—who, being incomprehensible, was the spirit that was the cause of the production of good and the destruction of evil;—who, being full of compassion, had a tender heart that could be won over simply by devotion and obeisance;—who was the giver of many hundreds of thousands of cows;—

(L. 26.)—Whose mind busied itself with the support and the initiation, &c., of the miserable, the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted;—who was the glorified personification of kindness to mankind;—who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka;⁴—whose officers were always employed in restoring the wealth of the various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms;—

(L. 27.)—Who put to shame (Kaśyapa) the preceptor of (Indra) the lord of the gods, and Tumburu, and Nārada, and others, by (*his*) sharp and polished intellect and

¹ *pratyanta-nṛpati*.—This may denote either the kings within the frontiers of Samatāṭa and the following countries, i.e. the 'neighbouring kings' of those countries, or the kings or chieftains just outside the frontiers of them. Upon the interpretation that is accepted, will depend the question whether Samudragupta's empire included those countries, or whether it only extended up to, and was bounded by, their frontiers.

² See page 8 above, note 1.

³ *garutmad-anka*.—Whether the bird be Garuḍa or not, we have here, I consider, a distinct allusion to the 'bird-standard' on some of the coins of Samudragupta and his successors; see, for instance, the coins given by Mr. V. A. Smith in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Plate ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 14, Plate iii. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, Plate iv. Nos. 4, 5, 7; see also *id.* p. 131 f., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 93, 179. — *garutmat* is explained in dictionaries as meaning 'a bird in general,' as well as denoting 'the bird Garuḍa.' But its most usual and special signification is 'Garuḍa,' as, for instance, in line 7 of the Rājim grant of the Rāja Tivradēva, No. 31 below, Plate xlv.

⁴ Three of the habitual expressions of the Early Gupta records, applied always and only to Samudragupta,—*viz.* the present one; "who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," which we have here in line 26; and "whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans," which occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bhitārī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii,—are applied, curiously enough, to the Chalukya chieftain Vijayarāja of Gujārāt, in line 5 f. of his Kaira grant of the year 394 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 248). The only difference is that, in the second epithet, the reading there is *sama-prabhāva*, instead of simply *sama*.—Of the present epithet, the latter part, *apratiratha*, was used on some of Samudragupta's coins; e.g. *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. No. 6.

⁵ See the preceding note.

choral skill and musical accomplishments;—who established (*his*) title of 'king of poets' by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people;—whose many wonderful and noble deeds are worthy to be praised for a very long time;—

(L. 28.)—Who was a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind, (*but was otherwise*) a god, dwelling on the earth;—who was the son of the son's son³ of the *Mahārāja*,⁴ the illustrious *Gupta*;⁵—who was the son's son of the

¹ Nārada is regarded as the inventor of the *vīṇā* or lute; and, with this reference to him and to the musical accomplishments of Samudragupta, we have to compare the coins of the 'lyrist type' (see, for instance, *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 7, 8), which represent Samudragupta playing the lute.

² Compare lines 6 and 16 of this inscription.—The title *kavirāja*, 'king of poets,' answering somewhat to our 'poet laureate,' is still in use in Native States.

³ The English terms 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are applicable to female as well as male descent, and are therefore not suitable for use in translations from the Sanskrit. The Hindus were almost always most careful about using properly discriminating terms, e.g. *pautra* for a grandson through a son, and *dauhitra* for a grandson through a daughter; the status of the two lines of descent differed even more than in European countries; and, in translating, it is necessary to preserve the distinction accurately.—I will quote an instance in proof. In translating line 12 f. of No. 15 of his Nēpāl inscriptions, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 181) spoke of "Vatsadevi . . . the daughter of illustrious Bhōgavarman . . . and the grand-daughter of great Ādityasēna, the illustrious lord of Magadha." From this, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 163) naturally enough treated Bhōgavarman, who belonged really to the Maukhari family, as a son, instead of a son-in-law, of Ādityasēna. This mistake could not have occurred, if *dauhitri* had been properly rendered by 'daughter's daughter,' instead of vaguely 'grand-daughter.'—The words that are fairly translatable by 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are *naptri* and *brānaptri*. They both occur in the grants of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Samkshōbha, Nos. 21 to 23 and 25 below; and *naptri* occurs in line 5 of the Bhumarā pillar inscription, No. 24 below, Pl. xvA. But the use of them is rare.

⁴ *Mahārāja*, lit. 'great king,' appears to have been, in somewhat earlier times, one of the titles of paramount sovereignty. Thus, it is used, by itself, by Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva, who, here is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 39, and 83 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 31, Pl. xiii. No. 4; p. 32, Pl. xiv. No. 9; and p. 34, Pl. xiv. No. 16); and, in conjunction with the higher title of *Rājātīrāja*, 'superior king of kings,' by the same three kings in their inscriptions of the years 11, 47, and 87 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 326; *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 33, Pl. xiv. No. 12, and p. 35, Pl. xv. No. 18). So also, in conjunction sometimes with the same word and sometimes with *Rājārāja*, 'king of kings,' the two together representing the Greek *basileus basileon*, it was used, in Prākṛit, on the bilingual coins of earlier date; e.g. in conjunction with *Rājātīrāja*, on the coins of Hemokadphises (Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 124 ff.), and, in conjunction with *Rājārāja*, on the coins of Azes (*id.* p. 73 ff.). And, before then, it was used by itself, to represent the Greek *basileus*, at a time when apparently the fuller title of *basileus basileon* had not been introduced; e.g. on the coins of Hermaeus (*id.* p. 62 ff.).—But, in the Early Gupta and subsequent periods, *Mahārāja* was habitually used simply as a technical official title, indicative no doubt of considerable rank and power, but applied only to feudatories, not to paramount sovereigns.—From the way in which the two titles are applied uniformly to Samudrasēna and his ancestors in the Nirmanā grant, No. 80 below, Plate xlv., the title *Mahāsāmanta*, lit. 'great chief of a district,' appears to have been exactly co-ordinate with that of *Mahārāja*.—A third title, *Mahāsēndapati*, lit. 'great lord of the army,' seems to have denoted equal rank with these two; since it is coupled with *Mahārāja* in the fragmentary Bijayagadh inscription of the Yaudhēyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviB., and also in the Walā lay seal of Pushyēṇa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 274 f.).—And three other offices, viz. those of *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahādandāyaka*, and *Mahākṛtīkritika*, would seem to have been sometimes held by *Mahārājas* and *Mahāsāmantas*; since we find all five titles applied to Dhruvasēna I. of Valabhi, h line 13 f. of the Walā grant of Gupta-Samvat 216 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105).

⁵ As regards this name, see page 8 above, note 3.

Mahārāja, the illustrious **Ghaṭōtkacha**;—who was the son of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (and) the daughter's son of **Lichchhavi**,¹ begotten on the *Mahādēvi*² **Kumārādēvi**;—

(L. 30.)—(And) whose fame,—ever heaped up higher and higher by the development of (his) liberality and prowess of arm and composure and (study of) the precepts of the scriptures,—travelling by many paths, purifies the three worlds, as if it were the pale yellow water of (the river) Gaṅgā, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the god) Paśupati.³

(L. 31.)—And this poetical composition,—(the work) of the *Khadyatapākika*,⁴ the son of the *Mahādandānyaka*⁵ Dhruvabhūti, the *Sāmdhivigrahika*⁶ and *Kumārāmātya*,⁷ the *Mahādandānyaka* **Harishēṇa**, who is the slave of these same feet of the

¹ Or "of a Lichchhavi (king)."—The present is the more usual form of the name. But the variant Lichchhivi, with the vowel *i* instead of *a* in the second syllable, occurs in line 3 of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.; in line 5 of the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; and in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, x. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 308), where a Lichchhivi, with others, is defined as the offspring of a degraded member of the Kshatriya caste.

² *Mahādēvi*, lit. 'great goddess,' appears to have been always a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns; though, in somewhat later times than that of the present inscription, it was also sometimes applied to the wives of *Mahārājas*, e.g. throughout the Kārtalā grant of Jayanātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.—As applied to the wives of paramount sovereigns, we have it again in the present volume, in conjunction with *Paramabhaṭṭārikā* and *Rājñi*, in the Mandār Hill inscriptions of Adityasēna, Nos. 44 and 45 below, and throughout the Dēś-Baraṅk inscription of Jivtagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB. In other series it occurs, for instance, as part of the name of Lōkamahādēvi, the queen-consort of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II., in some of his Paṭṭadakal inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164 ff.); and as the title of Gāmuṇḍabbe, the wife of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., in line 5 of the grant of Saka-Samvat 726 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 127).

³ When, under the circumstances referred to in the note on line 3 f. of the Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii., the river Ganges was about to descend from heaven to earth,—in order to break the force of its fall, the god Siva (Paśupati) received it in the matted hair coiled above his forehead and projecting like a horn; and its waters wandered there for a thousand years, before they eventually reached the earth.

⁴ It is doubtful whether this is a tribal or family name, or an official title. The etymology of it is not apparent.

⁵ *Mahādandānyaka*, lit. 'great leader of the forces,' is a technical military title.—The officer who held this rank was the superior of the *Dandānyakas*, or 'leaders of the forces.' This latter title occurs, for instance (together with that of *Priyadandānyaka*, which is the Old-Kanarese translation of the Sanskrit *Mahādandānyaka*), in line 17 ff. of the Baḷagāṭhve inscription of Saṅkamadēva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 46).—We constantly meet with *Dandādītha*, *Dandādīhinātha*, *Dandādīhipa*, *Dandādīhipati*, *Dandēśa*, and *Dandēśvara*, as synonyms of *Dandānyaka*.—Prinsep translated *Mahādandānyaka* in the present inscription by 'administrator of punishments (magistrate)' and 'criminal magistrate'; and this rendering has sometimes been adopted by other translators. As *danda* means 'fine' and 'rod (of chastisement),' as well as 'army, forces,' the titles in which it occurs are capable of being explained as either judicial or military. But, that they are employed in the inscriptions as military titles, is shewn (1) by the way in which the words *Chamūdātha*, *Chamūpa*, *Chamūpati*, &c., in which *chamū* means only 'army,' are occasionally used as synonyms for *Dandānyaka*, &c., e.g. in line 33 ff. of the Kargudari inscription of Vikramāditya VI. and Tailapa II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252), where the *Dandādīhinātha* and *Dandādīhipa* śvarayya is also called *Chamūpa*; and (2) by the definition of the *Dandānyaka* Kāvaṇayya as *samasto-sēn-āgrēsara*, or 'leader of the whole army,' in line 19 of the Baḷagāṭhve inscription referred to above.

⁶ *Sāmdhivigrahika*, lit. 'an officer for peace and war,' is a technical official or military title. Other synonymous titles were *Sāmdhivigrahādīhikrīta* (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 70, line 17 f.); *Sāmdhivigrahādīhikarānādīhikrīta* (e.g. *id.* Vol. IV. p. 175, line 18); and *Sāmdhivigrahin* (e.g. *id.* Vol. VIII. p. 20, where it is coupled with *Mahāpradhāna* and *Dandānyaka*).—The next grade above this was that of the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika*, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 29 f. of the Khōh grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xiii.

⁷ *Kumārāmātya*, lit. 'counsellor of the prince,' is another technical official title.—The next grade above it was that of the *Mahākumārāmātya*, who is mentioned, for instance, in line 33 of the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 306.)

Bhaṭṭāraka,¹ (and) whose mind is expanded by the favour of constantly walking about in (his) presence,—let it be for the welfare and happiness of all existing beings!

(L. 33.)—And the accomplishment of the matter has been effected by the *Mahādāṇḍānyaku Tilabhāṭṭaka*, who meditates on the feet² of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*.³

¹ It is somewhat doubtful whether this title here denotes Samudragupta, or his successor; but on the whole, *tshām*, 'these,' being used, not *tēshām*, 'those,' the passage seems to have a strictly present sense, and to refer to Chandragupta II.; contrast *tasya*, 'of him, of that one,' which is used to denote Samudragupta in line 17 above, but which I have had, for convenience, to render in the translation by the relative pronoun.—*Bhaṭṭāraka*, *lit.* 'one who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is another technical kingly title. In somewhat later times, it seems to have belonged properly to feudatory *Mahārājas*; thus, it is coupled with the name of the *Mahārāja* Śivadeva I. in two of the Nēpāl inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168, No. 5, line 2, and Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 2), and with the name of the *Mahārāja* Dhruvadeva in the same series (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 173, No. 10, line 4, where the syllables *māhā*, at the end of the line, are omitted in the published text). So, also, we find the feminine form, *Bhaṭṭārikkā*, used as the termination of the names of wives of *Mahārājas*; e.g. in line 3 ff. of the Aśrigaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA., and in line 4 of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsāmanta* Samudrasēna, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.—As applied to paramount sovereigns, the fuller and more usual title is *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, as in line 33 of this inscription (see also page 10 above, note 3). But other instances occur in which the shorter title is used; e.g. in line 6 of No. 9 of the Nēpāl inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 172), *Aśmavarman* has the titles of *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*; in line 17 ff. of the Wokkalēri grant of Kirtivarman II. (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 26 f.), the Western Chalukya kings Vikramāditya I. and his successors, down to Kirtivarman II., all have the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭāraka*. And we have the same title in Old-Kanarese inscriptions, in the abbreviated, or perhaps original, forms of *Bhaṭāra* and *Bhaṭṭāra*; e.g. in line 2 f. of the Mahākūta inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijayāditya (*id.* Vol. X. p. 103), in which he has the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhaṭāra*; and in line 2 of the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the Rāshtrakūta king Dhruva (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 124), in which he has the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭāra*.—In the sense of 'reverend,' *bhaṭṭāraka* was also a priestly title; e.g. it is applied to the Jain priest Kumudachandra, in line 2 of the Nēśargi inscription (*id.* Vol. X. p. 189, note 16).—And, in the sense of 'worthy of worship; sacred,' it was also applied to gods; e.g. to Paśupati (Śiva), in line 1 of No. 6 of the Nēpāl inscriptions (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 169); to the Sun, in line 15 of the Khōh grant of the *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha, No. 28 below, Plate xviii.; and to Varuṇaśasi (the Sun), in line 13 of the Dēś-Baraṇār inscription of Jivitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.

² *pāda-ānudyāta*.—This is a customary technical term, used of the relations between a paramount sovereign and his feudatory chieftains, officials, &c.; e.g. in the Udayagiri cave inscription No. 3 below, Plate iiB., the *Mahārāja*, who makes the gift, is described as meditating on the feet of Chandragupta II.—It is also applied to the relations between parents and their children; e.g. in line 18 of the Rājim grant, No. 81 below, Plate xlv., the *Rāja* Tivradēva is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father. It is also used in connection with kingly successions, whether the natural relationship is that of fathers and sons, or of elder and younger brothers; e.g. throughout the Kārttalāi grant of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.; and in lines 6 and 8 of the grant of the *Mahārāja* Vināyakapāla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. pp. 140, 141), who is described as meditating on the feet of his father, Mahēndrapāla, and of his elder brother, Bhōja II. And it is also used in respect of the worship of gods; e.g. in line 3 of the grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 249), the Chalukyas are described as meditating on the feet of the god Svāmi-Mahāsēna.—In one solitary instance, line 33 f. of the Khārēpāṭaṇ grant of Śaka-Samvat 630 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 218), *anudyāta* occurs without *pāda* preceding it, and the Silāhāra chieftain Raṭṭarāja is described as *śrī-Satyāśrayadev-ānudyāta*, 'meditating on the glorious (king) Satyāśraya.' But the omission of *pāda* here is probably due only to carelessness on the part of the drafter of the record.

³ *i.e.* Chandragupta II.—*Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *lit.* 'one who is supremely entitled to reverence or homage,' is one of the technical titles indicative of supreme sovereignty (see page 10 above, note 3).—I have found one instance in which it is also used as a priestly title, in line 43 of an inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1172 at Mamdāpur in the Belgaum District (*Indian Inscriptions*, No. 1), where it is applied to a Śaiva priest named Vimalasiva or Vimalasambhu.—The feminine form, *Paramabhāṭṭārikkā*, was one of the titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns; e.g. in the Mandār Hill inscriptions of Ādityasēna, Nos. 44 and 45 below.

No. 2; PLATE IIA.

ERAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously edited, was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Alexander Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I., C.I.E., then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Reports of the *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 89.

Ēran,¹ the ancient Airikiṇa,² is a village on the left bank of the Bīnā, eleven miles to the west by north from ^KKhurāi,³ the chief town of the Khurāi Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Sāgar⁴ District in the Central Provinces. The inscription is on a red-sandstone squared block, that was found a short distance to the west of the well-known ruined temple of the Boar,⁵ at which there is the inscription of Tōramāṇa, No. 36 below. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 9½" broad by 3' 1" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; but it does not give a very clear lithograph, in consequence of the whole surface of the stone being full of holes more or less large. It is only a fragment; six entire lines, as shewn by the numbering of the verses, have been broken away and lost at the top of the stone, and an indefinite number at the bottom; and also an entire *pāda* of each successive verse, has been broken away and lost at the commencement of lines 25 ff. In addition to this, from one to three letters have been destroyed at the commencement of each extant line, as far as line 24, by whetting tools on the edge of the stone. As far as line 24, each line contains one *pāda* of a verse; but the following lines contained originally two *pādas* each; this shews that the inscription was of an irregular shape, with probably some sculptures on the proper right side of the stone above the first halves of lines 24 ff.—The average size of the letters is about ½". As is indicated especially by the form of *m*, the characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and I should be inclined to name them a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of the period. The particular type used in this inscription is further represented in the present volume by the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB.; the Ârang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, No.

¹ The 'Airan, Ehrin, Eran, and Erun,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 52. Lat. 24° 5' N.; Long. 78° 15' E.—The name is now written and pronounced both Ēran and Ēran; but, as is shewn by the ancient name, Airikiṇa, the first form, with the lingual *ṇ*, is the correct one.—The name is not unique; for the maps shew another 'Eran' seven miles almost due west of Bhēlsā, and another thirteen miles to the north-east of Bhēlsā.

² So far as the passage in line 25 of the present inscription goes, we might take this name as either Airikiṇa or Ērikiṇa, in consequence of the euphonic absorption of the final *a* of *viśaya*. But the real form of the name is shewn by line 7 of the Boar inscription of Tōramāṇa, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiiA., where we have *viśayāḥ = sminn = Airikiṇā*, without any *saṁdhi* or joining of vowels.—The autonomous copper coins of the Aśoka period, found at Ēran, give us an earlier Pāli or Prākṛit form of the name, which is either Erakaṇa or Erakaṇa; but the last syllable is not very distinct in the specimens available for examination (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 149, and Plate xxxi. Nos. 17 and 18.)

³ The 'Khorye, Khurai, Korai, Kurai, and Kurāi,' of maps, &c.

⁴ The 'Sāgar and Saugor' of maps, &c.

⁵ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Plates xxvA. and xxviA.

40, Plate xxvi.; the Rāypur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41, Plate xxvii.; the Vākātaka inscriptions, Nos. 53 to 56, Plates xxxiii. xxxiv. and xxxv.; and the Rājim plates of Tivara dēva, No. 81, Plate xlv. The chief characteristic of it is the peculiar 'box-headed' tops of the letters, formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them. We have a variation of this characteristic, represented in this volume by the Majhgawān plates of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 191, No. 23, Plate xiv., in which the tops of the letters, instead of being 'box-headed' or square, are 'nail-headed' or triangular, with the apex of the triangle downwards.¹ And the present inscription contains a mixture of both types; the 'nail-headed' tops can be seen in, for instance, *prithu-rāghav-ādyāh*, line 8, and *samudraguptāh*, line 10; and the 'box-headed' tops in, for instance, *bahu-putra-pautra*, line 19, and *samara-karmma parākkram-śaddham*, line 21. Owing to the nature of the substance worked on, in the case of inscriptions on stone, except those on a large scale, these centre blocks would obviously be very liable to injury; in the actual process of engraving, as well as from the wear and tear of time. The result is that, though these two characteristics of this alphabet are usually very well preserved and are very recognisable in the copper-plates, in the stone inscriptions they are preserved, so as to be clearly recognised in this series of Plates, only in the large-scale Nachnē-ki-talāl inscriptions of the *Mahārāja* Prithivishēṇa, Nos. 53 and 54, Plate xxxiiiA. and B. In the present inscription I cannot find a single instance in which there is enough left of the triangular or the square centres of the tops of the letters, to shew distinctly in the lithograph. It is, in fact, quite possible that, in inscriptions of this scale on stone, the engraver was not very particular about leaving the centre-blocks at all; an indifference about this is certainly observable even in the Chammak plates of the *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II., No. 55, Plate xxxiv., through nearly the whole of which the tops of the letters were scooped out hollow, without any centre-blocks at all. The characters include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *h*, in *paribriṇhāṇa*, line 26; and (2) the doubling of *k* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkrama*, line 1, and *parākkrama*, lines 17 and 21; and in *ddhrutam*, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta, whose name is recorded in line 10. From the occurrence of the word *babhūva* in line 9, the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of his ancestors. But, that the inscription did not extend to the time of any of his successors, is shewn by the fact that none of their names can be fitted into any of the places where letters are illegible in lines 11 to 24; consequently, the prowess, &c., described in these lines are those of **Samudragupta**; and this description is immediately followed by the mention of the erection, at the city of **Airikīṇa**, i.e. **Ēraṇ**, of something or other of which the stone was either a portion or the separate record. The lacunæ here leave us without any clue as to what was erected, and in connection with what form of religion. But, judging from its shape and appearance,

¹ Mr. C. Bendall has obtained two specimens of triangular-headed characters, one of them in Népāl, in which, differing from the present forms, the apex of the triangle is placed uppermost; see his *Journey in Népāl*, p. 54 f. He appears to have named them 'point-headed' or 'arrow-headed' characters.—Quite recently, Mr. J. Robinson, C.E., of Gayā, has sent me, for examination, another very interesting specimen of a variety of the same characters in an inscription on the bottom plate of a brass image of Buddha.

the stone is part of a temple. And General Cunningham has suggested that, if it was attached to any of the existing ruins, it belonged most probably to the temple with a colossal figure of Vishṇu,¹ immediately on the north of the temple of the Boar. The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, is broken away and lost.

TEXT.

(Lines 1 to 6, containing the whole of the first verse and the first half of the second, are entirely broken away and lost.)

7	[---] suvarṇṇa-dānē
8	[---]ritā nṛipatayaḥ Prithu-Rāghav-ādyāḥ [11*] 2
9	[---] babbhūva <u>Dhanad-Āntaka-tushti-kōpa-tulyāḥ</u> ⁴
10	[---]ma-nayēna <u>Samudraguptāḥ</u> [1*]
11	[---]pya pārtthiva-gaṇas-sakalāḥ prithivyām
12	[---]sta(? sva)-rājya-vibhava-ddhṛutaḥ = āsthitō = bhūt [11*] 3
13	[---]na bhakti-naya-vikkrama-tōshitēna
14	[yō] rāja - śabda - vibhavair = abhishēchan - ādyāḥ [1*]
15	[---]nitāḥ parama-tushti-puraskritēna
16	[---]vō nripatir=aprativāryya-vīryyāḥ [11*] 4
17	[---]sya pauruṣa-parākkrama-datta-śulka
18	[hasty - a]śva - ratna - dhana - dhānya - samṛiddhi - yukta [1*]
19	[---]ñ=grihēshu muditā bahu-putra-pautra-
20	[sa]ñkrāṇiṇī kula-vadhuḥ vratinī nivishṭā [11*] 5
21	[Yas]y=ōrjjitam samara-karma parākkram-ēddham
22	[---] yaśaḥ su-vipulam=paribambhramīti [1*]
23	[---]ni yasya ripavaś=cha raṇ-ōrjjitāni ⁵
24	[sva]pn-antarēshv=api vichintya paritrasanti [11*] 6
25	[---]pta(?)ḥ <u>sva-bhōga-nagar-Airikiṇa-</u> <u>pradēśē</u> [1*]
26	[---] [sam]sthāpitas=sva-yaśasaḥ paribrīhan(v)- ārttham [11*] 7
27	[---]vō nripatir=āha yadā [---] [1*]

(The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.)

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 6, containing the whole of the first verse and the first half of the second, are entirely broken away and lost.)

(Line 7.)— in giving gold [by whom] Prithu and Rāghava and other kings [were outshone.]

¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 89, and Plates xxvB. and xxviB.

² From the original stone.

³ Metre, Vasantatilaka, throughout.

⁴ With this exception, the lines of this inscription, as far as line 24, contain exactly 2 *pādas* of each verse. Lines 25 ff. contained exactly two *pādas* of each verse.

⁵ Or perhaps *charaṇ-ōrjjitāni*.

(L. 9.)— there was **Samudragupta**, equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Antaka in (*respectively*) pleasure and anger;¹ by policy; (*and*) [by whom] the whole tribe of kings upon the earth was [overthrown] and reduced to the loss of the wealth of their sovereignty;—

(L. 13.)—[Who], by satisfied by devotion and policy and valour,—by the glories, consisting of the consecration by besprinkling, &c., that belong to the title of 'king,'—(and) by combined with supreme satisfaction,— (was) a king whose vigour could not be resisted;—

(L. 17.)—[By whom] there was married a virtuous and faithful wife,² whose dower was provided by (*his*) manliness and prowess; who was possessed of an abundance of [elephants] and horses and money and grain; who delighted in the houses of; (*and*) who went about in the company of many sons and sons' sons;—

(L. 21.)—Whose deeds in battle (*are*) kindled with prowess; (*whose*) very mighty fame is always circling round about; and whose enemies are terrified, when they think, even in the intervals of dreaming, of (*his*) that are vigorous in war;—

(L. 25.)— in a place in Airikina,³ the city of his own⁴ enjoyment has been set up, for the sake of augmenting his own fame.

(L. 27.)— when the king said

(*The rest of the inscription is entirely
broken away and lost.*)

No. 3; PLATE II B.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II. THE YEAR 82.

THIS inscription appears to have been first brought to notice in 1854 by General Cunningham, in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 150 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxi. No. 200).—In 1858, in his edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 246 f. note 4, Mr. Thomas published his own reading of the text, accompanied by a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—And, finally, in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 50, General Cunningham published his revised reading of the text, and a revised translation of it, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id.* Plate xix.)

¹ Compare the customary expression, "equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," in line 26 of No. 1 above, page 8. See also page 14 above, note 4.

² Samudragupta's wife was Dattadēvi; but the metre prevents her having been mentioned by name in this verse.

³ See page 18 above, note 2.

⁴ The lacunæ in this verse render it impossible to say whether here, and below, *sva*, 'his own,' refers to Samudragupta, or to some feudatory of his, who may have been mentioned here.

Udayagiri¹ is a well-known hill, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it, about two miles to the north-west of Bhēlsa,² the chief town of the Bhēlsa Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Īsāgarh³ District in the dominions of Scindia (properly Śīndē) in Central India. On the eastern side of the hill, a little to the south of the village, and almost on the level of the ground, there is a cave-temple, which, from its containing this inscription, General Cunningham has named "the Chandragupta Cave."⁴ The inscription is on the upper part of a smoothed and countersunk panel, about 2' 4½" broad by 1' 6" high, over two figures,—one of the four-armed god Viṣṇu, attended by his two wives; and one of a twelve-armed goddess, who must be some form of Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu, rather than, as suggested by General Cunningham, Mahiṣāsurt, i.e. Durgā, the consort of Śiva,—which are sculptured on the face of the rock, outside the cave and a few feet to the north of the entrance to it.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2' 3½" broad by 4½" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; the surface of the rock has peeled off in some places; but no letters are entirely destroyed, except the *g* of *chandragupta* in line 1, and, in line 2, the first *akshara* of the name of the *Mahārāja* whose gift is recorded.—The average size of the letters is about ⅛". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety, peculiar to Central India, which I have commented on at page 18 f. above; but in this inscription, again, there are no instances in which enough remains of the square centre of the tops of the letters to shew distinctly in the lithograph. In *śśādhā*, line 1, they include an adaptation from the northern alphabets; *viz.* the separate sign for the lingual *dh*, which, in the early southern alphabets, was represented, together with its unaspirated form *d*, by the same character as the dental *d*. They also include, in line 1, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 2 and 80.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, the only point that calls for notice, is the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 1.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta king Chandragupta II.** It is dated, partly in numerical symbols and partly in words, in the year⁵

¹ The 'Udaygiri and Udegiri' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 32' N.; Long. 77° 50' E.

² The 'Bhilsa and Bhelsa' of maps, &c.

³ The 'Isagarh' of maps.

⁴ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 49 ff. and Plates xvi. and xvii.

⁵ Whether "current" or "expired," is not specifically stated. But the locative case is used; and, there being no word signifying "expired" in apposition with it, the natural sense of it is "in the year eighty-two," i. e. "while the year eighty-two is current."—It is often asserted that the ancient Hindus always expressed their dates in expired years. And, according to this, we should understand *atitē*, 'having gone by, having passed by,' or any similar word, in apposition with *samvatsarē* in the present passage, and translate accordingly.—No doubt, in making calculations, the Hindus worked, as Europeans must work, with the number of expired years as a basis. But this is quite a different question from that of their method of expressing the dates; as, also, is the question whether they did not sometimes by mistake quote years as current which were really expired, and the reverse, and even occasionally quote, as current, or even as expired, years that were still to come. And, as a very clear and pointed instance of the record of a date in current years, we have the Gwālior Śāsbahū temple inscription of Mahāpāla, dated Vikrama-Samvat 1150, which gives (*Ind. A.* Vol. XV. p. 41; vv. 107, 108; l. 40) first, in words, the number of years expired, and then, partially

eighty-two (A.D. 401-2), and on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha (June-July). The cave appears to be a Vaiṣṇava cave; and this must, therefore, be a Vaiṣṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift or dedi-

in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year,—*Ēkādāśasv=atītēshu samvatsara-satēshu cha 1 ēk-ōna-pañchāśati cha gatēshv=abdēshu Vikramāt ॥ Pañchāśē ch=Āsvinē māśē krishṇa-pakṣē nrip-djāyē 1 rachitē Manikanṭhēna prastastir=iyam=ujjvalē ॥ Ankatē=pi 1150 ॥ Āsvina-bahula-pañchamīyē*,—"and when eleven centuries of years had passed by, and (in addition) fifty years, less by one, had gone, from (the time of) Vikrama; and in the fiftieth (year); in the month Āsvina; in the dark fortnight; by order of the king, this brilliant eulogy was composed by Manikanṭha; or, in figures, (in the year) 1150, on the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āsvina."—Excluding special and capricious instances, the inscriptions disclose the following general and systematic constructions in the expression of dates.—(1) The use of the nominative singular or plural, unaccompanied by any verb or participle. Instances of these are somewhat rare. But I can quote (a) the Mathurā image inscription (No. 70 below, Pl. xId. l. 2), *samvatsarah 200 30*; (b) the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarma (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365, l. 17 ft.*), *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsaram vimśatitamam Śaka-kālāḥ=pañcha varsha-satāni dvātrīṃśāni*; (c) the Dighwā-Dubault grant of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 113, l. 4*), *samvatsrē* (i.e. *samvatsarāḥ*) *100 50 5 Māgha śu di 10*; (d) the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vinayakapāla (*id. Vol. XV. p. 141, l. 17*), *samvatsrē* (i.e. *samvatsarē*, for either *samvatsarah* or *samvatsarāḥ*) *100 80 8 Phālguna ba di 9*; and (e) the second date in the 'Deogarh' inscription of Bhōjadēva of Gwālior, dated Vikrama-Samvat 919 and Śaka-Samvat 784 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxiii. No. 2, l. 10*), *Śaka-kāl-ātāda-sapta-satāni chatur-aṣṭy-adhikāni 784*. And, for early times, we may compare, though they relate to years of government, instead of eras, (f) the nominative in the Banawāsi Prākṛit inscription of Hārīti-putra-Śātakarni (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 333, l. 1*), *raṣṭh Hārīti-putasa Sātākarnisa savachharam 10 2 Hēmanāna pakṣē 7 divasa 1*; (g) the nominative in the Rājim grant of the Rāja Tivaraḍēva (No. 81 below, Pl. xiv. l. 35 f.), *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsaru 9 Kārttika divasu aṣṭamu 8*; and the crude form in (h) the Āraṅg grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja (No. 40 below, Pl. xxvi. l. 24), *pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara 5 Mārgaśira 20 5*, and (i) the Rāypur grant of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēvarāja (No. 41 below, Pl. xxvii. l. 27), *pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara 10 Māgha 9*. Compare also, for later times, the crude form in (j) the 'Dewal' inscription of Lalla of the Chhinda family (*Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. Pl. li. l. 24*), *samvatsara-sahasra 1049 Māgha ba di 3 Gurudīnē*; in (k) a Kōlāpur inscription of Siṅghana II. (*Indian Inscriptions, No. 47, l. 1 f.*), *Śrī-Śaka 1157 Manmatha-samvatsarē Śrāvana bahula 30 Gurau*; and in numerous other instances.—(2) The use of the nominative singular or plural, in apposition with an ordinal adjective, which, again, usually qualifies the name of the *samvatsara*, of the sixty-years cycle, in the genitive case. This is a Drāviḍian method, in constant use in Southern India. As typical and leading instances, I will quote, in respect of the nominative singular, (a) a Balagāṃve inscription of Bijjala (*Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 183, l. 62*), *Śaka-varṣam 1080neya Bahudhānya-samvatsarada Pushyada punnamī Sōmavādrav=uttarāyaṇasamkrānti-vyātīpāta-sōmagrahaṇad-andu*; and, to illustrate a numerous class of instances in which the crude form is used to represent the nominative singular, (b) a Balagāṃve inscription of Sōmēśvara II. (*Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 209, l. 30 ff.*), *Śaka-varsha 997neya Rākṣhasa-samvatsarada Pushya sūddha 1 Sōmavādrad-andin=uttarāyaṇasamkrānti-parva-nimittadim*; and, in respect of the nominative plural, (c) the grant of Gōvinda III. (*id. Vol. XI. p. 126, l. 1 ff.*), *Śaka-nripa-kāl-ātīta-samvatsara-satāṅgaḥ=ēḥ-nūṣ=irpatt-āraṇeyē Subhōnu embā varshad Vaisā-khamṣa-krishṇapakṣa-pañchami Brihaspativāram=āgi*, and (d) the Adaragūnchi inscription of Koṭṭiga or Khotṭiga (*id. Vol. XII. p. 256, l. 7 ff.*), *Śaka-nripa-kāl-ātīta-samvatsara-satāṅgaḥ=enṭu nūya tomḥatta-mūṇaneyā Prajāpati-samvatsaram saluttam-ire tad-varsh-dbhyanantar=Āsvayujād=amavāse Ādityavādra sūrya-grahaṇa*.—(3) The use of the locative singular or plural, with the corresponding locative, in apposition, of *atikrānta*, *atīta*, *gata*, *nivṛtta*, *prayāta*, *samatīta*, *vyatīta*, *yāta*, or any similar word, signifying 'elapsed, or gone by.' Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a) the first date of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (No. 18 below, Pl. xi. l. 1), *Malavāndm gāṇa-sithiṇyē yātē sāta-chatuṣṭayē 1 tri-nanaty-adhikē=bdāndm=ritau sēvya-gha=svanē ॥ Sakasya-mṣa-śuklasya prastastē=ni trayōdaśē*; and (b) the Sāmāgaḍ grant of

cation,—by a *Mahārāja* of the **Sanakānika**¹ tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Chandragupta II., but whose name, in line 2, is now illegible,—of, evidently, the groups of sculptures above which it is engraved.

Dantidurga (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, l. 30 f.), *pañcha-saptaty-adhika-Sakakḍla-samvatsara-śata-shatke vyatitē samvat 675 pai(?)ṣo or pau)hachchhildyā Māgha-māsa-ratha-saptamyām tulā-purusha-sthitē*. And, in respect of the locative plural, (c) the Bādāmi cave inscription of Maṅgalīśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363, ll. 6 f., 11), *Śaka-nripati-rājyābhishēka-samvatsarēshv-atikrāntēshu pañchasu śatēshu mahā-Kārttika-paurṇamasyām*; (d) the Harihar grant of Vinayāditya (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 302, l. 23 ff.), *śūddha-ōttara-shat-chhatēshu Śaka-varshēshv-atitēshu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē chaturdaś vartamānē Kārttika-paurṇamasyām*; and (e) the Kauṭhēm grant of Vikramāditya V. (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 61 f.), *Śaka-nripa-kḍlā-dīta-samvatsara-śatēshu navasu trīṃśad-adhikēshu gatēshu 930 pravartamāna-Saumya-samvatsarē paurṇamasyām sōmagrahaṇa-parvāni*.—(4) The use, as in the present instance, of the simple locative single or plural, without any participle signifying 'elapsed or gone by,' in apposition. Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a) the Gūnda inscription of the *Kshatrapa* Rudrasimha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 157, l. 3), *varshē dvya-uttara-śatē sam 200 2 Vaiśākha-suddha-pañchamī-Dhanya-tithau Śravaṇa-nakshatra-muhūrtē*; (b) a Mathurā inscription of Vāsudēva (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20, l. 1), *samvatsarē 90 8 Varshā-māsē 4 divasē 10*; (c) the Majhgwām grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin (No. 23 below, Pl. xiv. l. 1 f.), *ēka-navaty-uttarē-bda-śatē Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktāu śrīmati pravardhamāna-MahāChaitra-samvatsarē Māghamāsa-bahulapūṣkha-tritīyāyām*; and (d) the Allā grant of Śīlāditya VII. (No. 39 below, Plate xxv. l. 77 f.), *samvatsara-śata-chatushtayē sapta-chatvāriṃśad-adhikē Jyēsthā-suddha-pañchamyām ankataḥ samvat 400 40 7 Jyēsthā śu 5*. And, in respect of the locative plural, (e) the Waṇi grant of Gōvinda III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 46 f.), *Śaka-nripa-kḍlā-dīta-samvatsara-śatēshu saptasu trīṃśad-adhikēshu Vyaya-samvatsarē Vaiśākha-sita-paurṇamāst-sōmagrahaṇa-mahāparvāni*; and (f) the Pāṭaṇ grant of Bhīma II. (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 71, l. 17 ff.), *śrīmad-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-samvatsara-śatēshu dvaddāśasu shat-pañchāśad-uttarēshu Bhādrapadamāsa-kriṣṇapākṣa-ārdhavyāyām Bhaumavārē-tr-āṅkatō-pi samvat 1256 laukika Bhādrapada ba di 15 Bhaumē*.—And (5) the use of the abbreviations *sam* and *samvat*, standing alone, and not explained by a full record in words as they are in instances (3, b) and (4, a, d, f) above. This method, however, throws no light on the question now under discussion; and the use of these abbreviations will form the subject of a separate note.—Now, in the cases illustrated by the examples given under (2) above, it can hardly be disputed that current years are intended; the very construction,—e.g. in (2, a) "Monday, the full-moon day of (the month) Pushya of the Bahudhānya *samvatsara*, (which is) the 1080th Śaka year,"—prevents any other interpretation. And, in the examples given under (1), it is difficult to see how, without imagining an elliptical construction for which no actual example can be quoted as an authority, the nominative case could be used to denote any but the current year. With these examples, and the plain record of the Gwālīor inscription, before us, when we find that in a certain class of instances (3, a to e) the locative case is uniformly coupled with a word distinctly meaning 'expired or gone by' in apposition, whereas in another class of instances (4, a to f) any such word is as uniformly omitted, there is nothing to prevent our giving, but on the contrary every reason to induce us to give, to the simple locative, in the last class of instances, its natural and ordinary meaning of "in such and such a year," i.e. "while such and such a year is current." This is the meaning that is always given to the simple locative in a regnal date; thus, in a Nāsik inscription (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 108, l. 1, 109),—*siri-Puṣumdyisa samvachharē śkunavatsē 19*,—"in the nineteenth (19) year of the illustrious Puṣumāyi." It has never been attempted to maintain that, in such a record as this, the text means "the nineteenth year having expired." And there is no reason why any such forced interpretation should be put on the simple locative expressing the number of years of an era; especially when we bear in mind that almost every era owes its origin to only an extension of regnal dates, and that the system of expired years can only have been devised when a considerable advance had been made in astronomical science.

¹ In the fourth syllable, the vowel here is the short *i*; but in the same word in the Allāhābād pillar inscription, No. 1 above, line 22, page 8, it is long.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Siddham || Samvatsarē 80 2 Āshādha-māsa-sukl-ē(ai)kādaśyām |
 paramabhattachāraka-mahārājadhī²-śrī-Chandra[g]upta-pād-ānuddhyātasya |³
 3 mahārāja-Chhagalaga-pautrasya mahārāja-Vishṇudāsa-putrasya Sanakā-
 nikasya mahār[āja]-. . dha(?)lasy-āyām dēya-dharmmah ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained!⁴ In the year 80 (and) 2, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshādha,—this (is) the appropriate religious gift⁵ of the Sanakānika,⁶ the Mahārāja . . dhala (?),—the son's son of the Mahārāja Chhagalaga; (and) the son of the Mahārāja Vishṇudāsa,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhattachāraka and Mahārājadhīrāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.)

No. 4; PLATE III A.

MATHURA STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously edited in full, was discovered in 1853 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in his first Archæo-

¹ From the original stone.

² Read mahārājadhīrāja.—With the reading of this inscription, which may perhaps be, not an omission by the engraver, but a conventional abbreviation of the full title, we may compare *marajadhā*, i. e. mahārājadhī, for mahārājadhīrāja, on one of the silver coins of Skandagupta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)

³ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁴ *siddham*.—On the analogy of an inscription (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. Plate xliH.), which commences *Siddhiḥ Śrīḥ Samvat, &c.*,—to which we may add another inscription (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXIX. p. 18, and Vol. XXX. p. 13) commencing *Siddhiḥ Samvat, &c.*,—Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 273) takes *siddham*, at the commencement of inscriptions, as a nominative case standing by itself, and translates it by 'success.' But it seems to me to be clearly the remnant of some such phrase as *siddham bhagavatā*, "perfection or success has been attained by the Divine One," analogous to the *jitam bhagavatā*, "victory has been achieved by the Divine One," of, for instance, the Gadhwā inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 8 below, Plate ivC., and the grant of the Pallava Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugopavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51). We may also compare *jitam* *Vishṇu* in the Tuśām inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xIA. And we have the remnant of another analogous expression, in *driṣṭam*, "sight (i.e. clearness of perception in religious matters) has been attained (by the Divine One)," at the commencement of, for instance, the Chammak and Siwanī plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plates xxxiv. and xxxv.—In his remarks referred to above, Dr. Bühler tells us that, in the *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's edition, pp. 5, 6) *siddham* is quoted as a *mangala* or 'auspicious invocation;' and refers us to some remarks, supporting this, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 346.—As helping to illustrate the meaning, 'perfection,' by which I render *siddham*, I would refer to the use of *siddha* by the Jains to denote their saints who have attained *siddhi* or 'perfection or final beatitude,' and who are invoked, under this epithet, in, for instance, the Udayagiri inscription of the year 106, No. 61 below, Plate xxxviiiA. line 1.

⁵ *dāya-dharma*; lit. 'a gift of) religion, which is proper to be given.'—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, renders it by 'the duty of giving, charity, beneficence;' Dowson, by 'votive offering' (e.g. *Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 184); and Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji, by 'meritorious gift, or benefaction' (e.g. *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 83).

⁶ See page 8 above, note 1.

logical Report, which, originally printed in 1863 as a supplement to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXII. pp. iii. to cxix., was in 1871 reprinted, with the addition of Plates, as *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., in which the inscription is noticed on p. 237.—Subsequently, in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 37, and Plate xvi. No. 24, he published a reduced lithograph of it, shewing the completion of the lines as arranged by him.

The inscription is on a red-sandstone fragment, about 10" broad by 11½" high, cracked across the lower proper right corner, which was found, with its face downwards, forming part of the pavement immediately outside the Katra¹ gateway at Mathurā,² the chief town of the Mathurā District in the North-West Provinces. The original stone is now in the Provincial Museum at Lāhōr.

The **writing**, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 10" broad by 11½" high, is in a state of very fair preservation. It is only a fragment; the first line has been almost entirely destroyed, and an indefinite number of lines have been entirely broken away and lost at the bottom of the stone; and, in addition to this, from one to nine *aksharas* have been broken away and lost at the commencement of the lines, and from one to five at the ends of the lines, except in lines 8 and 9.—The **size** of the letters varies from ⅜" to ¾". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of radically the same stock with those of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, but with several essential differences in details; the most noticeable of these are (1) the very marked curve in the left downward stroke of *m*, which I have noticed, at page 3 above, as belonging originally to an earlier form of this letter than that which occurs in the Allahābād inscription; (2) a slanting straight stroke, instead of a circular loop, at the bottom of the left downward stroke of *s*; and (3) the formation of the lower part of *h* entirely to the right, instead of its sloping downwards only slightly to the right and then turning up very markedly to the left.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in prose throughout.—The **orthography** does not present anything calling for remark.

The **inscription** is one of the **Early Gupta** king **Chandragupta II.** His name does not occur in the portion that is extant. But the instrumental case *putrēna* in line 9, immediately after the mention, in the genitive case, of **Samudragupta**, shews that the genealogy was continued down to, and ended with, his son and chosen successor, whose name came in line 11 or 12, and who is known from the subsequent records to have been **Chandragupta II.**; and that the subject of the inscription was an act of the latter. The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, and the subject of it, were in the portion that has been broken away and lost.

TEXT.³

- | | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | ..... | [Sarvva-rā]-ôchhétuḥ | prithiv[y] [ām-apratiratha]- |
| 2 | [sya | chatur-udadhi-sali]-āsvādita-ya[śasô | Dha]- |
| 3 | [nada-Varuṇ-Āndr-Āntaka-sa]masya | Kṛitānta-[paraśôḥ] | |
| 4 | [nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gô]-hiranya-kôṭi-prada[sya | chir-ô]- | |

¹ *katra* is the common word used in that part of the country for 'an enclosed market-place.'

² The 'Matra, Muthra, and Muttra,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 27° 30' N.; Long. 77° 43' E.

³ From the original stone.—The passages that have been broken away are supplied from the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from lines 1 to 4 of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.

- 5 [tsann - āśvamēdh - āharttur-mma]hārāja - śrī - **Gupta** - prapau[t]r[asya]
 6 [mahārāja-śrī-**Ghaṭōtkā**]cha-pautrasya mahārājādhir[āja]-
 7 [śrī-**Chandragupta**-pu]trasya **Lichchhavi**-dauhitrasya mahā[dē]-
 8 [vyām **Kumāra**]d[ē]vyām=utpannasya mahārājādhirā-
 9 [ja-śrī-**Śa**]mudraguptasya putrēna **tat-parigri-**
 10 [hī]t[ē]na mahādēv[y]ām **Dat[t]adēv[y]ām**-ut[p]ān[n]ē-
 11 [na] paramābhāgavatēna mahārājādhirāja-śrī]-
 12 [**Chandraguptēna**].....

(The rest of the inscription is entirely
broken away and lost.)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 8).—By him who is the son,—accepted by him,¹ (and) begotten on the *Mahādēvi Dattadēvi*,— of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, [the glorious] **Samudragupta**,—

(L. 1).—[Who² was the exterminator of all kings;³ who had no antagonist (of equal power)] in the world; [whose fame was] tasted [by the waters of the four oceans⁴];

¹ I add these two lines in order to shew the continuation of the construction of this record.

² See page 12 above, note 1.

³ i.e. Samudragupta.

⁴ *sarva-rāj-śchchēttī*.—In the nominative case, *sarva-rāj-śchchēttī*, this epithet occurs on the reverse of some gold coins, hitherto always classed in the Early Gupta series (see *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 169 f., and Pl. ii. No. 1; also *Archzol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 36, and Pl. vii. No. 1), which have on the obverse the name of Kācha, in the place where the king's name usually stands on coins, with the marginal legend *kāchō gām=avajitya karmabhir=uttamair=jayati*, "Kācha, having conquered the earth, is victorious by (his) most excellent deeds," and which have always been attributed to the *Mahārāja Ghaṭōtkācha*, the grandfather of Samudragupta.—But, in the first place, the name on these coins is distinctly Kācha, and nothing more; and *kācha*, which means 'glass, crystal; the string of the scale of a balance; alkaline salt, black salt; wax; &c.,' is a totally different word from *utkacha*, 'having the hairs (of the body) standing erect (through pleasure),' which is the second component of the name of Ghaṭōtkācha. Secondly, Ghaṭōtkācha, being only a feudatory *Mahārāja*, was not entitled to issue a coinage in his own name. And thirdly, the epithet *sarva-rāj-śchchēttī* on the reverse, is, in the inscriptions, always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only.—There is nothing distinctive in this epithet, sufficient to shew that it belonged only to the Early Gupta dynasty (and, in that dynasty, to Samudragupta). Nor, I think, is it absolutely certain that these coins belong to the Early Gupta series. But the general appearance of them, with the legends on them, justifies such an opinion. And, if they are Early Gupta coins, then they must be attributed to Samudragupta, not to Ghaṭōtkācha; and Kācha must, in that case, be a personal and less formal name of Samudragupta; and with it we may compare such instances as Śāba, 'cadaverous, of a dark yellowish colour, tawny; the young of any animal,' used as a second name of Vīrasēna, a minister of Chandragupta II. (No. 6 below, Plate ivA. line 4); Vyāghra, 'a tiger,' applied to a Jain named Rudrasōma (No. 15 below, Plate ixA.); and Permāḍi (also Parmāḍi, Parmāḍi and Paramardi), a name of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 225, l. 9, 253, l. 14; Bühler's *Vikramādhikāvalī*, Introd. p. 30, note 2; and *Rājataranginī*, vii. 1122, 1124).—The only other instances, known to me, in which the name Kācha occurs, are in the case of two rulers or chieftains, Kācha I. and Kācha II., mentioned in one of the inscriptions in the Ajanta caves (*Archzol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 129, lines 4, 6), belonging to a period that is at any rate appreciably later than that of the Early Guptas.

⁵ i.e. "whose fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans."—Jambudvīpa, or the central division of the known world, including India, was supposed to be surrounded on all sides by the ocean.

who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanāda and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka]; who was [the very axe] of (the god) Kṛitānta;¹ who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows] and gold; [who was the restorer of the *asvamédha*-sacrifice,² that had been long in abeyance];—

(L. 5.)—Who³ was the son of the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Gupta**; the son's son of [the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious] **Ghaṭōtkacha**; (and) the son of the *Mahārājadhirdja* [the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**], (and) the daughter's son of **Lichchhavi**, begotten on the *Mahādēvi* **Kumārādēvi**;—

(L. 11.)—[By him,⁴ the most devout worshipper of the Divine One,⁵ the *Mahārājadhirdja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**],

(The rest of the inscription is entirely
broken away and lost.)

¹ *Kṛitānta-parāsu*.—This is another of the formal epithets which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. In the nominative case, *Kṛitānta-parāsuḥ*, it occurs on the reverse of some of his gold coins; see, for instance, *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. Part I. p. 177 f., and Pl. ii. No. 11.

² A ceremony which centred in a horse, and was concluded after the selected steed had been turned loose for a year to roam about at will, guarded by armed men. The ceremony appears to have ended sometimes in the actual immolation of the horse, but sometimes only in keeping it bound during the celebration of the final rites. The successful celebration of a hundred *asvamédhas* was supposed to raise the sacrificer to a level with the god Indra.—The present epithet, *asvamédh-āhartri*, is another of those which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. With it we have to compare the legend *asvamédha-parākramah*, "he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice," on some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudragupta; see, for instance, *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 175 ff., and Pl. ii. No. 9; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 37 f., and Pl. vii. No. 4.

³ i.e. Samudragupta.

⁴ See page 27 above, note 1.

⁵ *paramabhāgavata*; lit. 'a most devout worshipper of (the god) Bhagavat.'—This epithet is supplied from the subsequent inscriptions, and the coins of Chandragupta II. himself.—It is a technical sectarian title, analogous to *paramamāhēśvara* (e.g. No. 38 below, line 2), *paramāśaṅkṛta* (e.g. No. 52 below, line 8), *paramavaishnava* (e.g. lines *a* and *i* of the Dighwā-Dubault grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 112), *paramapāśupata* (e.g. line 8 of the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadēva; *id.* Vol. XI. p. 242), and *paramadaivata* (e.g. line 1 of the Nēpāl inscription of Vasantasēna; *id.* Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3). Other similar epithets, but not formed in quite the same way, are *paramabrahmanya* (e.g. line 39 of the grant of Amma II.; *id.* Vol. VII. p. 16); *paramādityabhakta* (e.g. No. 38 below, line 10); and *paramabhagavatibhakta* (e.g. lines *e*, *i*, *k*, 3, 6, and 7 of the Dighwā-Dubault grant referred to above); also *atyantamāhēśvara* and *atyantasvāmī-mahābhairavabhakta*, e.g. No. 55 below, lines 9 and 4; and *atyantabhagavadbhakta*, in No. 19 below, line 6, and No. 36, line 4. — *Bhagavat*, 'venerable, revered, sacred, divine, holy,' was used as a title of priests, e.g. lines 5 and 6 of a Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II., where it is applied to two *Achāryas* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 165, No. 101); and also of any saintly personage, e.g. line 12 of No. 23 below, where it is applied to Vyāsa, the arranger of the *Vēdas*. And it was also used as an epithet of any god or object of worship; thus, it is applied to Buddha, in line 6 of No. 62 below; to Viṣṇu, in line 6 of No. 32 below; to Śambhu (Śiva) in line 5 of No. 7 below; to Svāmī-Mahāsēna (Kārttikēya), in line 7 of No. 10 below; to Varuṇavāsin (the Sun), in line 13 of No. 46 below; and to Jinēndra, in line 1 of the Aihole Mēguṭi inscription of Pulikēśin II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 241). But it seems to belong most particularly to the god Viṣṇu (see, for instance, the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, vi. 5; Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. V. p. 211 ff.), and to denote him whenever there is nothing in the context to give it any other application; and, as well-known instances of its use in this way, we may quote *Bhagavadgītā*, the name of an episode of the *Mahābhārata* devoted entirely to the subject of devotion to Viṣṇu as Kṛishṇa; *Bhāgavata*—

No. 5; PLATE III B.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 93.

THE inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 488 ff., where a lithograph of it was published (*id.* Plate xxviii.), reduced by Mr. Prinsep from a copy by Mr. B. H. Hodgson. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it is a very imperfect one; especially in shewing no traces whatever of the first six or seven letters of each line, all the rest being worn.—And in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., Mr. Prinsep published the reading of the text, and a translation of it,¹ accompanied by a lithograph, reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers (*id.* Plate xxv.)

Sāñchi, or **Sāchi**,² is a village about twelve miles to the north-east of Diwāṅgañj, the chief town of the Diwāṅgañj Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Native State of Bhōpāl or Bhōpāl³ in Central India. It is sometimes called **Sāñchi-Kāñakhēḍā**, through its name being coupled with that of another small village immediately on the north of it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 6¼" broad by 1' 9" high, is on the outer side of the top rail in the second row, outside and on the south side of the eastern

Purāṇa, the title of one of the *Purāṇas*, dedicated especially to the glorification of Viṣṇu; and *Bhāgavata*, which occurs in line 7 of the Khōh plates of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii., and is, to the present time, the name of one of the Vaishṇava sects.—It may be taken, therefore, that *Paramabhāgavata* is exclusively a Vaishṇava title.

¹ The translation is reprinted in Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 246.

² Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 28' N.; Long. 77° 48' E.—The 'Sachi, Sacha Kana Kheyra, and Sachi Kanakera,' of maps, &c.—The name is pronounced both **Sāñchi** and **Sāchi**; but with a preference, as far as my observation went, for the nasalised form. The alternative forms have already been pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 181, where he suggests that the name is most probably only the spoken form of the Sanskrit *sānti*, 'tranquillity, calmness,' &c.,—since the term *sānti-samgha*, 'the community of tranquillity,' occurs in the Aśoka inscription at **Sāñchi** (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 259 ff. and Plate xix. No. 177); and since the Chinese transcribed *sānti* by *sā-chi*. But the ancient name of **Sāñchi**, at least from the Aśoka to the Gupta period, was **Kākanāḍa** (see page 31 below, para. 5); and this seems to indicate that the name **Sāñchi** is of comparatively modern introduction. Also, though I could not find the places on the map, I was informed that there are at least two other villages in the neighbourhood, named **Sāñchi** or **Sāchi**, with no Buddhist remains at them. And this,—with the analogous names of **Kāchi-Kāñakhēḍā**, a village about one and a half miles to the south-west of **Sāñchi** (in which *kāchi* is either an Urdu, or a Rāṅgaḍī or local vernacular, word, meaning 'gardener'), and of **Māchi**, a village somewhere in the same neighbourhood, which I noticed in a local topographical map, but cannot now find again in the Indian Atlas,—suggests that **Sāñchi** or **Sāchi** is probably a vernacular name, connected in no way with the Sanskrit.

³ This name is written and pronounced **Bhōpāl** by Musalmāns, and **Bhūpāl** by Hindus. It has been suggested that it is a corruption of *Bhōj-pāl*, 'the tank or embankment of king Bhoja.' But I think it is far more likely that the original and correct name is **Bhūpāl**, from the Sanskrit *bhūpāla*, 'a king, or the king.' The State, however, is a Musalmān State; and **Bhōpāl** is the form of the name that has been established by long official usage.

gateway of the Great *Stūpa*.¹ The inscription is very well preserved, with the exception that two or three letters are destroyed and quite illegible near the commencement of each line as far as line 8.—The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and approximate most closely to, in the present volume, those of the Mandasār inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., and, elsewhere, those of the Aihole Mēguṭi inscription² of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II. of Śaka-Saṃvat 556 (A.D. 634-35). They include, in line 11, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 4, and 90.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the dental *s*, instead of the *visarga* or the *upadhāntya*, in conjunction with *p*, in *yatas-patḍka*, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year³ ninety-three (A.D. 412-13), on the fourth day, without any specification of the lunar fortnight, of the month Bhādrapada (August-

¹ *Stūpa*, 'a heap or pile of earth; any heap or pile or mound,' is the technical name of a certain kind of Buddhist monument, consisting of a mound, more or less elaborate, and with or without masonry work, erected over sacred relics of Buddha and his followers.—The English corruption, *Top* is from the Prākṛit form *thūpa*.—In the country round Sāñchi, I found the popular term for a *Stūpa* to be *biṭḍ* (Hindī, *biṭaurā*), which means literally 'a heap of dried cowdung-cakes to be used as fuel.' The great *Stūpa* at Sāñchi is known as *Sās-bahā kṛ biṭḍ*, "the heap of dried cowdung-cakes of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law." And with this name we may compare *Sās-bahā kṛ dēhrā*, "the temple of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law," which is the popular name of the temple at Gwālior in which there is the long Sanskrit inscription of the Kachchhapaghāta prince Mahāpāla, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 1150 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 33 ff.)

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 241 ff., and the accompanying plate.

³ The text has the abbreviation *saṃ*, which may stand either for the crude form *saṃvatsara*, 'a year,' or for any declensional case that can be used in expressing a date (see page 22 above, note 5). The same remark applies to the form *saṃvat*, which occurs, for instance, in *saṃvat 100 go 1 Śrāvāṇa ba di 7*, in line 2 of the Ēraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gōparāja, No. 20 below, Plate xiiB.—It was formerly thought that the word *saṃvat* was used only in connection with the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 57. But fuller experience has shewn that both the forms are used freely in respect of the years of any era whatsoever.—They are used sometimes by themselves, as in the present passage, and in the instance quoted above for *saṃvat*; and sometimes in composition with the name of the era; as, for instance, in the Ambarnāth inscription of the chieftain Māmvaṇi (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329, l. 1), *Śaka-saṃvat 782 Jyēshṭha tuddha 9 Śukrā*, and in the Sōmnāth-Pāthan inscription of Arjunadēva of Aphilvād (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 242, l. 2 ff.), *Mahamada-saṃvat 662 tathā śrī-nṛpa-Vikrama-saṃ 1320 tathā śrīmad-Valabhi-saṃ 945 tathā śrī-Simha-saṃ 151 varshē Āshāḍha va di 13 Ravau*.—The form *saṃvat* represents the genitive plural, *saṃvat-sarāṇām*, in such passages as *Śaka-nṛpa-kāl-ūṭṭa-saṃvatsara-satēshu=ashṭasu chatur-navaty-adhikēshu=anṅatāḥ saṃvat 894 &c.*, in the Kardā grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakka III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, l. 47 f.), as contrasted with *Śaka-nṛpa-kāl-ūṭṭa-saṃvatsara-satēshu=ashṭasu pañcha-pañchāsad-adhikēshu=anṅatō=pi saṃvat-sarāṇām 855 &c.*, in the Sāngli grant of Gōvinda V. of the same dynasty (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 44 f.); the latter is the only passage that I know of, in which the full genitive case occurs in connection with the numerals. And it evidently stands for the full locative singular and plural respectively, in such passages as *Saṃvat pañcha-saptaty-adhika-dvādasā-sat-ānṅē 1275 &c.*, in the Chārwā inscription of Dēvapāla of Dhārā (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 111, l. 4), and in *Śaka-saṃvat śha-navaty-adhikā-nava-satēshu saṃvat 997 &c.*, in the Bassein grant of Sēupachandra II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 120, l. 24 f.).—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *saṃvat* as an indeclinable; and of course it properly is so. I am able, however, to quote two epigraphical instances, of modern date, in which it is used as a declinable; (1) in verse 30 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's Nēpāl Inscription, No. 19, of Prātāpamalla, dated Nēpāla-Saṃvat 778 (A.D. 1658-59); *Nēpālē saṃvat=smīn=kaya-giri-munibhiḥ*

It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by **Amrakārdaya**, the son of Undāna, and apparently an officer of **Chandragupta**, of a village, or an allotment of land, called **Īśvaravāsaka**, and a sum of money, to the **Ārya-Saṃgha**, or community of the faithful, at the great **vihāra** or Buddhist convent of **Kākanādabōta**, for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

The **Kākanādabōta** convent is, of course, the Great **Stūpa** itself. The name is partially destroyed in the present inscription; but it is legible in full in line 2 of the other **Sāñchi** inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviii.B. It is not quite certain what meaning is to be allotted to **bōta** in this name; but it is probably another form of **pōta**, 'the foundation of a house.'¹ The rest of the name, **Kākanāda**, *lit.* 'the noise of the crow,' is the ancient name of **Sāñchi** itself. This is shewn by its occurring in at least two of the inscriptions of the **Aśoka** period in the neighbourhood, to which my attention was directed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji; thus, (1) an inscription on the outside of the east gate of the great **Stūpa** at **Sāñchi** (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 241, and Plate xvi. No. 39) should evidently be read *Kākanādē bhagavatō pamāṇa-lāhi*, "the measuring-staff (?) of (Buddha), the Divine One, at **Kākanāda**;" and (2) the inscription on the top of the lid of the steatite casket found in **Stūpa** No. 2 at 'Andher' (*id.* p. 347, and Plate xxix. No. 7) should plainly be read *Sapurisasa Gōtiputasa Kākanāda-Pabhāsana Kōḍiṇa-gōtasa*, "(the) relics of the virtuous **Prabhāsana** of **Kākanāda**, the **Gōtiputra**, of the **Kauṇḍinya gōtra**."

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham¹ [11*] **Kā[kanā]dabōta**-śrī-mahā-vihārē śīla-samādhi-prajñā-guṇa-
bhāvit-ēndriyāya parama-puṇya-
2 kṛi tāya chatur-ddig-abhyāgatāya śramaṇa-puṇḡav-āvasathāy=āryya-
saṅghāya mahārājādhi-
3 rā[ja-s]r[ī]-**Chandragupta**-pāda-prasād-āpyāyita-jivita-sādhanāḥ anujivi-satpuruṣa-
sadbhāva-
4 vṛi[tim(?)] jagati prakhyāpayan anēka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya-yaśas-patākāḥ
Sukuli-dēśa-Na- 7
5 shtī vāstavya Undāna-putr-**Āmrakārdavō** Maja-Śarabhaṅg-
Āmrarāta-rājakula-mūlya-kṛi-ḥ
6 tam(?) ya .. **Īśvaravāsaka**ḥ pañchā-maṇḍalyā[m*] pranipatyā
dadāti pañcha-vimśatis(ḥ)=cha dīna-

saṃyutē &c. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 191); and (2) in an unpublished **Chambā** inscription which contains several dates in the **Vikrama-Saṃvat** and **Lōkakāla**, commencing with **Vikrama-Saṃvat** 1915 (A.D. 1858-59); in line 11 f. we have *Saṃvatē 34 Śrāvana-pra° 17 lāḥ saṃvatē 36 dā Śrāvana-suddha* &c.

¹ In the present series of inscriptions, **bōta** or **vōta** occurs again (1) as part of a proper name in **Raṅkabōta**, in line 8 of No. 27, Plate xvii. below; and (2) as a territorial name, in the **Vōta santiha** in line 6f. of No. 29, Plate xixA. below.—**Monier Williams**, in his **Sanskrit Dictionary**, gives *pōtā*, *bōtā*, and *vōtā*, in the sense of 'a woman with a beard; a hermaphrodite; a female servant or slave.'—And we have **Bōtaka**, as a proper name, in line 25 of No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

² From the original stone.

³ In the original, this word, which is very much damaged and hardly recognisable, stands above the first two *aksharas* of line 1.

⁴ These two *aksharas* are supplied from line 2 of the **Sāñchi** inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviii.B., in which they are quite distinct.

- 7 ^२ rān [II*] Ta[d-da]tta-..... yād=arddhēna mahārājādhirāja-sri-
 १ Chandraguptasya Dēvarāja iti pri-
 8 ya-nām..... y. tasya^१ sarvva-guṇa-sampattayē yāvach=chandr-ādityau
 tāvat=pañcha bhikshavō bhūmja-
 9 tām ratna-grihē [cha di]pakō jvalatu [I*] mama ch-āpar-ārdhāt=pañch-
 aiva bhikshavō bhūmjatām ratna-grihē cha
 10 dīpaka iti [II*] Tad=état-pravṛttam ya uchchhindyāt=sa gō-brahma-hatyayā
 samyuktō bhavēt=pañchabhiḥ=ch-āna-
 11 ntaryyair=iti [II*] Sam^३ 90 3 Bhādrapada di^४ 4 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained ! To the community of the faithful¹ in the holy great *viḥāra* of **Kākanāḍabōta**,—in which the organs of sense (*of the members of it*) have been subdued by the virtues of (*good*) character, religious meditation, and wisdom ; which deeds of the very highest religious merit ; which has come together from the four quarters of the world ; (*and*) which is the abode of most excellent *Śramanas*,—having prostrated himself in an assembly of five persons,² **Amrakārdava**,³ the son of Undāna,—whose means of subsistence have been made comfortable by the favour of the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)** ; who is publishing in the world the amiable behaviour of the virtuous people who are the dependents (*of the king*) ; who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many *battles* ; (*and*) who is an inhabitant of (the town of) **Nashti** in the **Sukuli dēsa**,⁴—gives (the village or

¹ We might very suitably supply the lacunæ by reading *Dēvarāja iti priya-nām*=[*dmātyē bhavati*]=*[d]tasya*.

² See page 30 above, note 3.

³ i.e. *dina*, *dinā*, *divasa*, or *divasā*. And the word properly denotes the solar day, from sunrise to sunrise, with which a week-day name would be coupled ; not the lunar *tithi*, which may coincide with, or more or less may differ from, the solar day and week-day.

⁴ *Ārya-Saṃgha*.

✓ ⁵ *pañcha-maṇḍalī* is evidently the same as the *Pañchāṭī*, *Pañchāyat*, or *Pañch*, of modern times, the village-jury of five (or more) persons, convened to settle a dispute by arbitration, to witness and sanction any act of importance, &c.—Compare *pañchāṭī* (perhaps a mistake of the engraver for *pañchāṭī*), which seems to be used in the same sense, in line 16 of Bhagwanlal Indraji's *Népāl Inscriptions*, No. 10 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 173).—So also *pañchāṭīka*, in No. 4 of the same series, line 11 (*id.* p. 168), No. 7, lines 13 and 15 (p. 170), and No. 13, line 20 (p. 177), seems to mean the members of certain *Pañchāyats* which are in each instance specified by name.

⁶ Or *Āmrakārdava*.

⁷ *dēsa*, 'a region, country, province, &c.', is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning and bearing of which have not yet been determined. So, also, *khanda*, 'a section ;' *maṇḍala*, 'a circle, district, arrondissement, province, &c. ;' *rāshṭra*, 'a kingdom, district, country, region, &c. ;' and *vishaya*, 'a country, region, district, province, &c.'—*Dēsa* is sometimes used as a synonym of *maṇḍala*. Thus, in line 7 of a grant of Amma II. of about Śaka-Samvat 867 or A.D. 945-46 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16), and in line 6 of another grant of the same (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 74), the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas is called the *Veṅṭī dēsa*. While, in line 17 of a grant of Amma I. (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 79), and in line 8 of another of Bhīma II. (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 213), it is called the *Veṅṭī maṇḍala*. These charters record grants made in the Pennātavāḍī, Guḍṛavāḍī, and Pāgunavara *vishayas*, which would point to *vishaya* being a subdivision of a *dēsa* or *maṇḍala*, and this is in accordance with line 5 of the Kapāḷēśvar grant of Mahā-Bhāvagupta (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 213), where the correct reading is *vishayīya-Raṇḍāgrāmē*), recording a gift of the village of *Raṇḍāgrāma* belonging to the Pōvā or Yōvā *vishaya* in the Kōśala *dēsa*. On the other hand, in the Tērdāḷ inscription of Śaka-

allotment of) *Īśvaravāsaka*, purchased with the endowment¹ of Maja and Śarabhaṅga and Amrarāta² of the royal household,³ and (also gives) twenty-five *dīndras*.⁴

• (Line 7).—From [the interest of the *dīndras*⁵] given by him,—with half, as long as the moon and the sun (*endure*), let five *Bhikṣus* be fed, and let a lamp burn in the jewel-house,⁶ for the perfection of all the virtues of the familiar name of *Dēvarāja*,⁷ of the *Mahārājadhirdja*, the glorious *Chandragupta* (II.); and with the other

Saṁvat 1046 or A.D. 1124-25 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 16), the terms *dēśa* and *viśaya* are both applied to the division of India that is best known as Bharatakhanda or Bharataksheṭra, and also to the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand District in the Kanarese country; which would point to *dēśa* and *viśaya* being synonymous.—*Khaṇḍa* occurs in another grant (unpublished) of Mahā-Bhavadgupta, recording a gift of the village of Arkigrāma belonging to the Tulumba *khaṇḍa* in the Kōśala *dēśa*; which points to *khaṇḍa* being a subdivision of a *dēśa*, and perhaps synonymous with *viśaya*.—*Maṇḍala* occurs also in line 8 of the grant of Mahēndrapāla of Harsha-Saṁvat 155 or A.D. 761-62 (*id.* Vol. XV. p. 112), recording the gift of a village belonging to the Vālayikā *viśaya*, which lay in the Śrāvastī *maṇḍala*. And this, again, points to a *maṇḍala* being subdivided into *viśayas*.—As regards *rāshṭra* and *viśaya*, there were two classes of officials called *Rāshṭrapati* and *Viśayapati*, *lit.* 'lords' or 'chiefs' of *rāshṭras* and *viśayas*. And, on the one hand, such passages as those in line 8 f. of the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja of the year 394 (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 248), and in line 8 of the Kāvī grant of Jayabhaṭa of the year 486 (*id.* Vol. V. p. 114), which mention first the *Viśayapati*, then the *Rāshṭrapati*, and then the *Grāmamahattara* or 'village-headman,' point, as indicated by Dr. Bühler in editing the Kāvī grant, to the *viśaya* being a larger division than the *rāshṭra*; as also such expressions as "the cultivators, headed by the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* ('headman of the *rāshṭra*'), dwelling in the Pennātavādī *viśaya*," in line 39 f. of the grant of Amma II. of about Śāka-Saṁvat 867, referred to above. But, on the other hand, exactly the opposite of this is indicated by such passages as those in line 28 f. of the Sāmāṅga grant of Dantidurga of Śāka-Saṁvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 112), in line 35 f. of the Waṇi grant of Gōvinda III. of Śāka-Saṁvat 730 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 159), and in line 60 of the Kaūthēṁ grant of Vikramāditya V. of Śāka-Saṁvat 930 (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 24), in which first the *Rāshṭrapati* is mentioned, then the *Viśayapati*, and then the *Grāmakūṭa* or 'village-headman.' While finally, such expressions as "the Karmarāshṭra *viśaya*," in line 12 of the grant of the second year of Vishṇuvardhana II. (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 187), and "the Gōparāshṭra *viśaya*," in line 17 of the Nirpaṇ grant of Nāgavardhana (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 124), point to *rāshṭra* and *viśaya* being synonymous terms.—The subject requires further elucidation. And, as in the case of regal and official titles, it is much better to use the original Sanskrit words, than to render them by such terms as *Zillā*, *Tālukā*, &c., which are of modern invention, and which cannot possibly be satisfactory equivalents, even if they should happen to approach to the relative meanings.

¹ *mūlya*, *lit.* 'an original sum,' is equivalent to *akshaya-nīvī*, *lit.* 'a capital sum that is not to be wasted,' which is of constant use in early inscriptions, and occurs for instance in No. 12, below, Plate viB, line 26, and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB, lines 3 and 8.

² Or Āmrarāta.

³ *rājakula*.

⁴ I supply these words, where the original has been effaced, on the analogy of line 3 f. of the Sāñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB.

⁵ This is the literal meaning of *ratna-griha*. It seems to denote the *Stūpa* itself, as the abode of the three *ratnas* or 'jewels or precious things,' *viz.* (1) *Buddha*; (2) *Dharma*, the Law or Truth; and (3) *Samgha*, the community or congregation.

⁶ Prinsep translated this passage so as to make *Dēvarāja* another name of *Chandragupta* II. This may be correct. But we have no other authority for giving him this second name. And the lacunæ in the line render it impossible to say with any certainty whether it denotes him, or some officer of his.—If the suggestion that I have made above (page 32, note 1) for filling up the lacunæ, should be accepted, the translation would be—"for the perfection of all the virtues of him who, having the familiar name of *Dēvarāja*, is a minister of the *Mahārājadhirdja*, the glorious *Chandragupta*."

half, which is mine,¹ let the same number of five *Bhikshus* be fed, and (*let*) a lamp (*burn*) in the jewel-house.

(L. 10.)—Whosoever shall interfere with this his arrangement,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the slaughter of a cow or of a *Brāhman*,² and with (*the guilt of*) the five sins that entail immediate retribution!³

(L. 11.)—The year 90 (*and*) 3; (the month) *Bhādrapada*; the day 4.

No. 6; PLATE IVA.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 51 f., where he published his own version of the text, and a translation of it by Rājā Siva Prasad; accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xix.).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the standard version up to the present time, except that in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 312, Dr. E. Hultzsch pointed out some errors in the last line as published.

The inscription is on the back wall, a little to the left as one enters, inside a cave at Udayagiri,⁴ in Scindia's Dominions in Central India, which is known as the "Tawa Cave," from the resemblance of the large flat stone, on the top of the rock in which it is excavated, to a gigantic *tawā*, or 'griddle for baking cakes.'

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 3' 7" by 1' 2", has suffered a good deal from the peeling off of the surface of the rock on which it is engraved; but the general purport of it remains complete, and nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of radically the same type with those of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include in the numbering of the verses, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, the inscription is in verse throughout, and the verses are numbered.—In respect of **orthography**, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* in *jñāṇ-kaviḥ-pāṭali*, line 4.

The **inscription** refers itself to the time of the **Early Gupta king Chandragupta II.**, whose name is recorded in line 1. As no date is given, there might be some doubt as to whether the Chandragupta mentioned here is the first or the second of the name. But the standard of the characters, as compared with those of the Allahābād inscription, which was engraved in the time of Chandragupta II.,—and the fact that the inscription records that the Chandragupta mentioned in it came in person to Udayagiri, coupled with the existence at Udayagiri of the inscription of the year 82, No. 3, p. 21 ff. above, which

¹ It is not quite apparent who is speaking here; but probably Amrakārdava is intended.

² *brahman*; see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *brahmā*.

³ *vis.* matricide, parricide, killing an *Arhat*, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and causing division among the priesthood (see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *pañcānantariyakammaṃ* and *abhiṭṭānam*.)

⁴ See page 22 above, and note 1.

is proved by its date to be one of Chandragupta II.,—shew that the king mentioned here is **Chandragupta II.**, not his grandfather, Chandragupta I. It is a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it is to record the excavation of the cave as a temple of the god Śiva, under the name of Śambhu, by the order of a certain **Virasēna**, otherwise called **Śāba**,¹ who was one of the ministers of Chandragupta II.

TEXT.*

- 1 Siddham* [11*] Yad⁴=a[ṛ]tarjyōtir-arkk-ābham=urvyām [— — — — —] — — — — — [vy]āpi **Chandragupt**-ākhyam=adbhutam [11*] 1
- 2 Vikram-āyakra-ya-kṛtā dāśya-nyagbhūta-pārtthiv[ā] [— — — — —] māna-samrakta dharma[— — — — —] [11*] 2
- 3 Tasya rājādhirāj-arshēr-achinty-ō[— — — — —] rmanah anvaya-prāpta-sāchivyō
vyā[prita-san]dh[ī-v]i[grahah] [11*] 3
- 4 Kautsaś-Śāba iti khyātō Virasēnah kul-ākhyayā śabdārtha-nyāya-lōka-
jñāh-kaviḥ-Pāṭaliputrakah [11*] 4
- 5 Kṛtsna-prithvī-jay-ārtthēna rājñ=aiv=ēha sah-āgataḥ bhaktyā bhagavataś-
Rājñ-Śambhōr-ggubhām-ētām-akārayat [11*] 5

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained | which shines⁶ like the sun,⁶ radiant with internal light, upon the earth, pervades (and) has the appellation of **Chandragupta (II.)**, (and is) wonderful;—

(Line 2.)—Bought by the purchase-money of [whose] prowess, [the earth], in which (all other) princes are humiliated by the slavery (imposed on them by him), gratified by religion.

(L. 3.)—He who holds the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of being a minister of that same saintly sovereign,⁷ possessed of inconceivable, (and) [has been appointed to] (the office of arranging) peace and war; (viz.)—

¹ See page 27 above, note 4, for some similar instances of second names.

² From the original stone.

³ In the original this word stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh) throughout.

⁵ From the use, in line 5, of the imperfect past tense akārayat, 'he caused to be made,'—and from the natural length of time required for the completion of the cave, before the inscription could be engraved inside it,—a considerable time must have elapsed between the visit of the king and his minister, and the engraving of the inscription. But there seems no special reason for supposing that the work was not all finished during the lives of Chandragupta II. and Virasēna. Accordingly, in translating, I have given a present sense to the contents of lines 1 to 4.

⁶ There seems to be intended a play on the words 'sun' and 'moon,' the latter of which (*chandra*) forms part of the king's name.

⁷ *Rājādhirāja*; lit. 'supreme king of Rājās or kings.'—This was, in earlier times, one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty. In its Pāli or Prākṛit form of *Rajadhiraja*, it occurs as the representative of the Greek *basileus basileon*, sometimes by itself, e.g. on some of the coins of Maues (Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India in the British Museum*, p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17); and sometimes in conjunction with *Maharaja* (*Mahārāja*), e.g. on some of the coins of Azes (*id.* p. 85 ff., Nos. 138, 140, and 157). And another almost identical title, viz. *Rājātīrāja*, lit. 'superior king of Rājās or kings,' occurs in the same

(L. 4).—He who, belonging to the Kautsa (*gōtra*) is well-known under the name of Śāba, (but is called) Virasēna by (his) family-appellation;—who knows the meanings of words, and logic, and (the ways of) mankind;—who is a poet;—and who belongs to (the city of) Pāṭaliputra,—

(L. 5).—He came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world; and, through devotion towards the divine (god) Śambhu, he caused this cave to be made.

No. 7; PLATE IV B.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II. THE YEAR 88.

THIS inscription, and the following two inscriptions of Kumāragupta, Nos. 8 and 9, are on a stone that was discovered in 1871-72 by Rājā Siva Prasad, and were first brought to notice by General Cunningham in his Archæological Reports.

Gadhwa,¹ which means literally 'a fort,' is the name of several villages in the Arail and Bārā Parganās in the Karchhanā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The particular Gadhwa, where these inscriptions were found, is in the Bārā Parganā, eight miles to the west by south from Bārā, and one and a half miles south of the village of Bhatgadh.² It is entered in the map simply as a "Fort."³ The stone containing the inscriptions was found built into the wall of one of the rooms of a modern dwelling-house inside the enclosure of the fort; and is a rectangular sandstone fragment, measuring about 9½" broad by 4" thick and 2' 6½" high. It is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone is inscribed on three faces,—on the front, as it stands in the Museum, and on the two sides. It is entire towards the bottom; but the top of it, containing two or three lines of writing, has been broken away and lost. In addition to this, the sides now contain only about half of each line of the inscriptions engraved on them; and this, with the unfinished roughness of the present back of the stone, shews that about half of it has been pared away, in adapting it to some other purpose than that for which it was originally intended.

sense of paramount sovereignty, but coupled also with *Mahārāja*; e.g. in the Mathurā inscription of Hōvishka of the year 47 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate xiv.), and in the Mathurā inscription of Vasudēva of the year 87 (*id.* p. 35, No. 18, and Plate xv.). But, by the Early Gupta period, these two titles appear to have been permanently supplanted, for technical purposes, by the fuller form of *Mahārājadhirāja* (see page 10 above, note 3). The form *Rājādhira* cannot be traced at all. And *Rājādhira* occurs only in metrical passages, where it was inconvenient or impossible to introduce the prefix *mahā*; thus, in addition to the present passage, in line 6 of the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnūvardhana, No. 33 below; in line 62 of the Allā grant of Śīlāditya VII., No. 39 below; and, in the derivative *rājādhira*, in line 24 of the Junāgadh rock inscription of Śkandagupta, No. 14 below, in line 2 of which we also have, again for metrical reasons, another variety of the title, viz. *Rājādhira*.

¹ The 'Garhwa' and 'Gurhwa' of maps, &c.

² The 'Barah' of maps.

³ The 'Badgarh, Bhatgarh, and Budgudh' of maps, &c.

⁴ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 13' N.; Long. 81° 38' E.

On the front of the stone, towards the top, traces are visible of eleven lines of writing, each of about thirteen letters, in characters of the same period with those of the inscriptions that I now publish. But no part of this inscription, which seems to have been quite distinct from those on the sides, can be read; and the traces of it that remain are not worth being lithographed.

The inscription of Chandragupta II. now published, is on the upper part of the present proper left side of the stone, and the **writing** covers a space of about 4" broad by 1' 4½" high. It was originally brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text of lines 10 to 17 in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 55, with a lithograph of the whole (*id.* Pl. xx. No. 1). The first two entire lines, and the last half of each of the remaining lines, have been broken away and lost. The remnant of the inscription, however, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average size of the letters is ⅝". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 7, 11, and 16, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8, 10, and 80.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only point requiring notice is the doubling of *y* and *v* after the *anusvāra*, in *saṃyukta*, line 9, and *saṃvatsarē*, line 11.

In the first part of the **inscription**, lines 1 to 9, the date and the name of the king are entirely broken away and lost. So also the name in the second part. But, in the latter part, lines 10 to 17, we have the date, in numerical symbols, of the year eighty-eight (A.D. 407-8). And this, coupled with the epithet *paramabhāgavata* in line 10, followed by the beginning of the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, shews that the inscription, in this part, certainly belongs to the time of the **Early Gupta king Chandragupta II.** And the first part is so plainly engraved by the same hand,—and is, moreover, not separated by any dividing line,—that it must certainly be allotted to the same reign. So little remains of the two parts of this inscription, that the form of religion to which they belong cannot be determined; nor can the object of them; except that each part records a gift of ten *dīndras*, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *śāstra*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

In line 12 we have a mention of the city of **Pāṭaliputra**, the modern **Patna** in Bihār; but there is nothing to indicate, of necessity, that it is mentioned as a capital of Chandragupta II.

TEXT.¹

First Part.

- 1 [Paramabhāgavata²-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Chandragupta**-rājya]-
- 2 [saṃvatsarē]³..... [asyām]
- 3 divasa-pūrvvāyām⁴.....

¹ From the original stone.

² This first line is entirely broken away and lost; but, from the date in line 11, there can be no doubt that the name and titles of Chandragupta II. have to be filled in here, as also in line 10.—In the second line, remnants are visible of the first four or five *aksharas*, including one or two numerical symbols; but not enough of them remains to shew with any certainty what the latter are.

³ To be corrected into *rājyē saṃvatsarē*; see page 38 below, note 5.

⁴ Supply *tithau*.

- 4 ka-Mātridāsa-pra[mukha] [puny-a]-
 5 pyāyan-ārttham rachi[ta] [sa]-
 6 dā-sat[t*]ra-sāmānya(nya)-brāhma[ṇa]
 7 dīnārair=ddaśabhiḥ 10 [11]
 8 Yaś=ch=ainam dharmma-skanda(ndha)m [vyuchchhindyāt=sa
 pañcha-mahāpātakaiḥ sam]-
 9 yyukta[h*] syād=iti 1(11)

Second Part.

- 10 Paramabhāgavata - mahā[rājādhirāja - śri - Chandragupta - rā]-
 11 jya-samvatsarē¹ 8o 8 [asyām divasa]-
 12 pūrvvāyām² Pātā(ṭa)liput[t]ra [gri]-
 13 haṣṭhasya bhāryā y
 14 .-ātma-puny-ōpachay-[ārttham]
 15 sadā-sattra-sāmānya-b[rāhmaṇa]
 16 dīnārāḥ daśa 10 [11] [Yaś=ch=ainam]
 17 dharmma-skanda(ndha)m vyuchchhindyā[t=sa pañcha-
 mahāpātakaiḥ samyuktaḥ syād=iti [11]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

[In the reign of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirāja* the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**; in the year] ;
 [on this] (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (&c.) :—

(Line 3.)— headed by Mātridāsa for the purpose of increasing [the religious merit] fashioned the Brāhmanas of the community of a perpetual almshouse by ten *dīnāras*, (*or in figures*) 10.

(L. 8.)—And whosoever [shall interfere with] this branch of religion,—[he] shall become invested [with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins³] !

Second Part.

(L. 10.)—In the reign⁴ of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, [the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**]; in the year 8o (*and*) 8; :
 [on this] (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above [by the day, (&c.)] :—

¹ In line 17 below, the reading is again *skandam*. But this is undoubtedly a mistake for *skandham*, which we have distinctly in the same imprecation in line 12 of the Gadhwā inscription, No. 64 below, Plate xxxixB.—We also have a similar expression, *punya-skandham*, in line 9 of the Kahāum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15 below, Plate ixA.

² Read *rājyā samvatsarē*; see note 5 below.

³ Supply *tithau*.

⁴ The *pañcha mahāpātakāni*, or 'five great crimes,' are—slaying a Brāhman; drinking intoxicating liquor; theft (of the gold belonging to a Brāhman); adultery with the wife of a spiritual preceptor; and associating with any one guilty of these crimes; see the *Mānavadharmasūtra*, ix. 235, and xi. 55 to 59; Burnell's Translation, pp. 287, 331.

⁵ The original, if accepted as it stands, would have to be translated "in the year eighty-eight of the reign of Chandragupta." But the numerals, both here and in the still more pointed instances given below, shew that the expression cannot possibly refer to regnal years.—This method of expres-

(L. 12.)— Pāṭaliputra the wife of the householder [for the purpose] of adding to (*her*) own religious merit the Brāhmins of the community of a perpetual almshouse ten *dīnāras*, (*or in figures*) 10.

(L. 16.)—[And whosoever] shall interfere with [this] branch of religion,—[he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins]!

No. 8; PLATE IV C.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THIS is another of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at **Gadhwa**,¹ in the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was first brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 55, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xx. No. 1).

This inscription is on the lower part of the proper left side of the stone, immediately below the preceding inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 7 above, from which it is separated only by a line across the stone.

The last half of each line has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the **writing**, however, covering a space of about 4" broad by 10" high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription, No. 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in lines 3 and 6, forms of the **numerical symbol** for 10.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta king Kumāragupta**. The date, however, except in respect of the day, is broken away and lost. So little remains of the inscription that the form of religion to which it belongs cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it seems to record two gifts,—one of ten *dīnāras*, and

sion was a very common one in early times; and is due, of course, to the fact that the early years of most eras were regnal years, and that, after the death of the founder of each era, the expression was continued mechanically in the case of his successors.—As similar instances, we have in the present series of inscriptions, (1) line 6 of the Bilsāḍ pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 below, Plate v., "in the year ninety-six of the augmenting victorious reign of Kumāragupta;" (2) line 3 of the Indōr grant of Skandagupta, No. 16 below, Plate ix B, "while the year one hundred, increased by forty-six, of the augmenting victorious reign of Skandagupta, is current;" and (3) line 1 of the Gadhwa inscription of the year 148, No. 66 below, Plate xxxix D, "in the year one hundred, increased by forty-eight, of the augmenting victorious reign of;" and in other series, (4) line 2 f. of the Gūṇḍa inscription of Rudrasīmha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 157), "in the year one hundred, increased by two, or in figures 100 and 2, of the *Mahākshatrapa*, the *Sudmin* Rudrasīha;" and (5) line 1 of a Mathurā inscription of Vāsudēva (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20), "in the year 90 and 8 of king Vāsudēva."—In every passage like those of this series, a suitable expression and translation are at once arrived at by the very simple emendation of reading *rājyē samvatsarē* instead of *rājya-samvatsarē*.

¹ See page 36 above, and note 1.

the other of an uncertain number,—as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattra*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Jitaṁ bhagavatā । Pa[ramabhāgavata²-mahārājādhirāja]-
 2 śrī-Kumāragupta-rājya-[samvatsarē]
 3 divasē 10 [asyāṁ divasa-pūrvvāyām]
 4
 5 sadā-sat[t*]ra-sā[mānya]
 6 [da]ttā dīnārāḥ 10 ta(?)
 7 ti sattre cha dīnārās=tray⁴ [II]
 [Yaś=ch=ainaṁ dharmma-skandhaṁ vyuchchhi]-
 8 ndyāt=sa pañcha-mahāpā[takaiḥ samyuktaḥ syād=iti [II]
 9 Gōyindā Lakshmā:

TRANSLATION.

Victory has been achieved by the Divine One! In the reign⁵ of [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirdīja*], the glorious *Kumāragupta*; [in the year]; on the day 10; [on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (&c.)] :—

(Line 3).—..... [the community of] a perpetual almshouse
 there were given ten *dīnāras* and in
 the almshouse three *dīnāras*

(L. 7).—[And whosoever shall interfere with this branch of religion],—he [shall become invested] with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins!

(L. 9).—Gōyindā, Lakshmā,

No. 9; PLATE IVD.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 98.

THIS is the last of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at *Gadhwa*⁶ in the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was not noticed when the stone was first discovered; but was afterwards found, on clearing away the lime under which it was hidden, by General Cunningham, who then, in 1880, published his reading of the text in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 9, with a lithograph (*id.* Plate v. No. 1.)

¹ From the original stone.

² This epithet is completed from line 5 of the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 below, and line 5 f. of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.

³ Read *rdjyē* [*samvatsarē*]; see page 38 above, note 5.

⁴ This may be completed into either *trayaḥ*, *trayōdaśa*, *trayōvīṁśati*, or any other numeral commencing with *traya*s.

⁵ See page 38 above, note 5.

⁶ See page 36 above, and note 1.

This inscription is on the upper part of the proper right side of the stone. Almost the whole of the first line, and the first half of each of the remaining lines, has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the **writing**, however, covering a space of about 4" broad by 9" high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions, Nos. 7 and 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in the date, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8 and 90.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The name of the king is broken away and lost in the first half of line 2. But the **inscription** is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year ninety-eight (A.D. 417-18); and this shews that the record must belong to the time of the **Early Gupta King Kumāragupta**. So little remains of it, that the form of religion to which it belonged, cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it records a gift of twelve *dīndras*, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattra*, a charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.¹

- 1 [Jitam bhagavatā || Para]mabh[ā]gavata-[mahā]jādhi-
- 2 [rāja-śrī-Kumāragupta-rājya-samvatsa]rē² 90 8
[on this] (lunar day), (specified) as above
- 3 [asyām divasa]-pūrvvāyam³
[for the purpose] of adding to (his) own religious
- 4 né(?)n-ātma-puny-ōpa[cha]-
merit (to endure) for the same time with
a perpetual almshouse twelve dīndras
- 5 [y-ārttham] kāllyam sat-sat[t]ra-
- 6 kasya ālakānivasē(?) ..
- 7 tya(?)m dīnārāḥ dvādaśa
- 8 sy=āmkur-ōdbha(?)stā-chchha
- 9 [sam]yukt[ā] syād=iti 1(11)

TRANSLATION

[Victory has been achieved by the Divine One, in the reign⁴] of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the *Mahārdjādhi*, the glorious **Kumāragupta**]; in the year 90 (and) 8;; [on this] (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (&c.);—

(Line 3)—..... [for the purpose] of adding to (his) own religious merit (to endure) for the same time with
a perpetual almshouse twelve dīndras

(L. 9.)—..... shall become united with

¹ From the original stone.

² To be corrected into *rājyē samvatsarē*; see page 38 above, note 5.

³ Supply *tithau*.

⁴ The measure of the lines of this inscription seems to shew that it did not contain here the full formula of the preceding two, Nos. 7 and 8.

⁵ See page 38 above, note 5.

No. 10; PLATE V.

BILSAD STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARĀGUPTA.
THE YEAR 96.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1877-78 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in his reading of the text, and translation of it, published in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 19 f., accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate viii.)

Bilsad or **Bilsand**¹ is a village,—consisting of three parts, called respectively Bilsad-Puvāyām, or Eastern Bilsad; Bilsad-Pachhāyām, or Western Bilsad; and Bilsad-Pattī,² or Bilsad Suburb,—about four miles towards the north-east of Aliganj,³ the chief town of the Aliganj Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Etā⁴ District in the North-West Provinces. At the south-west corner of Bilsad-Puvāyām, or the eastern division of the town, there are four broken red-sandstone monolith columns,—two of them, towards the west, round; and two of them, towards the east, square. Each pair of columns stands almost due north and south; and the two western columns are both inscribed. The inscription now published is on the eastern side of the northern column of the west pair.

On the eastern side of the southern column of the west pair, there is also an inscription, which, as shewn by the remains of it, was a duplicate copy of that on the northern column; but it was arranged somewhat differently, being, as counted by General Cunningham, in sixteen somewhat shorter lines, instead of thirteen. From General Cunningham's ink-impression, hardly any appreciable portion of this second inscription remains, except the second and third lines, and lines 12 to 16; and these are not in sufficiently good order to be lithographed, though they are of use in supplying more clearly a few letters which are doubtful in the two verses at the end of the inscription on the northern column. In this second inscription, line 2 begins with the *svādita-yaśasō* of line 1 of the one now published;—line 3, with the *gat-dnēka* of line 2;—line 12, with about the *parshadd* of line 9;—line 13, with the *kaubērachchanda* of line 10;—line 14, with the [sa]ttra of line 11;—line 15, with the . . . *subhd* of line 12;—and line 16, with the *yēn-dpūrvva* of line 13.

With this pair of duplicate inscriptions, we may compare the duplicate inscriptions of Yaśōdharman on the two columns at Mandasōr, Nos. 33 and 34 below. But Yaśōdharman's pillars were *jayastambhas* or 'columns of victory,' not connected with any building; whereas the two inscribed Bilsad pillars seem to have had a direct connection with a temple, now ruined, the remains of which must be hidden under the rubbish that has accumulated over the site,—*vis.* the temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsēna, or Kārttikēya, referred to in the inscription.

The writing of the inscription now published covers a space of about 2' 1½" broad by 1' 10½" high. The first four lines are almost entirely destroyed, and a good deal of

¹ The 'Beelsur and Bilsar' of map of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 68. Lat. 27° 33' N.; Long. 79° 16' E.—The name is written and pronounced optionally with or without a nasal in the second syllable; compare Apsad, and Apsas. See also the case of the inscription of Ādityasēna, No. 42 below.

² The 'Beelsurpowa, Beelsurpucha, Beelsurputtee,' of maps.

³ The 'Aliganj and Ulleegunje' of maps.

⁴ The 'Eeta, Etah, and Eytuh,' of maps.

damage has been done to the rest; but nothing of a historical nature seems to have been lost.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; but they present a very pointed difference from the characters of the same class in the preceding inscriptions, in respect of the very marked *mātrās* or prolonged horizontal top-strokes of the letters.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the end of line 9, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *puttrasya*, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumāragupta. It is dated, in words, in the year ninety-six (A.D. 415-16); but without any specification of the month and day. It belongs to the Śaiva form of worship; and the object of it is to record the accomplishment by a certain Dhruvaśarman, at a temple of the god Kārttikēya under the name of Svāmi-Mahāsēna, of certain works, viz. (1) the building of a *pratōḥī*, or 'gateway with a flight of steps'; (2), the establishment, apparently, of a *saltra* or charitable hall or almshouse; and (3) the erection of the column with the inscription on it, to record the above acts.

TEXT.

-^a [Sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttuḥ prithivyaṃ a-pratirathasya chatur-uda]dhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśasō
 2 [Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśōḥ nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-
 hi]ranya-kōṭi-pradasya chir-ōtsann-āśyamēdh-āharttuḥ
 3 [mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapauttrasya mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya ma]hā-rājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya
 4 Lichchhavi-dauhi[tt]r[asya mahādēvyām Kumāradēvyām=utpannasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudragupta-puttrasya^a
 5 mahādēvyām Dattadēvyām=utpannasya svaya[m=a-pratirathasya] [parama]-bhāgavatasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya^b
 6 mahādēvyām Dhruvadēvyām=utpannasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptasya=ābhivarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē^c śaṇ-ṇavate [1*]

^a As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham, *pratōḥī*, according to the Dictionaries, means 'a broad way; a high-street; a principal road through a town.' But the meaning of 'gateway' was given to him by a Paṇḍit. And that the word has the meaning in the present inscription of 'a gateway with a flight of steps,' seems to be shewn by the comparison of the *pratōḥī* with a *svarga-sōpāna* or 'flight of steps, or ladder, leading to heaven,' and by its being described as "white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems (in the stones of which it was constructed)."

^b From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression; so also the lithograph. The passages that are illegible in lines 1 to 3 are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., lines 1 to 3.

^c Probably *śiddham* stood here.

^a Read *Samudraguptasya puttrasya*, the separate genitive *Samudraguptasya* being required in apposition with the genitives ending in *prapauttrasya*, *pauttrasya*, *puttrasya*, *dauhittrasya*, and *utpannasya*, in line 3 f.—Here, and in line 5, the drafter of the inscription seems to have been led into his mistake through following blindly the *Chandragupta-puttrasya*, which is quite correct, at the end of line 3.

^b Read *Chandraguptasya puttrasya*, the separate genitive *Chandraguptasya* being required in apposition with the genitives *utpannasya*, *apratirathasya*, and *paramabhāgavatasya* in this line.—See the preceding note.

^c Read *rājyē samvatsarē*; see page 38 above, note 5.



- 7 Asyān=divasa-pūrvvāyām¹ bhagavatas=trailōkya-tējas-sambhāra-sarṁtat-ādḍhuta-
mūrttēr=Brahmanya-dēvasya
8 nivāsinaḥ Svāmi-Mahāsēnasy-^{temple}āyatane²=smin=Kārttayug-āchāra-
saddharma-vartm-ānuyāyinā I
9 . āta [pa]rshadā mānitēna Dhruvaśarmmaṇā³
karmma mahat=kṛit=ēdam³ I(II)
10 Kṛit[v]ā³ [— — ā]bhirāmām muni-vasati[— —] svargga-sōpāna-r[ū]pām I⁴
kaubērachchhanda-bimbām sphaṭika-maṇi-dal-ābhāsa-gaurām⁵ pratōllm I
11 prāsād-āgr-ābhirūpaṁ guṇa-vara-bhavanam [dharma-sa(?)]ttram yathāvat I
punyēshv=ēv=ābhīrāmām vrajati subha-matis=tāta-⁶Sarmma⁶ dhruvō=stu I(II)
12 [—]ā[—]i[—]sya⁶ [— —]subh-āmrita-vara-prakhyāta-labdhā bhuvī I [—]ē[—]ē
bhaktir=ahṇa-sat[t*]va-samatā kas=tam na sampūjayēt I
13 yēn=āpūrvva⁷-vibhūti-sañchaya-chayaiḥ [—]ai[—]i[— — — —]ḥ I tēn=āyam
Dhruvaśarmmaṇā sthira-varas⁸=[st]ambh-ōch[chr]ayaḥ kāritaḥ I(II)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 6.)—In the ninety-sixth year, (*and*) in the augmenting victorious reign⁹ of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Kumār Gupta**,—

(L. 5.)—Who is the son, begotten on the *Mahādevī Dhruvadēvi*, of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**, who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power*); who was a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (*and*)

(L. 4.)—Who¹⁰ was the son, begotten on the *Mahādevī Dattadēvi*, of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Samudragupta**,—

(L. 1.)—[Who¹¹ was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world]; whose fame was tasted by the waters [of the four oceans]; [who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe of (the god) Kṛitānta]; who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows and] gold; who was the restorer of the *āsvamedha*-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; (*and*)

(L. 3.)—[Who¹² was the son of the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Gupta**;—the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Ghaṭōtkacha**];—(*and*) the son of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhavi**, begotten on the *Mahādevī Kumāradēvi*;—

(L. 7.)—On this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (&c.),¹³—at this temple of the divine (god) Svāmi-Mahāsēna, whose wondrous form is covered over with the accu-

¹ Supply *tithau*.² Read *kṛitam=idam*.³ Metre, Sragdhara.⁴ Here, and below, the marks of punctuation at the end of the first and third *pādas* of each verse are unnecessary.⁵ The reading is *gaurām*, instead of the usual form *gaurīm*, also in the original duplicate of this inscription on the other column.⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁷ These four *akṣaras* are supplied from the ink-impression of the duplicate inscription, in which they are quite distinct.⁸ We should expect *sthīrataras*; but the duplicate inscription also reads *sthīra-varas*.⁹ See page 38 above, note 5.¹⁰ i.e. Chandragupta II.¹¹ i.e. Samudragupta.¹² i.e. Samudragupta.¹³ The day and other details, however, are not specified.

mulation of the lustre of the three worlds; who is the god Brahmanya; (and) who resides at—this great work has been accomplished by **Dhruvaśarman**, who follows the path of the customs of the Kṛita age, and of the true religion, (and) who is honoured by the assembly

(L. 10.)—Having made a gateway,¹ charming, (and) the abode of saints, (and) having the form of a staircase leading to heaven, (and) resembling a (pearl)-necklace of the kind called *kaubērachchhanda*, (and) white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems;—(and having made), in a very proper manner, a [religious] almshouse(?), the abode of those who are eminent in respect of virtuous qualities; resembling in form the top part of a temple;—he, the virtuous-minded one, roams in a charming manner among the items of religious merit (*that he has thus accumulated*); may the venerable **Śarman** endure for a long time!²

(L. 12.)—This lofty pillar,³ firm and excellent, has been caused to be made by that same **Dhruvaśarman**, whose piety, having acquired the excellent reputation of nectar on the earth, is so highly esteemed by all perfect beings that there is no one who would fail to worship him; (and) by whom by means of the abundance of (his) unprecedented accumulation of superhuman power.

No. 11; PLATE VIA.

MANKUWAR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA. THE YEAR 129.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1870 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and appears to have been first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 7, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate IV. No. 2.).—And, in 1885, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Four. Be. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 354.

Mankuwar⁴ is a small village near the right bank of the Jamnā, about nine miles in a south-westerly direction from Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Parganā in the Karchhanā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the front of the pedestal of a seated image of Buddha, which, when it came to the notice of General Cunningham, was in a garden at Mankuwar, belonging to the Gōsāl of Dēoriyā⁵ or Dēwariyā; and it appears to be still there. But it was said to have been originally discovered in a brick mound between the five rocky hillocks called Pañch-Pahāḍ, a short distance to the north-east of Mankuwar. The image represents Buddha, seated; wearing a plain cap, fitting close to the head, with

¹ *pratibh*; see page 43 above, note 1.

² This is a play on the meaning of the first part of his name, *dhrūva*, 'immovable, stable, enduring.'—For the use of the second part, to represent the whole name, see page 8 above, note 3.

³ *lit.* "this loftiness of a pillar."

⁴ The 'Mankūār and Munhowar' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. (Lat. 25° 19' N.; Long. 81° 52' E.)

⁵ The 'Deoriya and Deorya' of maps, &c.; about a mile to the north-west of Mankuwar.—Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name 'Devaliā.'

long lappets on each side; and naked to the waist, and clad below in a waist-cloth, reaching to the ankles. The first line of the inscription is at the top of the pedestal, immediately below the image. Then comes a compartment of sculptures, containing in the centre, a Buddhist wheel; on each side of the wheel, a man seated in meditation, and facing full-front; and, at each corner, a lion. Then follows the second line of the inscription, at the bottom of the pedestal.

The **writing**, each line of which covers a space of about 1' 7" broad, by $\frac{3}{4}$ " high in the first line, and 1" in the second, is in a state of excellent preservation.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate very closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate 1. They include, in line 2, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8, 9, 10, 20, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Guptâ king Kumâragupta**. For some reason or other, it gives him the subordinate feudatory title of *Mahârāja*, instead of the paramount title of *Mahârājādhirāja*. But we know of no feudatory chieftain of the name of Kumâragupta; and the date fits exactly into the period of **Kumâragupta**, of the **Early Gupta** dynasty; and there can be no doubt that he is the person referred to. The use of the subordinate title may perhaps be due to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the drafter of the inscription. Or possibly it may indicate an actual historical fact, the reduction of Kumâragupta, towards the end of his life, to feudal rank by the Pushyamitras and the Hūnas, whose attacks on the Gupta power are so pointedly alluded to in the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.¹ The date of the inscription, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and twenty-nine (A.D. 448-49), and the eighteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyêsthâ (May-June). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ōm³ Namô Budhāna⁴ [1*] Bhagavatô⁵ samyak-sambuddhasya sva-mat-
āviruddhasya iyaṁ pratimā pratisṭhāpitā bhikṣu-Buddhamitrēṇa

¹ We may compare the rather doubtful legend on one of Skandagupta's coins,—*Mahārāja-Kumārputra-paramamāhāditya-mahārāja-Skanda*; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 67.

² From the ink-impression.

³ As was usual throughout the whole of the period covered by this volume, this word is represented by a symbol, not by actual letters.—Ōm is not of very frequent occurrence at the commencement of Buddhist inscriptions. But another instance is afforded by line 1 of the Shērgadh (Kōṭā) inscription of the *Sāmanta* Dēvadatta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 45.)

⁴ Read *buddhānām*; unless *budhāna*, as also the following *bhagavatô*, is to be regarded as a Prākṛit form, used through carelessness.—This use of the genitive after *namah* is not usual. But we have other instances; e.g. in the Khandagiri rock inscription, which commences *Namô arahantānam namô sava-siddhānam* (*Corp. Inscr. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 98, and Pl. xvii.);—in the two early inscriptions quoted by Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 273, the first of which, from Amarāvati (Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. xciv. No. 3), commences *Siddham Namô bhagavatô*; and the second, from Mathurā (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20) *Siddham Namô arahatô Mahāvīrasya*;—and in the Amarāvati *Stūpa* inscription, which commences *Siddham Namô bhagavatô savasatutamasa Budhasa* (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. 3, p. 12, No. 12B, and Plate iii.; see also other instances on pp. 8, 18, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54, of the same volume).

⁵ Read *bhagavataḥ*.

Samvat¹ 100 20 9 mahārāja-śrī-Kumārāguptasya rājyē Jyēṣṭha-māsa
di 10 8 sarvva-duḥkha²-prahān(n)-Ārttham [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Om³ Reverence to the Buddhas!⁴ This image of the Divine One, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge, (and) who was never refuted in respect of his tenets, has been installed by the *Bhikṣu* **Buddhamitra**,—(in) the year 100 (and) 20 (and) 9; in the reign of the *Mahārāja*,⁵ the glorious **Kumārāgupta**; (in) the month Jyēṣṭha; (on) the day 10 (and) 8,—with the object of averting all unhappiness.

No. 12; PLATE VIB.

BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Ravenshaw, and to have been first brought to notice by him in 1839, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VIII.* p. 347 ff.; from his remarks it appears that the column was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihār, but had been subsequently removed and set up "in a reversed position, with its base in the air, and its summit in the ground," a little to the west of the same gate, where it was afterwards found, fallen, by General Cunningham.—In 1866, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXV.* pp. 269 ff. and 277 f., Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, with a lithograph, from a baked clay impression made by Major C. Hollings, and sent to the Society in 1861.—And in 1871, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 37 f. and Plate xvii., General Cunningham published his own lithograph of the inscription.

Bihār⁶ is the chief town of the Bihār Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bengal Presidency. The broken red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, was eventually removed by Mr. A. M. Broadley, Magistrate of Bihār, and was set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihār Court-House,⁷ where it still stands. Mr. Broadley perpetuated

¹ See page 30 above, note 3.

² Read *duḥkha*.

³ *Om* is an auspicious exclamation, used at the beginning of books, &c. It is made up of the three letters *a*, *u*, and *m*; and in later times it was looked upon as a mystic name for the Hindu triad, and as representing the union of the three gods, Viṣṇu (*a*), Śiva (*u*), and Brahman (*m*).—The efficacy of the exclamation is detailed in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, ii. 74-85 (Burnell's Translation, p. 25 ff.)

⁴ With this plural, compare the mention of four Buddhas in the Sāñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB.; and also *Bhagavatām samyak sambuddhānām Buddhānām*, "of the divine Buddhas, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge," in line 22 of the Walā grant of Dhruvasēna I. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105).

⁵ See page 46 above, para. 4.

⁶ The 'Behar and Bihar' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 11' N.; Long. 85° 33' E.—The proper form of the name, which is by no means an uncommon one for villages in Northern and Central India, is of course Bihār, with the vowel *i* in the first syllable, from the Sanskrit *viḥāra*, 'a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent;' and this is the form that is used by the people of the Patna District.—The Sanskrit name, *Viḥāra*, occurs in line 9-10 of the 'Pesserawa' inscription, now stored in the collection at Bihār, where the place is called "Viḥāra, the city of the glorious Yaśōvarman" (*Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XVII.* p. 492 ff.)

⁷ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 192 f.

the inverted position of the column, upside down; and also disfigured it with an English inscription, printed in full by General Cunningham, a few letters of which appear in the lithograph now published. Also, the column, as placed by Mr. Broadley, stands now in the middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it; and the last eight lines of the inscription, shewn in Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and General Cunningham's lithographs, are now completely hidden, and rendered quite inaccessible, by a wooden structure placed on the top, *i.e.* the proper bottom, of the pillar, in order to connect it with the roof.

The **writing** originally extended, in the First Part, lines 1 to 13, over four of the faces of the column, as is shewn by the metres of the extant portion; and in the Second Part, line 14 ff., over three faces, as is shewn by the number of letters lost in each line. The extant portion, now lithographed, covers a space of about 1' 4" broad by 3' 5" high, and is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 3 and 11, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 3, 5, and 30.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 10, and the rest in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *ansa*, lines 11 and 13; (2) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *chakkrê*, line 10 (but not in *vikramêna*, line 3), and *pauttrasya*, line 17; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyata*, line 22. ✓

The first part of the **inscription**, which is not dated, mentions the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta**, and seems to have recorded the name of his wife, which is not given in any of the other inscriptions; her name, however, is lost in the part that has peeled off. But this part of the inscription seems to belong, like the second, to the time of his son and successor **Skandagupta**, from the mention of apparently a village named **Skandaguptabata**, in line 11. This part of the inscription records the erection of the column, which in line 10 is called a *yâpa* or 'sacrificial post,' apparently by some minister whose sister had become Kumâragupta's wife. And the inscription further recorded certain shares in the village of Skandaguptabata (?), and in another *agrahâra*, the name of which is lost. From the mention of Skanda, or Kârttikêya, and the divine Mothers, in line 9, this part of the inscription seems to have belonged to the Śaiva form of worship, in its Śākta or Tāntrika development. ✓

The second part, which also contains no date, is a record of **Skandagupta**. Not enough of it remains to shew the form of religion to which it belonged, or to indicate clearly its purport.

✓ ¹ Compare the undoubted instance of this, in the same period, in the Gaṅgadhâr inscription of Visvavarman, No. 17 below.—The *mâtaraḥ* or *mâtrigana*, 'the divine Mothers,' are 'the personified energies (*śakti*) of the principal deities.' They are closely connected with the worship of the god Śiva. Originally they were seven in number,—*Brâhmî* or *Brahmânî*, *Vaiṣṇavî*, *Mâhêśvarî*, *Kaumârî*, *Vârâhî*, *Aindrî* or *Indrânî* or *Mâhêndrî*, and *Châmuṇḍâ*,—as representing the Pleiades, the seven mothers or nurses of Kârttikêya, the son of Śiva. Afterwards the number was increased to eight, nine, sixteen, and various other figures. The chief object of the Śākta or Tāntrika worship now is *Pârvatî*, *Durgâ*, or *Mâhêśvarî*, the wife and female energy of Śiva; especially under the name of *Jagadambâ*, 'the mother of the universe.'—Not long after this period, *Svâmi-Mahâsêna*, or *Kârttikêya*, and the divine Mothers, "the seven mothers of mankind," appear as special objects of worship, and tutelary deities, of the Early Kadambas (*e.g.* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 27), and of the Early Chalukyas (*e.g.* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 162; Vol. VI. p. 74; and Vol. XIII. p. 137 f.)

TEXT.¹

First Part.

- 1 [- -]h³ nri²-chandra Indrānuja-tulya-vīryyō guṇair=a-tulyaḥ
[∪ ∪ - ∪ - -] [II]
- 2 [- -] [ta]sy⁴=āpi sūnur=bhuvī⁵ svāmi-nēyaḥ khyātaḥ sva-
klrttyā [∪ ∪ - ∪ - -] [II]
- 3 [- -] [sva]s⁶=aiva yasy=ātula-vikramēṇa Kumāragup[t]ē[na]
[∪ - ∪ - -] [II]
- 4 [- -] p[i]tri(trī)śś=cha dēvaśś=cha hi havya-kavyaiḥ sadā
nriśamsy-ādi[∪ - ∪ - -] [II]
- 5 [- ∪ -] [a]chikarad⁷=dēvanikēta-maṇḍalaṁ kshitāv=an-aupamya-
[∪ - ∪ - ∪ - -]
- 6 ba(?)tē(?)⁸ kila stambha-var-ōchchhri(chchhra)ya-prabhāśē
tu maṇḍa [II]
- 7 bhir=vriksḥāṇām kusuma-bhar-ānat-āgra-śum(?)ga(?)vyālambda-
stavak
- 8 [- -] Bhadrāryyā⁹ bhāti grihaṁ navābhra-nirmmōka-
nirmu[kta ∪ - ∪ - -] [II]
- 9 [- -] Skanda-pradhānair=bhuvī mātṛibhiś=cha lōkān=sā
su(?)shya(?)[∪ ∪ - ∪ - -] [II]
- 10 [- - ∪] yūp-ōchchhrayam=ēva chakkrē [II*] Bhadrāryy-ādī-
.....
- 11 [Ska(?)Indaguptabātē anśāni 30 5 tā(?)mrakatāku(?)ḥ
kala
- 12 pituḥ sva-mātur=yyady=asti hi dushkṛitaṁ bhajatu
tanē
- 13 k-āgrahārē anśāni 3 Anantasēnēn=ōpa

Second Part.

- 14 [Sarva-rāj-ōchchhē]ttuḥ¹⁰ pri(pri)thivyām=a-pratirathasya
15 [chatur-udadhi-salil-āśvādita-yaśasō Dhanada-Varun-Ē]ndr-Āntaka-
samasya Kṛitānta-

¹ As far as line 25, from the ink-impression; the rest, partly from Gen. Cunningham's lithograph, and partly from the lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading.

² The first two entire *pādas*, and parts of the third *pādas* of most of the verses, have peeled off and are lost all the way down.

³ Metre, Upēndravajrā.

⁴ Metre, Indravajrā.

⁵ The metre is faulty here; since the *vi* of *bhuvī*, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following *sv*.

⁶ Metre, Upēndravajrā; and in the next verse.

⁷ Metre, Varṇāsthā.

⁸ Metre, apparently Gīti; and in the next verse.

⁹ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the following two verses.

¹⁰ The passages that are lost in lines 14 to 22, are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8, above, and from the Bhitārī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., lines 1 to 6. The sectarian epithet of Skandagupta, in line 23, is supplied from line 24, and from his silver coins (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)

- 16 [parāśōḥ nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiranya-kōṭi-pradasya chir-ō]tsann-
āśvamēdh-āharttuḥ
- 17 [mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapauttrasya mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭō]tkacha-
pauttrasya mahārāja-
- 18 [dhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya
ma]hā-dēvyām Kumāradēvyām=utpannasya
- 19 [mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptasya putra]s=tat-paṅgrihito
- 20 [Dattadēvyām=utpannaḥ svayam=a-pratirathaḥ para]mabhāgavatō
mahārāja-
- 21 [dhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyā]tō
mahādēvyām Dhruvadēvyām=
- 22 [utpannaḥ paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptas-
tasya] puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ X
- 23 [paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Ska]ndaguptaḥ-[11*]
- 24
parama-bhāgavatō
- 25 [mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Skandaguptaḥ]
[vai]shayik-Ājapuraka-sā(?)mai(?)-
- 26 grā.... ka..
[ak]shaya-nivī grāma-kshētram
- 27 kri....
uparika-kumārāmātya-
- 28 ṅgikula(?)ḥ(?)
vaṇi[ja*]ka-pādīt-ārika-
- 29 [ā]grahārika-
śaulkika-gaulmik-āsanyām śra(?)-
- 30 vās[i]k-ādin=asmat-prasād-
ōpajivinah
- 31 [samājñāpayāmi] varmmaṇā vijñāpitō-smi mama
pitāmahēna
- 32 namē bhāṭṭa-Guhilasvaminā
Bhadra[r]yyakā
- 33 m. g. p[r]ati..... ā . āgrōkaya....
nākaya-

(The rest of the inscription had been broken away and lost,
before the time when it was discovered.)

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

..... a very moon of a man; equal in prowess to (the god Vishṇu) the younger brother of Indra; unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities;

(Line 2.)— moreover, his son, docile towards (his) master on the earth; renowned; by his own fame.

(L. 3.)— whose sister, indeed, [was espoused] by Kumāragupta, of unequalled prowess.

(L. 4.)—..... both the deceased ancestors and the gods, with the oblations proper for each of them;¹..... always..... things that are injurious to man, &c.

(L. 5.)—..... caused to be made a group of temples, not [rivalled by] anything else that could be compared with it in the world.

(L. 6.)—..... assuredly in which is beautiful with the erection of (*this*) best of columns.

(L. 7.)—..... of the trees the groups of fig-trees and castor-oil plants, the tops of which are bent down by the weight of (*their*) flowers.

(L. 8.)—..... by (*the presence of*) Bhadrāryā, the house shines the sky laden with fresh clouds.

(L. 9.)—..... headed by (the god) Skanda, and by the divine Mothers, on the earth, mankind

(L. 10.)—..... [he] made, indeed, the erection of (*this*) sacrificial post Bhadrāryā and others in (the village (?) called) **Skandaguptabāṭa** (?), 30 (*and*) 5 shares

(L. 12.)—..... if there be any misdeed on the part of (*his*) father (*or*) his mother, let him share

(L. 13.)—..... in the agrahāra of 3 shares by Anantasēna

Second Part.

(L. 14.)—..... The son of the *Mahārājādhirdja*, the glorious **Samudragupta**,—who was the exterminator [of all kings]; who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; [whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans]; who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanada and Varuṇa] and Indra and Antaka; [who was the very axe] of (the god) Kṛitānta; [who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold]; who was the restorer of the *asvamedha*-sacrifice, that had been [long] in abeyance; [who was the son of the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Gupta**]; who was the son's son of [the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious] **Ghaṭōtkacha**; (*and*) who was [the son] of the *Mahārājādhirdja*, [the glorious **Chandragupta** (I.), (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchavi**], begotten on the *Mahādēvi* **Kumārādēvi**.—

(L. 19.)—(*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirdja*, [the glorious **Chandragupta** (II.)],—who was accepted by him;² [who was begotten on] the *Mahādēvi* [**Dattadēvi**]; (*and*) [who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power*).]

(L. 21.)—[His son], who meditated on [his feet], (*and*) [who was begotten] on the *Mahādēvi* **Dhruvadēvi**, (*was*) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One], [the *Mahārājādhirdja*, the glorious **Kumāragupta**].

(L. 22.)—[His] son, who meditated on his feet, (*is*) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirdja*, the glorious] **Skandagupta**.

¹ *i.e.* "with the *havya* (the oblation to the gods) and the *kavya* (the oblation to deceased ancestors)."

² *i.e.* by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.

(L. 24.)—[1], the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the *Mahārājadhīrāja*, the glorious *Skandagupta*, issue a command] of the town of *Ajapura* in the *vishaya* a perpetual endowment a village-field the *Uparika*¹ the *Kumārāmāya* acquired by the merchant in the seat (of office) (?) of the *Āgrahārika*,² the *Saulkika*,³ and the *Gaulmika*⁴ and others who subsist on Our favour;—

(L. 31.)—"I have been requested by *varman*,—'By my father's father, by the *Bhaṭṭa* Guhilasvāmin, belonging to *Bhadrārya*"

No. 13; PLATE VII.

BHITARI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKĀNDAGUPTA.

THE column containing this inscription appears to have been discovered in 1834 by Mr. Tregear; but the inscription itself was not observed till a short time afterwards, when General Cunningham found it, on clearing away the earth from the lower part of the shaft. The discovery was announced in 1836, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. V. p. 661*. And the inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 1 ff., where the Rev. W. H. Mill published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (marked *id.* Vol. V. Plate xxxii.), reduced by Mr. Prinsep from a copy made by General Cunningham.⁵—In 1871, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 98 and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph of the inscription.—In 1875, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 59 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, from a hand-copy made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.⁶—And finally, in 1885, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 349 ff., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has given his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, with another lithograph reduced from his hand-copy.

*Bhitari*⁷ is a village about five miles to the north-east of Sayyidpur,⁸ the chief town of the Sayyidpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghāzipur⁹ District in the North-West Provinces. The red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands just outside the

¹ *Uparika* is a technical official title, the exact purport of which is not known, and a suitable rendering of which cannot be offered at present.

² *Āgrahārika* is a technical official title, denoting probably 'an officer in special charge of an *agrahāra*.'

³ *Saulkika* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by some such term as 'superintendent of tolls or customs (*sulka*).'

⁴ *Gaulmika* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by 'superintendent of woods and forests (*gulma*).'

⁵ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 242 f.

⁶ This paper was not published till 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.

⁷ The 'Bhitari, Bhitree, Bhitri, and Bihari,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 35' N.; Long. 83° 17' E.

⁸ The 'Saidpur and Sydpoor' of maps, &c.

⁹ The 'Ghazeepoor' of maps.

village, on the south side. The inscription is on the eastern face of the square base of the column; and the bottom line is only a few inches above the level of the ground.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2' 4½" high by 2' 2½" broad, has suffered very much from the effects of the weather; also the stone has peeled off in a few places; and there is a crack running vertically down the inscription, near the left side. * With care, however, nearly the whole of the inscription is legible, on the original stone, with certainty; and nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost.—The **size** of the letters varies from ¼" to ⅞". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though more squarely cut, are of the same type with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the middle of line 6, and the rest in verse.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vaṇṣa*, lines 7, 13, and 14; (2) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkramēna* and *kkrāmēna*, line 9; (3) the doubling of *t*, under the same circumstances, in *pautrasya*, line 3 (but not in *prapautrasya*, line 2; *putras*, line 4; and other places); and (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 5.

The **inscription** is one of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta**. It is not dated. It belongs to the Vaishṇava form of religion; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Śāringin or "the wielder of the bow of horn named Śāringa," and the allotment, to the idol, of the village, not mentioned by name, in which the column stands.

TEXT.¹

- 1 [Siddham²] [II*] [Sar]vva-rāj[ō]chchh[ē]ttuh prithivyām=a-pratirathasya chatur-
udadhi-salil-[ā]svādita-yaśasō Dhanada-Varun-Ēndr-[Ā]ntaka-sa[masya]
- 2 Kṛitānta-paraśōḥ nyāy-āgat-[ā]nēka-gō-hiranya-k[ō]ti-pradasya chir-ō[t]sann-
āśvamedh-āharttur-mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapautra[sya]
- 3 mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkracha-pauttrasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-
putrasya Lichchhivi-dauhitrasya mahādēvyām Kum[ā]rad[ē]vyā-
- 4 m-utpannasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptasya putras-tat-parigrihītō
mahādēvyān=Dattadēvyām=utpannaḥ svayam=a-pratirathāḥ
- 5 paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptas-tasya putras-tat-pād-
anuddhyātō mahādēvyām Dhruvadēvyām=utpannaḥ parama-
- 6 bhāgavatō mahārājādhir[ā]ja-śrī-Kumārāguptas-tasya [I*] Prathita³-prithu-
mati-svabhāva-śaktēḥ prithu-yaśasaḥ prithivipatēḥ prithu-śrīḥ
- 7 pi[tri]-pa[r]igata-pādapadma-varṭti prathita-yaśaḥ prithivipatiḥ sūtō-yam [II*]
Jagati⁴ bhu[ja]-bal-ādyō(dhyō) Gupta-vaṇṣ-aika-viraḥ prathita-vipula-
- 8 dhāmā nāmataḥ Skandaguptaḥ sucharita-charitānām yēna vṛttēna vṛttam
na vijaṭam⁵=amal-ātmā tāna-dhīdā(?)-vinitaḥ [II*] Vinaya-
- 9 bala-guntair=vvikkramēna kkrāmēna pratidinam-abhiyōgād=ipsitam yēna
la[b]dhvā svābhīmata-vijigishā-prōdyatānām parēṣāṁ prāpi-
- 10 hita iva lē[bhē] sa[m]vidhān-ōpadēśaḥ [II*] Vichalita-kula-lakshmi-stambhanay-
ōdyatēna kshītitala-śayanīyē yēna nītā triyāmā samu-

¹ From the original column.

² There are some faint marks above the *sarvva*, which seem to be remnants of this word; but it is not quite certain.

³ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.

⁴ Metre, Mālinī; and in the next four verses.

- TRANSLATION.**

(Line 4).—(was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājadhīrāja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**, who was accepted by him,⁴ who was begotten on the *Mahādēvi Dattadēvi*; (and) who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power).

* *i.e.* by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.

(L. 5.)—His son (*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahā-rājadhīrāja*, the glorious **Kumāragupta**, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahādēvī Dhruvadēvī*.

(L. 6.)—The son of him, the king, who was renowned for the innate power of (*his*) 'mighty intellect' (*and*) whose fame was great, (*is*) this (*present*) king, by name **Skandagupta**, who possesses great glory; who subsisted (*like a bee*) on the wide-spreading waterlilies which were the feet of (*his*) father; ¹ whose fame is spread far and wide;—who is amply endowed with strength of arm in the world; who is the most eminent hero in the lineage of the **Guptas**; whose great splendour is spread far and wide; by whom, practising (*good*) behaviour, the conduct of those who perform good actions is not obstructed; who is of spotless soul; (*and*) who is well disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?) :—

(L. 8.)—By whom,—having, with daily intense application, step by step attained his object by means of good behaviour and strength and politic conduct,—instruction in the art of disposition (*of resources*) was acquired, (*and*) was employed as the means of (*subduing his*) enemies who had put themselves forward in the desire for conquest that was so highly welcome (*to them*) :—

(L. 10.)—By whom, when he prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of (*his*) family, a (*whole*) night was spent on a couch that was the bare earth; and then, having conquered the **Pushyamitras**, ¹ who had developed great power and wealth, he placed (*his*) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (*of that tribe himself*) :—

(L. 11.)—The resplendent behaviour of whom, possessed of spotless fame,—inherent, [but increased] by and patience and heroism which are emphatically unequalled, (*and*) which destroy the efficacy of the weapons (*of his enemies*),—is sung in every region by happy men, even down to the children :—

(L. 12.)—Who, when (*his*) father had attained the skies, conquered (*his*) enemies by the strength of (*his*) arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of (*his*) lineage; and then, crying "the victory has been achieved," betook himself to (*his*) mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as *Kṛishṇa*, when he had slain (*his*) enemies, betook himself to (*his mother*) *Dēvaki* :—

(L. 14.)—Who, with his own armies, established (*again*) (*his*) lineage that had been made to totter, (*and*) with his two arms subjugated the earth, (*and*) shewed mercy to the conquered peoples in distress, (*but*) has become neither proud nor arrogant,

¹ This expression is very analogous in its purport to the *tat-pād-anudhyāta* of line 5 above. Compare *Amoghavarashadēva-pādapaṅkaja-bhramara*, "a bee at the waterlilies which are the feet of *Amoghavarashadēva*," in line 17 f. of the Śīrūr inscription of Śāka-Saṃvat 788 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 219.)

² The second syllable of this name, like the rest of the inscription, is damaged. But, as regards the lower component,—comparing it with the subscript *y* of this inscription, e.g. in *pradasya*, line 2, and *dauhitṛasya*, line 3; and contrasting it with the subscript *p*, e.g. in *tat-parigṛīhit*, line 4, and *tat-pādā*, line 5,—it is plainly *y*. This passage, therefore, shews that the correct form of the first part of this name is *pushya*, not *pushpa*; a point which *Dēvanāgarī* manuscripts have not sufficed, and cannot suffice, to settle. And it bears out the *Prākṛit* form, *Pāsamitta*, of the name of the early king *Pushyamitra*, the contemporary of *Paṭaṅjali*, in the passages given by Dr. Bühler from the *Prākṛit Gāthās* according to *Mṛutuṅga*, *Dharmasāgara*, and *Jayavijaya* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 362 f.).—*Pushyamitra* is the correct form according to Prof. Weber also (*Sanskrit Literature*, p. 223, note 237).

though his glory is increasing day by day; (*and*) whom the bards raise to distinction with (*their*) songs and praises :—

(L. 15.)—By whose two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (*of a disturbance like that*) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the *Hūnas*; among enemies' arrows proclaimed just as if it were the roaring of (the river) *Gaṅgā*, making itself noticed in (*their*) ears.

(L. 17.)— the fame of his father
 (*Saying to himself that*) an image of some kind or other [should be made], he, the very celebrated one, made this image of that (*famous*) (god) *Śaṛṅgin*, [to endure as long as the moon and stars may last]. And, having here installed this (*god*),¹ he, whose commands are well-established, has allotted this village (*to the idol*), in order to increase the religious merit of (*his*) father.²

(L. 19.)—Accordingly, this image of the Divine One, and (*this village*) which has been here agreed to,³—both of these, he, the pious-minded one, has assigned for (*the increase of*) the religious merit of (*his*) father.

No. 14; PLATE VIII.

JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA. THE YEARS 136, 137, AND 138.

THE discovery of this inscription appears to have been first announced in 1838, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 347 f.—In 1844, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 148, there was published a lithograph of it, reduced from a copy, made by General Sir George LeGrand Jacob, Mr. N. L. Westergaard, and a Brāhmaṇ assistant, which had been submitted to the Society two years previously.—In 1862, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 121 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from a cloth tracing made in 1861 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī.—And in 1876, Dr. Bhau Daji's text and translation, the latter revised by Professor Eggeling, were reprinted in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 134 ff., accompanied by a slightly reduced reproduction of the original lithograph from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's copy (*id.* Plate xv.)

Junāgaḍh⁴ is the chief town of the Junāgaḍh Native State in the Kāthiāwāḍ⁵ Penin-

¹ Or, perhaps, "having here set up this (pillar)."

² It was through reading *mahēsa-prīta-gupta*, "the Gupta attached to, or beloved of, Śiva," instead of *śnam sa vidadhē pituh*, line 18,—and through failing to see that *pīṭari divam = uplit*, "when (his) father had attained the skies," line 12, refers to the death of Kumāragupta,—that Dr. Mill came to speak of "a young prince, a minor at the date of this inscription," and to suggest that he was probably the Mahēndragupta (*sic*); but in reality Mahēndrāditya, a title of Kumāragupta, whose name occurs on some of the coins of the dynasty. This double mistake in Dr. Mill's genealogy was repeated by Mr. Thomas in his Gupta genealogy (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 19). And Mahēndragupta's name is also given in Mr. Fergusson's last list (*Cave-Temples of Western India*, p. 191).

³ Or perhaps, "and (this column) which stands here"

⁴ The 'Joonaghur, Junagadh, Junagarh, and Junagurh,' of maps, &c. *Indian Atlas*, Sheet No. 13. Lat. 21° 31' N.; Long. 70° 36' E.

⁵ The 'Kathiawar and Kattywar' of maps, &c.

sula in the Bombay Presidency. The city itself, or its ancient representative, is spoken of in this inscription; but its ancient name is not given. The name occurs, however, in line 1 of Rudradāman's inscription,¹ as Girinagara, or 'the city of, or on, the hill.' This name subsequently passed over to the mountain itself, Girnār, which in the inscriptions is called Ūrjayat; and this fact rather tends to indicate that the ancient city stood, not where the modern town stands, but closer up to the mountain, and perhaps on the rising ground at the foot of it. The inscription is on the north-west face of a large granite boulder, containing also fourteen Aśoka edicts and a long inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, now under a shed specially built to protect it, about a mile to the east of the town, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnār.

The writing, which covers a space of about 10' 0" broad by 7' 3" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; and it is only in line 22 ^{ff.} where the rock has actually peeled off, that there are any extensive lacunæ in the inscription. It is, however, not very easy to read; owing partly to the irregular, and occasionally rather shallow, nature of the engraving; partly to the roughness of the rock, and the way in which the natural marks of it mix themselves up a good deal with the letters; and partly to the fact that at several places the engraver, in consequence of unusual irregularities of the surface, passed over considerable portions of the rock and left them blank.²—The size of the letters varies from about $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but the type is a later development of that which was used in the inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman on the same rock;³ it may be called the Saurāshtra or Kāthiāwād alphabet of the fifth century A.D. One of its most marked characteristics is the way in which the subscript *y* is represented by the full form of the letter, not, as in other alphabets, by a curtailment of it; e.g. in *buddhyā*, line 5; *vyasanī*, line 6; and *nydyā*, line 8.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, and a few words in line 23, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 24; (2) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *buddhyā*, line 5; and (3) the indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r*; e.g. the consonant is doubled in *ārtham*, line 1, *ārttir*, line 2, and *darppō*, line 3; but not in *viryō*, line 2, *paryanta*, line 3, *sarvān*, line 5, *ārjavau*, line 7, and *ārjanē-rthasya*, line 8.

The first part of the inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta; and, after an invocation of the god Vishṇu and five verses in praise of the reigning king, it narrates how he appointed a certain Parnadatta to govern his territories in the Surāshtras or the Kāthiāwād country. In his turn, Parnadatta appointed his son, Chakrapālita, to govern the city at which the inscription is. The inscription then proceeds to its real object; *viz.* to record that, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas,"⁴ in the year one hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 455-56).

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128.

² These blank spaces lie especially on each side of the large natural fissure running almost down the centre of the inscription.

³ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, Pl. xiv.

⁴ As is quite clear even in the lithograph with which Bhau Daji worked, the correct reading here (line 15) is *Gupta-prakṛitṣṭhānāṁ vidhāya*; not *Guptasya kālā[d] = gāṇanām vidhāya*, "counting from the era of Gupta," as it was taken to be by Bhau Daji and was afterwards specifically confirmed

at night, on the sixth day of the month Praushthapada (August-September), the lake **Sudaršana** (formed in the valley round the foot of Girnār, by an ancient embankment across the gorge, near where the inscription is) burst in consequence of excessive rain. The date, here, and in the two passages further on, is expressed fully in words, not in numerical symbols. The restoration of the breach, by renewing the embankment, was effected under the orders of **Chakrapālita**, after two months' work, in the year one hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 456-57).

The second part, line 24 to the end, seems to have mentioned **Skandagupta** and **Parnadattā** again, in passages in line 24 that are now illegible. And then, in accordance with the general Vaishṇava tendency indicated by the opening invocation of the whole inscription, it goes on to record that, in the one hundred and thirty-eighth year, in the time or reckoning of the **Guptas** (A.D. 457-58), **Chakrapālita** caused to be built a temple of the god Vishṇu under the name of Chakrabhṛit or the 'bearer of the discus.' After this, the inscription ends with two verses, of which not enough now remains to shew their purport.

TEXT.¹

First Part.

Siddham [II*] Śrīyam²=abhīmata-bhōgyām nāika-kāl-āpanitām tridaśapati-
sukh-ārttham yō Balēr=ājahāra | kamala-nilayanāyāḥ śāśvatam dhāma
Lakshmyāḥ

by Thomas (*Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 538*).—In the present series of inscriptions, this passage, and the genitive plural *Guptānām*, governed apparently by *kāla*, in line 27 below, are the only ones that tend in any way to connect the name of the Guptas with the era used by them. But not either of them suffices to shew that the era was established by the Guptas themselves or even that it had, at this time, received the accepted name of "the Gupta era." And, what the wording of the first of them really shews, is simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was not the one in customary use in that part of the country.—The only other passage of a similar tendency is the date in line 16 f. of the Mōrbi copper-plate grant of Jāihka, as it has always been accepted up to now in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's reading and translation,—*Panch-dittiyā guḍa-titt samānām śata-paṁchakṣṇī* | *Gauṇī daddu=adō nripaḥ ś-śpardg=rkha-maṁdālī* II;—"five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed, the king granted this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed" (*Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 258*).—But this rendering takes no notice of the fact that the real reading, in line 17, is not *gauṇī* at all, but *gōṇī*. It is only by the correction of *o* into *au* that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage. But we may with just as much reason correct *gōṇī* into *gōṇtrē*, 'to the protector, i.e. the local governor' (compare this word in line 6. of the present inscription); and this is even more sustainable; for the word is entirely separated from the date in the preceding half of the verse, and it stands immediately before the word *daddu*, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative (or some other) case. Or, again, without any correction at all, we may translate "the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) Gōṇṭa;" and thus obtain a village-name that may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form of the modern Gōp, which occurs, for instance, in Kāthiawād, about seventy-five miles south-west of Mōrbi, twenty-five miles south of Nawānagar or Jāmnagar, and fifty miles east of Bhāilki, where was found the copper-plate grant (genuine or spurious, as may be settled hereafter) of a king, dated Vikrama-Samvat 794 (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 151 ff.*).—I must not be understood as saying in this note, that the Mōrbi date is recorded in the era that had been used by the Guptas; it is only to shew that there is nothing in the passage containing the date, that connects it with the name of the Guptas with it. The difficulty in disposing finally of the whole Mōrbi inscription, is, that the first plate was lost sight of before it was procured for examination at all; and now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid and is not forthcoming.

¹ From the original stone.

² Metre, Mālinī; and in the next two verses.

- 2 sa jayati vijit-ārttir-Vvishṇur=atyanta-jishṇuḥ || Tad-anu jayati śaśvat sri-
parikshipta-vakshāḥ sva-bhuja-janita-viryō rājarājādhirājāḥ | narapati-
- 3 bhuja-gaṇām māna-darpp-ōtphaṇānām pratikṛiti-Garuḍ-ājñā[m] nirrvishī[m]
ch-āvakartā || Nripati-guṇa-nikētaḥ Skandaguptaḥ prithu-srīḥ chatur-
udādhi-ja(?)l(?)-antām sphīta-paryanta-dēsām |
- 4 avanim=avanat-ārir-yah chakār=ātma-samsthām pitari sura-sakhitvam
prāptavaty-ātma-śaktyā || Āpi¹ cha jitam=[ē]va tēna prathayaṃti
yaśāmsi yasya ripavō=pi āmūla-bhagna-darpa niva²
Mlēchchha-dēsēshu ||
- 5 Kramēṇa buddhyā nipuṇam pradhārya dhyātvā cha kṛtsnān=guṇa-dōsha-
hētūn | vyapētya sarvān=manujendra-putrām=llakshmiḥ svāyam yaṃ
varayām-chakāra || Tasmin=nripē śāsati n=aiṇa kaśchid=dharmmad-
apētō manujah prajāsu |
- 6 arttō dariḥ vyasanī kadaryō dand[yō*] na vā yō bhṛīṣa-pīditah syāt ||
Evaṃ sa jivā prithivīm samagrām bhagn-āgra-darpa[n] dvishataś=cha
kṛtvā | sarvvēshu dēsēshu vidhāya gōptri(ptri)n samchintayā[m-ā]sa
bahu-prakāram || Syāt=kō=nurūpō S.
- 7 matimān=vini(nī)tō mēdhā-smṛitibhyām=anapēta-bhāvah | saty-ārjav-audārya-
nay-ōpapannō mādhurya-dākshīnya-yaśō-nvitaś=cha || Bhaktō=nuraktō nri-
[i]ś[ē]sha-yuktaḥ sarvv-ōpadhābhiś=cha viśuddha-buddhiḥ | ānṛīnya-
bhāv-ōpagat-āntarātmah³ sarvvasya lōkasya hitē pravṛittah ||
- 8 Nyāy-ārjanē=rthasya cha kaḥ samarthah syād=arjitasy=āpy=atha rakshaṇē
cha | gōpāyitasy=āpi [cha] vṛiddhi-hētau vṛiddhasya pātra-pratipādanāya ||
Sarvvēshu bhṛtyēshv=api samhatēshu yō mē praśishyaṇ⁴=nikhilān=
Surāshṭrān am jñātam=ēkaḥ khalu Parnadattō bhārasya tasy=
ōdvāhanē samarthah ||
- Evaṃ viniśchitya nrip-ādhipēna naikān=ahō-rātra-gaṇān=sva-matyā | yah
samniyuktō=rthanāya kāthamchit samyak-Surāshṭr-āvani-pālanāya ||
Niyujya⁵ dēva Varuṇam pratichyam svasthā yathā n=ōnmanasō(
babbhūvu[h] [i] pūrvvētarasyām diśi Parnadattam niyujya rājā
dhṛitimāms=tath=ābhūt ||(II))
- Sy-ātmajō hy-ātma-ja-bhāva-yuktō dvidh=ēva ch=ātma=ātma-vaśēna nītaḥ |
sarvvātman-ātma=ēva cha rakshantyo nity-ātmavān=ātma-ja-kānta-
rūpaḥ ||(II) Rāp-ānurūpair-lalitair-vichitraiḥ nitya-pramōd-ānvita-sarva-
bhāvah | prabuddha-padmākara-padmavaktro nṛpām saranyah śaraṇ-
āgatānām ||(II))
- Aṇavad⁶=bhūvi Chakrapālītō=sāv=iti nāmnā prathitah priyō janasya |
sva-guṇair=an-upaskritair=udāt[ai]ḥ pitaram yaś=cha viśēshayām-chakāra ||(II)
Kshamā⁷ prabhutvam vinayō nayaś=cha śauryam vinā śaurya-
mah-[ā?]rchchanam cha | vā(?)kya(?)m damō dānam=adinatā cha

tre, Arya

² ? nirvachand.

tre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

tre, Indravajrā; and in the next six verses.

³ Read ātmā.

tre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā; and in the next two verses.

tre, Vaitālīya-Aupachchandasika.

tre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā; and in the next three verses.

- dākshinyam=ānṛinyam-as[ū]nyatā cha I(II) Saumdaryam=āryētara-nigrahaś=cha a-vismayō dhairyam=udīrnatā cha I
- 12 ity=ēvam=ētē=tiśayēna yasminn=a-vipravāsēna guṇā vasanti I(II) Na vidyatē=sau sakalē=pi lōkē yatr=ōpamā tasya guṇaiḥ kriyētā I sa ēva kārtśnyēna guṇ-ānvitānām babbhūva nri(nri)nām-upamāna-bhūtāḥ I(II) Ity=ēvam=ētān=adhikān=atō=nyān=guṇān=par[i]kshya svayam=ēva pitrā I yah samniyuktō nagarasya rakshām viśishya pūrvān=prachakāra samyak I(II)
- 13 Āśritya¹ vi(vi)ryam, su(?)-bhu(?)ja(?)-dvayasya svasy-aiva n=ānyasya narasya darpaṁ I n=ōdvējayām-āsa cha karmchid=ēvam=asmin=purē ch=aiva śaśāsa dushtāḥ(n) I(II) Visrambham=alpē na śaśāma yō=smin kalē na lōkēshu sa-nāgarēshu I yō lālayām-āsa cha paura-vargān [— — —]putrān=su-parīkshya dōshān I(II) Sartramjayām cha prakṛitr=babbhūva pūrvasmitābhāṣaṇa-māna-dānaiḥ I
- 14 niryantṛaṇ-ānyōnya-griha-pravēśai[h*] samvarddhita-priti-grih-ōpachārāiḥ I(II) Brahmanya-bhāvēna parēṇa yuktaḥ śaklāḥ śuchir=dāna-parō yathāvat I prāpyān=sa kalē viśhayān=sishēvē dharm-arthayōś=ch-ā[py=a*]-virōdhanēna I(II) Yō [— — — —] Parṇadattāt=sa nyāyavān=atra kim=asti chitram I muktākalāp-āmbuja-padma-śītāch=chandrāt=kim=ushṇam bhavitā kadāchit I(II)
- 15 Athā² kramēṇ=āmbuda-kālā āgat[ē] n[i]dāgha-kālam pravidārya tōyadaiḥ I vavarsha tōyam bahu samtataṁ chiram Sudarśanam yēna bibhēda ch=ātvarāt I(II) Samvatsarānām³=adhikē śatē tu trimsadbhir=anyair=api shadbhir=ēva I rātrau dinē Praushtāpadasya shashthē Gupta-prakalē gaṇanām vidhāya⁴ I(II)
- 16 Imās⁵=cha yā Raivatakād=vinirgatā[h*] Palāśin-tyam sikatā-vilāsini¹ samudra-kāntāḥ chira-bandhan-ōshitāḥ punaḥ patim śāstra-yathōchitam² yayuḥ I(II) Avēkshya varsh-āgama-jam mah-ōdbhramam mah-ōdadhēr-Ūrjayatā priy-ēpsunā I anēka-tirāntaja-pushpa-śōbbhitō
- 17 nadīmāyō hasta iva prasāritāḥ I(II) Viśhādyā[mānāḥ] khalu sarvatō ja[nāḥ] katham-katham kāryam=iti pravādināḥ I mithō hi pūrv-āpara-rātram=utthitā vichintayām ch=āpi babbhūvur=utsukāḥ I(II) Ap-iha lōkē sakalē Sudarśanam pumām(n) hi durdarśanatām gataṁ kṣaṇāt I
- 18 bhavēn=nu s-āmbhō nidhi-tulya-darśanam su-darśanam [— — — — —] I(II) [— — — — —]vanē sa bhūtvā pituḥ parām bhaktim=api pradarsya I dharmam purō-dhāya śubh-ānubandham rājñō hit-artham nagarasya ch=aiva I(II) Samvatsarānām=adhikē śatē tu
- 19 trimsadbhir=anyair=api saptabhiś=cha I pra [— — — — —]śāstra-chēttā vi(?)śvō(?)=py=anu jñāta-mahā-prabhāvaḥ I(II) Ājya-praṇāmāiḥ vibudhān-ath=ēshṭvā ghanair=dvijātīn=api tarpayitvā I paurām=tath-ābhychya yathārha-mānaiḥ bhṛityāmś=cha pūjyān=suhṛidaś=cha dāyam I(II)

¹ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the next four verses.² Metre, Vamśastha.³ Metre, Indravajrā.⁴ As regards the reading here, see page 57 above, note 4.⁵ Metre, Vamśastha; and in the next three verses.⁶ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā; and in the next five verses.

Graishmasya māsasya tu pūrva-pa[ksh] — — — — — pra]thamē-hni
samyak I māsa-dvayēn-ādaravān-sa — — — — — thanasya kritvā
vyayam-a-pramēyam I(II) Āyamatō nusta-satam samagram vistārataḥ
shashṭir-ath-āpi ch-āshṭāu I

utsédhatō-nyat purushāpi sa(?)pta(?) [— — — — — ha]sta-śata-dvayasya I(II)
Babandha yatnān-mahatā nridēvān=[abhyarchya(?)] śamyag-ghaṭit-
ōpalēna I a-jāti-dushtam=prathitam tatākam **Sudarśanam**
śāsvata-kalpa-kālam I(II)

Api¹ cha sudriḍha-sētu-prānta(?)—vinyasta-śōbha-rathacharapa-samāhva-kraumcha-
hams-āsa-dhūtām I vimala-salila[— — — — —] bhuvi ta-
[— — — — —]da[— a]rkaḥ śaśi cha I(II)

Nagaram-api cha bhūyād-vṛddhimat=paura-jushtam dvija-bahu-śata-gīta-
brahma-nirnashta-pāpam I śatam-api cha samānam=iti-durbhiksha[— —
 — — — — —] [II] [Iti **Suda]rśana-tatāka-**
samskāra-gaṇtha-rachana [sa]māpta II

Second Part.

ṛipt²-āri-darpa-praṇudāḥ prithu-śriyaḥ sva-vaṇśa-kētōḥ sakal-āvanī-patēḥ I
rājādhirājy-ādabhuta-punya-[karmanah] [— — — — —] [II]
[— — — — —] [I] dvipasya
gōptā mahatām cha nētā daṇḍa-dvi(?)[—]nām

viśhatām damāya I(II) Tasy-ātma-jēn=ātma-guṇ-ānvitēna Gōvinda-pād-ārpita-
jivitēna I [— — — — —] [II]
[— — — — —]gdham Viśṇōś=cha pāda-kamalē
samavāpya tatra I artha-vyayēna

mahatā mahatā cha kālēn-ātma-prabhāva-nata-paurajanēna tēna I(II)
Chakram bibharti ripu[— — — — —] [I] [— — — — —] tasya sva-tamtra-vidhi-
kāraṇa-mānushashya I(II)

27 Kāritam³-avakra-matinā Chakrabhritāḥ **Chakrapālītēna** griham I varsha-
śatē=shṭā-trimśē Guptānām kālā⁴ [II] [— — — — —]
[— — — — —]
a]rtham=utthitam=iv-**Ōrjayatō**-chalasya

28⁵ kurvat-prabhutvam=iva bhāti purasya mūrdhni II Anyach=cha mūrdhni
su [— — — — —] [— — — — —]
[— — — — —]

29 ruddha-vihamga-mārgam vibhrājatē [— — — — —] [II]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

Peri¹ has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Viṣṇu,—the perpetual
(goddess) Lakshmi, whose dwelling is the waterlily; the conqueror of distress;

Mālinī; and in the next verse.

Varhaṣṭha.—The metre is faulty in the first *akshara* of the first and third *pādas*, which
short, not long.

Indravajrā; and in the next verse. ⁴ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

Āryā; or of this class.

⁵ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the following verse.

the completely victorious one,—who, for the sake of the happiness of (Indra) the lord of the gods, seized back from (the demon) Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour, who is admitted to be worthy of enjoyment, (and) who had been kept away from him for a very long time!¹

(Line 2.)—And next, victorious for ever is the supreme king of kings over kings, whose breast is embraced by the goddess of wealth and splendour; who has developed heroism by (the strength of his) arms; and who plucked (and utilised) the authority of (his local) representatives, who were so many Garuḍas, (and used it as) an antidote against the (hostile) kings, who were so many serpents, lifting up their hoods in pride and arrogance;—Skandagupta, of great glory, the abode of kingly qualities, who, when (his) father by his own power had attained the position of being a friend of the gods,² bowed down his enemies, and made subject to himself the (whole) earth, bounded by the waters of the four oceans, (and) full of thriving countries round the borders of it;—whose fame, moreover, even (his) enemies, in the countries of the Mlêchchhas having (their) pride broken down to the very root, announce with the words—"verily the victory has been achieved by him;"—(and) whom the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected as her husband, having in succession (and) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues and faults, (and) having discarded all (the other) sons of kings (as not coming up to her standard.)

(L. 5.)—While he, the king, is reigning, verily no man among his subjects falls away from religion; (and) there is no one who is distressed, (or) in poverty, (or) in misery, (or) avaricious, or who, worthy of punishment, is over-much put to torture.

(L. 6.)—Thus having conquered the whole earth, (and) having destroyed the height of the pride of (his) enemies, (and) having appointed protectors in all the countries, he cogitated in many ways,—“Among all my servants put together, who is there, who is suitable; endowed with intellect; modest; possessed of a disposition that is not destitute of wisdom and memory; endowed with truth, straightforwardness, nobility, and prudent behaviour; and possessed of sweetness, civility, and fame;—loyal; affectionate; endowed with many characteristics; and possessed of a mind that (has been tried and) is (found to be) pure by all the tests of honesty; possessed of an inner soul pervaded by (the inclination for) the acquittance of debts and obligations; occupied with the welfare of mankind;—capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in the preservation of it, when acquired, and further in causing the increase of it, when protected, (and able) to dispense it on worthy objects, when it has been increased,—shall govern all my (countries of the) Surâshtras? I have it; (there is) just one man, Parnada, competent to bear this burden.”

¹ The legend is that the demon Bali, or Mahâbali, by his austerities acquired the dominion over the three worlds, and caused annoyance and anxiety to the gods. Vishṇu then became incarnate as dwarf, appeared before Bali, and asked for as much land as he could cover with three strides. Bali assented to his request, and Vishṇu with two strides recovered the heavens and the earth, but in commiseration for Bali, who then humbled himself, left him the dominion over the lower region below the earth.

² Garuḍa, the servant and vehicle of Vishṇu, half man and half bird, was the special enemy and destroyer of the serpent-race.—There is possibly a secondary allusion to Skandagupta having overthrown some kings of the well-known Nāga or serpent-lineage.

³ i.e. “had died.”

(L. 9.)—(And it was this same *Parnadatta*) who, with pressing (and) with difficulty, was appointed by the lord of kings, who had thus deliberated in his mind for many days and nights, to protect in a proper manner the land of the *Surāshtras*. (And) just as the gods became comfortable, (and) not disturbed in mind, when they had appointed *Varuṇa* to the western point of the compass, so the king was easy at heart, when he had appointed *Parnadatta* over the region of the west.

(L. 10.)—His son,—possessed of a filial disposition; his own self, as it were, reduplicated; well trained by self-control; worthy to be protected, as if it were his own self, by the all-pervading spirit; always self-possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form; having a disposition the whole of which was always pervaded with joy through a variety of charming actions that were in accordance with (*his*) beauty; having a waterlily of a face that resembled a bed of waterlilies in full bloom; the refuge of men who came to him for protection,—was this same one who is renowned on the earth under the name of *Chakrapālita*; who is beloved of the people; and who confers distinction upon (*his*) father by his own noble qualities which are everything except unpolished:—

(L. 11.)—In whom all these qualities dwell to a marked degree, (and) without ever wandering away (*from him*),—*vis.* patience; lordship; modesty; and good behaviour; and heroism without (*too*) great an estimation of prowess; eloquence (?); self-control; liberality; and high-spiritedness; civility; the acquittance of debts and obligations; and freedom from empty-headedness; beauty; and reprobation of things that are not right; absence of astonishment; firmness; and generosity. Even in the whole world there is no one to be found, in whom a comparison with his virtues may be made; verily he has become, in all entirety, the standard of comparison for men who are endowed with virtuous qualities.

(L. 12.)—(And it was *he*) who was appointed by (*his*) father, after testing in person (*the existence in him of*) these same qualities mentioned above, and higher ones even than them; and who then accomplished the protection of (*this*) city in a way that quite distinguished him above his predecessors. Relying upon the process of his own two excellent arms (?), not on the pride of any other man, he subjected no one in this city to any anxiety; and he punished wicked people. Even in this time which is a mean one, he failed not to maintain confidence in the people, together with the inhabitants of the city; and, by carefully inquiring into faults, he has charmed all the citizens, together with and children. And he has made (*his*) subjects happy by conversations addressed with smiles, and marks of honour, and presents; by free and reciprocal entering into (*each other's*) houses; (and) by carefully nourishing the family ceremonies of affection. Endowed with the highest piety, affable, pure, (and) in a suitable manner devoted to charity, he has, even without any conflict between religion and wealth, applied himself to such pleasures as may be attained at the proper time. What wonder is there in the fact that he, [born] from *Parnadatta*, is possessed of such proper behaviour?; can heat ever be produced from the moon, which is cold like a string of pearls or like a waterlily?

(L. 15.)—Then, in due course of time, there came the season of clouds, bursting asunder with (*its*) clouds the season of heat, when much water rained down unceasingly for a long time; by reason of which (the lake) *Sudarśana* suddenly burst,—making the calculation in the reckoning of the *Guptas*,¹ in a century of years, increased by thirty and

¹ See page 57 above, note 4.

also six more, at night, on the sixth day of (the month) Praushthapada. And these (*other rivers*) which take their source from (the mountain) **Raivataka**,¹ (*and also*) this **Palāśini**, beautiful with (*its*) sandy stretches,—(*all of them*) the mistresses of the ocean,—having dwelt so long in captivity, went again, in due accordance with the scriptures, to their lord (*the sea*). (*And*) having noticed the great bewilderment, caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) **Ūrjayat**, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (**Palāśini**), decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (*its*) banks.

(L. 17.)—[Then on *all* sides] the people fell into despair, discussing how they should act; and, spending the whole night awake in vain, in great anxiety they reflected,—“Here in a moment, (the lake) **Sudarśana** has (*by the overflowing of its waters*) assumed an unpleasing appearance² towards all the people, (*as if it were*) a man (?); having the appearance of the ocean, quite full of water, can it ever (*again*) become pleasing of aspect,?”

(L. 18.)—..... he³ having become and displaying the height of devotion towards his father, (*and*) holding in full view, for the welfare of the king and of the city also, religion, which has such auspicious results,—in a century of years, increased by thirty and seven others also, attentive to the sacred writings whose majesty is well known. Then, having sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisances; and having gratified the twice-born with (*presents of*) riches; and having paid respect to the citizens with such honours as they deserved, and to such of (*his*) servants as were worthy of notice, and to (*his*) friends with presents,—in the first fortnight of the month..... belonging to the hot season,⁴ on the first day, he, having practised (*all the above*) respectful observances for two months, made an immeasurable expenditure of wealth, and, [built an embankment] a hundred cubits in all in length, and sixty and eight in breadth, and seven (?) men's height in elevation, of two hundred cubits. (*Thus*), having done honour to the kings, he laboriously built up, with a great masonry work, properly constructed, the lake **Sudarśana**, which is renowned as not being evil by nature, so that it should last for all eternity,—agitated by the defiance of the ruddy-geese which display (*their*) beauty along the edges of the firmly-built embankment, and by the settling down (*in its waters*) of the herons and the swans pure waters; on the earth the sun and the moon.

(L. 23.)—And may the city become prosperous; full of inhabitants; cleansed from sin by prayers sung by many hundreds of Brāhman; [and free from] drought and famine for a hundred years..... [Thus] ends the composition of the description of the restoration of (the lake) **Sudarśana**.

Second Part.

(L. 24.)—..... of him (**Skandagupta**), who destroyed the pride of (*his*) haughty enemies; who is of great glory; who is the banner of his lineage; who is the lord

¹ Raivataka is the hill opposite to Ūrjayat or Gīrnār.

² There is a play on the words *su-darśana*—‘having a good appearance,’ and *dur-darśana*, ‘having a bad appearance.’

³ i.e. Chakrapālita.

⁴ Grīshma, the hot season, consists of the two months Jyēṣṭha (May-June) and Āṣāḍha (June-July). The name of one or the other of them is now illegible in this line.

of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings;

(L. 24.)— (**Parnadatta**), the protector of the island, and the leader of great of armies for the subjugation of (*his*) enemies.

(L. 25.)—By his son, who is endowed with his own good qualities, (*and*) whose life is devoted to (*the worship of*) the feet of (the god) Gōvinda,; —by him, who causes the citizens to bow down by his own prowess, having there attained and the feet, which are like waterlilies, of (the god) Vishṇu, with a great expenditure of wealth and time [there was built a temple] of that famous (god Vishṇu) who carries the discus, enemies, (*and*) who became (*incarnate and*) human by the exercise of his own free will. (*Thus*) by **Chakrapālita**, who is of a straightforward mind, there has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhrit, in a century of years, together with the thirty-eighth (*year*), the time of the **Guptas**.¹

(L. 27.)—..... uprisen, as it were, of the mountain **Ūrjayat**, shines as if displaying (*its*) lordship on the forehead of the city.

(L. 28.)—And another on the forehead obstructing the path of the birds, is resplendent

No. 15; PLATE IXA.

KAHAUM STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 141.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton),—whose Survey of the Provinces, subject to the Presidency of Bengal, was commenced in 1807 and was continued during seven years, and whose manuscript results were transmitted in 1816 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company,—and to have been first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled *Eastern India*, in which the inscription is noticed in Vol. II. p. 366 f., with a reduced lithograph (*id.* Plate v. No. 2).—In the same year, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 37 f., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,² accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate i.) reduced from a copy made by Mr. D. Liston.—In 1860, in the *Four. Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 530, Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his reading of the first verse of the inscription, and a translation, which was subsequently revised and reprinted in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 3, note.—In 1871, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 93 f. and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph, reduced from his own ink-impression.—And finally, in 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 125 f., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from an impression made by him when he visited Kahaum in 1873.

¹ See page 57 above, note 4.

² The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 250.

Kahâum or **Kahâwar**,¹ the ancient **Kakubha** or **Kakubhagrâma** of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhau,² the chief town of the Salampur-Majhau Pargana in the Deôriya or Dewariya³ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Gôrakhpur District in the North-West Provinces. The grey-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands a short distance on the north of the village.⁴

Of the sculptures on the column, the most important are five standing naked figures, —one in a niche on the western face of the square base; and one in a niche on each side of the square block immediately below the circular stone with an iron spike in it, which, the original pinnacle having been lost, now forms the top of the column. As appears to have been first fully recognised by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, these are distinctly Jain images. He suggested that they represent the five favourite *Tirthamkaras*, —Âdinâtha, Śantinâtha, Nêminâtha, Pârśva, and Mahâvira. And they are in all probability the five images of *Âdikartris*, or Jain *Tirthamkaras*, referred to in the inscription itself.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 2½" broad by 1' 8" high, is on the three northern faces of the octagonal portion of the column; and the bottom line appears to be about 7' 6" above the level of the ground. It is evidently in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ⅝" to ⅞". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 2, and *ttrinsat*, line 4; and (2) the usual doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *chakkrê*, line 9 (but not in *śakrô*, line 3), and *puttrô*, line 6.—My lithograph has been prepared from a lithograph of the same kind, handed to me by Dr. Burgess, from which was prepared the opposite lithograph, with the letters in black on a white ground, published with Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's paper. One or two letters, imperfect in that lithograph, have been cleared out on the authority of General Cunningham's ink-impressions, which, though not adapted for complete reproduction, sufficed for this purpose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-one (A.D. 460-61); and in the month Jyêsthâ (May-June); but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. As is shewn by the images in the niches of the column, as well as by the tenour of the record itself, this is distinctly a Jain inscription. And the object of it is, to record that a certain Madra set up five stone images of *Âdikartris* or *Tirthamkaras*,—i.e. apparently the five images in the niches of the column,—and the column itself, at the village of **Kakubha** or **Kakubhagrâma**, i.e. **Kahâum**.

¹ The 'Kahaon, Kahong, Kangho, and Kuhaon,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 26° 16' N.; Long. 83° 55' E.

² The 'Sullempoor-Mujhowlee' of maps.

³ The 'Deorya' of maps.

⁴ For a full description, with drawings, of the column and other remains at Kahâum, see *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 91 ff. and Plate xxix., and *id.* Vol. XVI. p. 129 f. and Plate xxix.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Siddham² [11*] Yasy³-ôpasthâna - bhûmir-nripati - sata - sirah⁴ - pâta - vât - âvadhûta
 2 Guptânârah⁵ vanśa-jasya pravisrita - yaśasas=tasya sarvv - ôttam - arddhêh
 3 rājyē Śakr-ôpamasya kshitipa-sata-patêh⁶ Skandaguptasya śântē
 4 varshē⁷ ttrinsad-das-aik-ôttaraka-satatamē Jyēshthā - māsi prapannē 1(11)
 5 Khyâtē=smin=grāma-ratnē Kakubha⁸ iti janais-sādhu-samsarga-pûtē⁹
 6 puttrō yas=Sômilasya prachura-guṇa-nidhēr=Bhāṭṭisômō mahāt[m]ā
 7 tat-sûnū Rudrasōma[h*] prithula-mati-yaśā Vyāghra¹⁰ ity=anya-samjñō¹¹
 8 Madras=tasy=âtma-jō=bhûd=dvija-guru-yatishu prāyaśah¹² prîtīmān-yah 1(11)
 9 Punya-skandham sa chakkrē jagad=idam=akhilam samsarad=vikshya bhîtō
 10 śrēyō-rtham¹³ bhûta-bhûtyai pathi niyamavatām-arhatām-âdikarttrīn
 11 pañch-êndrām(n) sthāpayitvā dharanidharamayān=sannikhâtas=tatō=yam
 12 śaila-stambhah su-chârur-giri-vara-sikhar-âgr-ôpamah kirtti-karttā [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! In the tranquil⁷ reign of **Skandagupta**, whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (in the act of performing obeisance) of the heads of a hundred kings; who is born in the lineage of the Guptas; whose fame is spread far and wide; who excels all others in prosperity; who resembles (the god) Śakra; (and) who is the lord of a hundred kings;—in the one hundredth year, increased by thirty and ten and one; the month Jyēshthā having arrived;—

(Line 5.)—In this jewel of a village, which is known by people under the name of **Kakubha**, (and) which is pure from association with holy men,⁸—(there was) the high-minded Bhāṭṭisōma, who (was) the son of Sômila, that receptacle of many good qualities. His son (was) Rudrasōma, of great intellect and fame, who had the other appellation of Vyāghra.⁹ His son was **Madra**, who (was) especially full of affection for Brāhmins and religious preceptors and ascetics.

¹ From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression, together with the lithograph from which my lithograph is reduced.

² In the original, this word is in the margin; the *si* opposite the commencement of line 2, and the *ddham* opposite, and partly above, the commencement of line 3.

³ Metre, Sragdharā, throughout.

⁴ The mark in the original after this *visarga* would seem to be an accidental slip of the engraver's tool, rather than intended for a mark of punctuation, which is not required here.

⁵ and ⁶. In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ *śāntā*. — It is unnecessary to explain in detail the interpretation of this word. The difficulty is,—not the correct rendering of it, which is perfectly obvious,—but to comprehend how it ever came to be read *śāntā*, and to be interpreted by "of the repose, i.e. death," i.e. "after the decease (of Skandagupta);" or, being read *śāntā* correctly, to comprehend how it ever came to be interpreted as meaning "(the empire of Skandagupta) being quiescent," or "(the empire of Skandagupta) being extinct (for the hundred and forty-first year)."—The correct interpretation appears to have been first pointed out by Bhau Daji; "in the year one hundred and forty-one, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta" (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 246.*)

⁸ The proper context is—" (there was) Madra;" who is mentioned in line 8. The intervening genealogical matter is by way of a parenthesis.

⁹ For some similar instances of second names, see page 27 above, note 4.

(L. 9.)—He, being alarmed when he observed the whole of this world (*to be ever*) passing through a succession of changes, acquired for himself a large mass of religious merit. (*And by him*),—having set up, for the sake of final beatitude (*and*) for the welfare of (*all*) existing beings, five excellent¹ (*images*), made of stone,² (*of*) those who led the way³ in the path of the *Arhats* who practise religious observances,—there was then planted in the ground this most beautiful pillar of stone, which resembles the tip of the summit of the best of mountains, (*and*) which confers fame (*upon him*).

No. 16; PLATE IX B.

INDOR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 148. (445-6 A.D.)

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, First Assistant to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India; and was first brought to notice, in the same year, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 363 ff., where a lithograph of it was published, prepared by General Cunningham (*id.* Plate xix.), accompanied by a version of the text, and a translation of it, by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra.

The inscription is on a copper-plate which was found in a small stream at Indor, the ancient Indrapura and Indrapura of the inscription, a large and lofty mound about five miles to the north-west of Dibhāi,⁴ the chief town of the Dibhāi Pargana in the Anupshahar⁵ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bulandshahar District in the North-West Provinces. Until recent years, Indor was a small inhabited village; but it is now only a *khadd*, or deserted mound, and is not shewn in maps. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plate is a single one, inscribed on one side only, measuring about 8½" by 5½" at the ends and 5½" in the middle. The edges of it are here and there slightly thicker than the surface of the plate, with small depressions inside them at the same places; but there does not seem to have been any intention of purposely fashioning the edges thicker all round, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing.⁶ The surface of the plate is in some places

¹ *indrān*.—Bhagwanlal Indrajī, in his published version, first pointed out the kind of meaning to be given to this word here.

² *lit.* 'made of (the substance of) mountains.'

³ *ādīkārtrīn*; *lit.* 'originators'.—Bhagwanlal Indrajī first pointed out the correct meaning of this word, as referring here to five of the *Tīrthamkaras* or sanctified teachers of the Jains.

⁴ The 'Dabhai, Dhubhai, Dibai, and Dubhaee,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 67. Lat. 28° 12' N.; Long. 78° 18' E.—The position of Indor, with reference to Dibhāi, is shewn in the sketch map given in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XII. Plate i.

⁵ The 'Anoopshuhur and Anupshahr' of maps, &c.

⁶ Dr. Burnell allotted the earliest instances of arranging for the preservation of the writing on copper-plates, by beating up the margins round the plates and then flattening the edges, to the ninth or tenth century A.D. (*South-Indian Palæography*, p. 92). But there are plenty of earlier instances, in the south, as well as in the north of India. These raised rims were obtained, at first, by thickening the plates at the edges, in the process of fashioning them. Afterwards, it became customary to beat the plates out quite smooth, and then to turn them up at the edges and fuse them together at the corners; and some of the Eastern Chalukya plates, made in this way, have raised rims a good quarter of an inch high.

a good deal corroded by rust; the inscription, however, with care, is legible with certainty throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters, being rather deeply engraved, shew through distinctly on a great part of the back of it. The engraving is clean and well executed; the majority of the letters, however, shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is no hole in the plate for a ring with a seal on it; nor are there any indications of a seal having been soldered on to it, as,—from the instance of the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; illustrated also, in the present series by the Aśirgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA., and the Sōnpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxiiB.; and, elsewhere, by the Dighwā-Dubault grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla¹ and the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahārāja* Vināyakapāla,²—seems to have been the early custom in the north of India.—The weight of the plate is 1 lb. 2 oz.—The average size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and in essential details are of the same type with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA. The initial *i* has an entirely different form from that of the other northern type; contrast it in *indrapura* and *iḍ*, line 8, with *iva* in Plate i. page 9 above, line 30, and *iti* in Plate ixA. page 67, line 7. In line 10, we have a form of the numerical symbol for 2.—The language is Sanskrit; and all the formal part of the inscription, from *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, line 3, to *samakāḷīyam*, line 10, is in prose. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice the affix *ka*, in *chandrāpuraka*, line 5, *indrāpuraka*,³ line 6, and especially *pratishṭhāpitaka*, line 7. It is a weaker form, without *vṛiddhi* of the vowel in the first syllable, of the *ka* with which the adjectives of locality, used in lines 19 and 20 of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, page 7 above, are formed; and it is the origin of the modern Hindi genitive terminations *kā*, *kē*, and *kī*, and of similar declensional forms. Other instances of it are given by No. 25 below, Plate xvB. line 13, *kāritaka*; No. 26, Plate xvi. line 10, *utpadyamānaka*; No. 27, Plate xvii. line 9, *pratishṭhāpitaka*, and line 12, *utpadyamānaka*; No. 28, Plate xviii. line 13, *anumōditaka*, line 14, *uparilikhitaka* and *pratishṭhāpitaka*, and line 18, *utpadyamānaka*; No. 29, Plate xixA. line 10, *uparilikhitaka*, and line 15, *utpadyamānaka*; No. 31, Plate xx. line 9, *utpannaka*, lines 9 and 16, *utpadyamānaka*, and line 11, *kāritaka*; No. 41, Plate xxvii. line 11, *atishṛishṭaka*; and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB. line 4, *pravishṭaka*.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś* and *h*, in *chatvdrīṇśad*, line 3 f., and *sinha*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k*, and usually of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *apakkramaṇa*, line 8 f., and *pauttraḥ*, line 5, (but not in *putrō* in the same line); and (3) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra*, in *samvatsara*, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, whose feudatory, the *Vishayapati*⁴ Śarvanāga, was governing Antārvedi⁵ or the country

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV, p. 105 ff.

² *id.* p. 138 ff.

³ As regards these two words, Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *puraka* as another form of *pura*, 'a city,' but refers only to 'Arghaśtapuraka' as an authority for the word. This city, however, only owes its existence to one of the early misreadings of *Maṇṭarāja-Paishṭapuraka* in line 19 of the Allahābād inscription, No. 1, page 7 above.

⁴ *Vishayapati* is a technical official title, meaning 'the lord, or governor, of a *vishaya*.'—See p. 32 above, note 7.

⁵ Antārvedi may perhaps also denote any Doab or region between two rivers of repute and sanctity.—It also means, as an adjective, 'belonging to the inside of the sacrificial ground.'—It occurs,

lying between the Ganges and the Jamná. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-six (A.D. 465-66); and in the month Phālguna (February-March), but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. It is an inscription of solar worship; and the object of it is to record a perpetual endowment, by a Brāhmaṇ named Dēvavishnu, for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sun at Indrapura or Indrāpura, i.e. the modern Indôr. This mention of the place, under its ancient name, connects the record satisfactorily with the locality in which the plate was found.

TEXT.¹

Sole Plate.

- 1 Siddham [II*] Yam² viprā vidhi-vat=prabuddha-manasō dhyan-aika-tānā(na)-
stuvah³ yasy=āntar tridaś-āsura na vividur=nn=ōrdhva na tirya-
- 2 g-gatih(m) yam lōkō bahu-rōga-vēga-vivaśah samśritya chētō-labha⁴
v pāyād=vah sa jagat-pidhā⁵ na-puta-bhid-raśmy-a-
- 3 karō bhāskarah || Paramabhāttāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Skandaguptasy-ābhi-
varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara-satē⁶ shach(t)-chatvā-⁷
- 4 [n*]⁸ ñśad-uttaratamē Phālguna-māsē tat-p[a*]⁹ da-parigñhītasya⁹ vishayapati-
Śarvvanāgasy=Āntarvedyām bhōg-ābhivṛddunaye vartta-
- 5 mānē [I*] ¹⁰ Chandrāpuraka-Padmā-chāturvvidyā-sāmānya-brāhmaṇa-Dēva-
vishnu¹¹=Dēva-putrō Haritrāta-pauttra¹² Dudika-prapauttra¹³ satat-āgnihō-¹⁴
- 6 tra-[ch*]¹⁵ chhandōgō Rāṇāyāni(nī)¹⁶ yō Varshagaṇa-sagōttra Indrāpuraka-vanig-
bhvām kshattriy-Āchalavarma-Bhri(bhru)¹⁷ kuṇṭhasiṇhābhyām-adhishṭā(shṭhā)-
- 7 nasya prāchyām diś=Indrapur-adhishṭhāna-māṇasyāta-lagnam=ēva prati-
shṭhāpitaka-bhagavatē savitre dip-ōpayōiyām=ātma-yaśō-
- 8 bhivṛddhayē mūlyam prayachchhati¹⁸ [II*] Indrapura-nivāsinyās-
tailika-śrēnyā Jivanta-pravarāyā itō=dhiṣṭhānād-apakkrama-
- 9 na-sampravēśa-yathāsthīrāyā¹⁹ ājasrikam grahapatē-dvija-mūlya-dattam-Anayā
tu śrēnyā yad=abhagna-yōgam ²⁰
- 10 prattha(tha)m-ār-āyā²¹ va*²² jchchhinna-samsthām dēyam tailasya tulyēna²³ pala-
dvayam tu²⁴ chandr-ārkka-samakāliyam [II*]

as the name of a village, in 'Anterbed,' about thirty miles west of Uchaharā, in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70; Lat. 24° 25' N.; Long. 80° 13' E. And we also have it in Antarvēdī, Antaravēdī, or Antravēdī, the name of a shrine at the mouth of the Vasishṭha branch of the river Gōdāvarī, seven miles south of Narsāpur, in the Narsāpur Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Gōdāvarī District.

¹ From the original plate.

² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ The form stū is rather unusual; the customary form being stut. But Dr. Bühler has given me the analogous instance of dyata-stū, which is mentioned by Kātyāyana in his comments on Pāṇini, iii. 2, 76. The meaning of dyata-stū is not given in the Mahābhāṣya; but Monier Williams explains it by 'panegyrist.'

⁴ This is rather an anomalous akshara; but it can mean nothing but dhd.

⁵ Read rājyē samvatsara-satē; see p. 38 above, note 5.—Gen. Cunningham (Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. XII. p. 40) considered that there is a faint trace of the vowel ē of rājyē; but the vowel was not engraved.

⁶ Read prayachchhati.—That the marks after ti are the visarga, and not marks of punctuation, is shewn by the form of the visarga throughout this inscription, and, contrasted with it, the marks of punctuation after bhāskarah, l. 3, and at the end of the inscription.

⁷ tulyēna seems to be a mistake for taulyēna.

⁸ i.e. tulyēna (taulyēna).

- 11 Yô¹ vyakkramêd²=dāyam=imam nibaddham gô-ghnô guru-ghnô dvija-
ghātakāḥ saḥ³ taiḥ pātakai[ḥ*]
12 pañcābhīr-anvitô=dhar=gachchhên⁴=naraḥ s-ôpanipātakaiḥ=ch=êti ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (the darkness which is) the envelope of the earth, protect you,—whom Brāhman, of enlightened minds, (have recourse to)⁵ according to due rite, (and thus become) the utterers of praises in meditation, which are directed solely to him; whose limit, either vertically or from side to side, neither the gods nor the demons could ascertain; (and) by having recourse to whom, mankind, when they have lost control of themselves through much disease and agitation of the mind, acquire consciousness (again)!

(Line 3.)—In the augmenting victorious reign⁶ of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahā-~~raṭṭ~~dhirāja*, the glorious *Skandagupta*; in the year one hundred, increased by forty-six; (and) while the month Phālguna is current for the increase of the enjoyment, in (the land of) *Antarvêdi*, of the *Vishayapati Śarvanāga*, who has been accepted (with favour) by his⁷ feet:—

(L. 5.)—The Brāhman *Dēvavishṇu*, who belongs to the community of *Chaturvêdins* of Padmā of the town of *Chandrāpura*,—who is the son of *Dēva*, (and) the son's son of *Haritrāta*, (and) the son of the son's son of *Dudika*; who always recites the hymns of the *agnihōtra*-sacrifice,⁸ who belongs to the *Rāṇāyaniya (śākhā)*; (and) who is of the *Varshagaṇa gōtra*,—for the increase of his own fame gives an endowment, (of which the interest is) to be applied to (the maintenance of) a lamp for the divine Sun, which has been established (in a temple) by the *Kshatriyas Achalavarman and Bhrukunthasinha*, merchants of the town of *Indrāpura*,⁹ on the east of the settlement, (and) actually touching¹⁰ of the settlement of the town of *Indrapura*.

(L. 8.)—This gift of a Brāhman's endowment of (the temple of) the Sun, (is) the perpetual property of the guild of oil-men, of which Jivanta is the head, residing at the town of Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, (even) in moving away from this settlement. But there should be given by this guild, for the same time as the moon and the sun endure, two *palas*¹¹ of oil by weight, (or in figures) by weight 2, uninterrupted in use, (and) continuing without any diminution from the original value.

(L. 11.)—Whosoever shall transgress this grant that has been assigned,—that man, (becoming as guilty as) the slayer of a cow, (or) the slayer of a spiritual preceptor, (or)

¹ Metre, *Indravajrā*.

² Read *yô vikramêd*; or, better, *yô=tikkramêd*.

³ Read *sa*.

⁴ Read *dhô gachchhên*.

⁵ Supply *samśritya*, from the third *pāda* of the verse.

⁶ See page 38 above, note 5.

⁷ i.e. *Skandagupta's*.

⁸ *agnihōtra*, 'an oblation to the god Agni, consisting chiefly of milk, oil, and sour gruel, offered every morning and evening; the maintenance of the sacred fire.'

⁹ Here, line 6, the vowel of the second syllable is long; in lines 7 and 8 below, it is short.

¹⁰ The meaning of *māḍasyāta* is not apparent.

¹¹ *pala*, a particular weight, = 4 *suvarṇas* (gold-pieces), or 64 *māshas* (beans); see the *Mānavadharmatāstra*, viii. 135, Burnell's Translation, p. 200.

the slayer of a Brāhman, shall go down (*into hell*), invested with (*the guilt of*) those (*well-known*) five sins,¹ together with the minor sins.²

No. 17; PLATE X.

GANGDHAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF VISVAVARMAN.

THE YEAR 480. M. E.

THIS inscription, which is now published for the first time, was brought to my notice in 1883, through a photograph sent to me by Colonel W. Muir, then Political Agent at Kōtā in Central India.

Gangdhār³ is a village about fifty-two miles south-west of Jhālrapātan, the chief town of the Jhālāwād State in the Western Mālwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone-tablet standing under a tamarind-tree about a mile to the north of the village; evidently on the site of an old ruined temple.

At the top of the stone there is some **sculpture**, which I cannot quite make out in the rough drawing of it that was brought to me with the ink-impression; but it is probably a sixteen-leaved waterlily.—The **writing** covers the entire front of the stone, about 2' 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high by 3' 8" broad. Twelve letters are broken away and lost in the first part of line 1; eleven in line 2; three in line 3; and two or three all the way down from there as far as line 36. In lines 4 to 36, however, it is in most cases easy to supply what has been lost. In lines 37 to 40, again, from three to six letters are broken away at the beginning, and from two to four at the end of each line. The inscription was thus of a somewhat irregular shape, lines 1 to 6 and 37 to 41 being rather longer than lines 7 to 36; which looks as if the stone on which it was engraved was a panel in the wall of a temple.—The size of the letters varies from about $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give a specimen of what may be called the Western Mālwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D. They include, however, in *khadga*, line 5, and in several other places, not merely a separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *ḍ*, in accordance with the custom of the northern alphabets, but a quite unique form of it, which does not occur in any other early inscription that I know of, and which is the clear prototype of the modern Dēvanāgarī form of this letter. They also include the very rare initial *au*, in *aupamya*, line 6.—The language is Sanskrit; and except for the words *siddhir=astu* at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvāmālīya*, e.g. in *chakitaiḥ-kriyati*,

¹ i.e. the *pañcha mahāpātakāni*; see page 38 above, note 4.

² The *upanipātakāni*,—or more usually *upapātakāni*; the longer form being used in this verse for the sake of the metre,—are sins of the second degree, such as killing a cow, sacrificing for those for whom sacrifices ought not to be made, &c., &c.; see the *Mānavadharmasūtra*, xi. 60 to 67, Bunnell's Translation, p. 332 f.

³ The 'Gangrar, Gungra, and Gungurar,' of maps, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 23° 56' N.; Long. 75° 41' E.—The modern name must be connected with Gargarā, the ancient name, according to line 23 of this inscription, of the small river, now called 'Kalisind,' on which it stands. But it is not apparent how the dental *dh* came to be introduced into it; nor why it appears as *r* in the corrupt English forms.

⁴ The 'Jhalawar, Jhallawar, and Jhallowa,' of maps, &c..

line 11, and *subhujak=khadga*, line 26; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 29, and *aṇsumān*, line 35; but not in *vanśa* in line 2; (3) the frequent doubling of *k*, *g*, *t*, and *p*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *vikkramēna*, line 8; *samaggram*, line 4; *vittrasta*, line 13; and *appratimēna*, line 4; and of *bh*, in *vyabbhṛa*, line 9; and (4) the same in respect of *kh*, *t*, *bh*, and *s*, in conjunction with a following *y*, e.g. in *prakhyāta*, line 2, and *vikkhyāpayan*, line 26; *bhṛitya*, line 4, and *prattyasta*, line 14; *abbhyudyata*, line 15; and *yassya*, lines 11, 12, 14, 16, and 31.

The inscription is of the time of a prince named Viśvavarman. It is dated, in words, when four hundred and eighty years had expired, i.e. in the four hundred and eighty-first year, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November).¹ The era is not specified in this record; but of course the date

¹The passage containing the date, line 19 f., is not an easy one to deal with. — The date of four hundred and ninety-three, given in the next inscription, for Viśvavarman's son Randhuvārman, shews that the number of the centuries in the present passage must be four. And the reading that I give is exactly in accordance with the appearance of the original. But there are the objections, (1) that it is a violation of the metre, since it gives us, in *chaturshu*, an amphibrach where a dactyl is required; and (2) that it leaves *kṛitēshu*, 'made, done, performed,' as a superfluous and rather unmeaning word, unless we somewhat strain its meaning by giving it the sense of 'fully completed (years).—In the sense of '(years) accomplished, i.e. expired,' *kṛitēshu* occurs in line 1 of the Byānā inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59 below, Plate xxxviC. But, though this use of it is unusual, it is justifiable there, as it is not accompanied by *yātēshu*, 'having gone by,' or any similar word.—My first inclination about the present passage was, that *kṛitēshu* was used in the sense of 'made, effected, established by,' and that the three *akṣaras* preceding it contained the name of the founder of the era. But Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with whom I discussed the passage, was of opinion that *kṛita* could not be used in such a sense; and I am not able to quote anything opposed to his opinion. Moreover, that interpretation would have left us without any word to specify the centuries of the date.—My next inclination was to read *cha tsapu-kṛitēshu*, which would satisfy the metrical requirements, and may be justified by the appearance of the original; and to look upon *tsapu* as intended for a vocalisation of the numerical symbol for four hundred; "made by (the utterance of) *tsapu*." The very peculiar expression, *sōttarapadēshu*, which follows, seemed to point to something of this kind being intended. And Dr. Bühler has given an instance of a pronounciative value being certainly allotted to the symbol for four (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 47 f.) But to this interpretation there are the objections, (1) that the word *cha* would be rather superfluous and unmeaning; and (2) that the symbol for four hundred does not resemble the syllables *tsapu*. — Dr. Bhandarkar also suggested that the word 'four' is expressed by *kṛita* (in *kṛitēshu*). But this would leave the preceding two or three *akṣaras* altogether unexplained. And, though *Kṛita*, as the name of the first of the four ages, is capable, on the numerical-word system, of being used to represent the number four, this system was not in use in inscriptions in India at this early time. The period of the invention of the system in question still remains to be determined. That the use of it was known to Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587; *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. I. p. 407), is shewn by his employing, in the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, viii. 20, 21, the words *Rudra* for 'eleven,' *Rāma* for 'three,' *aga* (mountain) for 'seven,' and *sara* (arrow) and *vishaya* (object of sense) for 'five.' And it has been supposed that it was used by Āryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476; *id.* p. 405); but Dr. Bhau Daji (*id.* p. 404) has pointed out, from his own MS., that the half-verse in question, the only apparent instance, giving the number of the revolutions of the planet Jupiter in numerical words, is not really Āryabhaṭa's (a point that is supported also by the metre; for the two lines together make up a verse in the Upagṛti metre; whereas Āryabhaṭa used the Āryā metre, and the first line is the second half of a verse in that metre), but is an addition, in all probability by Utpala or Bhaṭṭotpala (about A.D. 966; *id.* p. 410). The earliest epigraphical instances, at present available, are, in Cambodia, the Bayang inscription, dated Śaka-Samvat 526 (A.D. 604-5) and 546 (Barth's *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 36, line 11), where the dates are expressed by the (five) arrows (of Kāmādeva), Dasra (one of the two Aśvinau), and the (six) flavours, and by the (five) senses, the (four) oceans, and the (six) seasons; and, in India

has to be referred to the era, dating from the tribal constitution of the **Mālavas**, that is mentioned specifically in the next inscription, which gives us the year four hundred and ninety-three for **Viśvavarman's** son, **Bandhuvarman**, the feudatory of **Kumāragupta**.¹ This **Mālava era** is the **Vikrama era**,¹ commencing B.C. 57; and the result for the present inscription is A.D. 423-24 expired, or 424-25 current; which shews that **Viśvavarman**, also, was a contemporary of **Kumāragupta**.² The inscription belongs partly to the Vaishṇava, and partly to the Śākta or Tāntrika form of religion; the object of it being to record how a certain **Mayūrākshaka**, a minister of **Viśvavarman**, built a temple of Viṣṇu,—also a temple of the divine Mothers,—and also a large drinking-well.

TEXT.¹

- 1 [— — — — —]masya Viṣṇor=bbhujas=urapati-dvipa-hasta-
[sa]rppa[— — — — —]
- 2 [— — — — —] [II] Prakṣhyāta-vīryya-yaśas[āh] ksh[i]tip-
ādhipānām vams-ōdbhavō [—]gativi[— — — — —]
- 3 [— — —] kāntaś-śrīmān=babhūva Naravarmma-nipāh prakāśaḥ ||
Yajñais=surān-muni-gaṇā[n]=[n]i[ya]mair=udārai[h] [— — — — —]
- 4 [mānē]na bhṛitya-janam=a-ppratimēna lōkē yō=tōshayat=su-charitaiś=cha
jagat=samaggraṁ || Hasty-aśva-sādhana[— — — — —]
- 5 [—]khaḍga-marīch[i*]matsu ||(I) saṅgrāma-mūrdhasu mukhaṁ samudīkshya
yasya nāśam=prayānty=ari-gaṇā bhaya-nashta-chēśtāḥ ||[*] [Tasy=ātmajah]⁴
[— — — — —]
- 6 [— —]au mahātma buddhya Brihaspati-samas=sakalēndu-vaktraḥ ||(I)
aupamyabhūta iva Rāma-Bhagīrathābhyām rā[— — — — —]
- 7 [— —] [bhu]vi Viśvavarmma || Dhairyyēṇa Mērum=abhijāti-guṇēna
Vaiṇyam=indurṁ prabhā-samudayēna balēna Viṣṇurṁ [I] [sam]-
- 8 [va]rttak-āṇālam=a-sahyatamāñ=cha diptyā yō vīkkramēṇa cha sur-
ādhipatim vijigyē || Vyāvṛitta-mārgga iva bhā-
- 9 [nur=asa]hya-mūrttir=vyabbhr-ōday-ādhikatar-ōj[i*]vala-ghōra-dīptih ||(I) yaś=
- 10 [kshitum ksha]nam=api ppragrihita-śastraḥ || Nirbbhūshaṇair=avigat-āśra-
jal-ārdra-gaṇḍair=vvichchinnā-maṇḍanatay-ōj[i*]vala-nashta-

itself, the record of Śaka-Samvat 867—(A.D. 945-46) for the accession of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16, line 31), in which the date is expressed by the (eight) demi-gods called Vasu, the (six) flavours, and the (seven) mountains.—The supposition that the present passage contains one of these numerical words, is certainly not tenable. And, after full consideration, I can see nothing to be done, save to take the reading *chaturshu*; to accept the violation of the metre; and, as we also have *yādīshu*, to translate *krīdīshu* by 'fully-complete'.—In the same verse, there is also a violation of the metre (or some other mistake) in the words *saumyīshu=astīa*; and, in line 11, the final long *ī* of *kāmīnī* is shortened for metrical purposes.

¹ See the Preface.

² From the ink-impression and a paper estampage.

³ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next seventeen verses.

⁴ Also *tasy=ānujah*, "his younger brother," will suit the metre.

- 11 [śóhbhai]h ||(I) yassy=ári-kámini¹-mukhāmburuhair=bbalasya pūrvam pratāpa-
chakitaiḥ=kriyatē prañāmah || Ratn-ōdgama-dyuti-
- 12 [vira]ñjita-kūla-tālair=uttrasta-nakkra-makara-kshata-ph[é]na-mālaiḥ ||(I) chaṇḍ-
ānil-ōddhāta-taraṅga-samasta-hastair=yyassy=ā-
- 13 [rñavai]r=api balāni namahkriyantē || Bhūr=uddhri(ḍdhri)ta-druma-
vikampita-sāila-kīla-vittrasta-vidruta-mṛiga-dviya-śūnya(nya)-gu-
- 14 [lma] [I] yassy=ōnnata-pravisham[ī]kri(kri)ta-rājamārggā ssainya²-prayāna-samayē
vinimajjat=iva || Prattyasta-mauli-
- 15 [ma]ñi-raśmi-nakha-prabh-āndhair=abbhyudyat-āñjalitayā , śabal-āgragandaiḥ ||(I)
Rvidyādharaḥ ppriyatama-bhoja-pāśa-ba-
- 16 [ddhair=y]yasy=ādarād=divi yaśā[m]si namahkriyantē || Agrē=pi yā(yō)
vayasi samparivarttamānaś=śāstr-ānusāra-pari-
- 17 [varddhita]-suddha-buddhiḥ ||(I) sad-dharma-mārggam=iva rājasu darśa-
yishyan=rakṣā-vidhiṁ Bharāta-vā-jagataḥ=karōti || Tasmin=pra-
- 18 [śāsa]ti mahān-nripati-pravirē svārggam yathā surapā³āv=amita-prabhāvē ||(I)
n=ābhūd=adharma-niratō vyaśān-ānvitō
- 19 [vā lōkē] kadāchana janas=sukha-varjjitō vā || Yātēshu chatu[r]shu⁴
Rkri(kri)tēshu śatēshu sausaishvā(? śhthā)śīta-śōttarapadēshv-ihā vatsa-
- 20 [rēshu] ||(I) śuklē trayōdaśa-dinē bhuvi Kārttikasya māśasya sarvva-jana-
chitta-sukh-āvahasya || Nil-ōtpala-prā-
- 21 [sṛita-rē]ṇv-aruṇ-ambu-kīrṇē bandhūka-bāṇa-kusum-ōj[ī]*vala-kānan-āntē ||(I)
nidrā-vyapāya-samayē Madhusūdanasya kā-
- 22 [lē prabu]ddha-kumud-āgara-suddha-tārē || Vāpi-tadāga-sūrasadmasabh-ōdupāna⁵.
nānāvidh-ōpavana-saṅkrama-dīrghik[ā]-
- 23 [bhiḥ] ||(I) sē(i)shṭām=iv=ābharāṇa-jātibhīr=aṅganām svām yō Garggarā-
tata-purāṇi sakka(ma)lāñ-chakāra || Rājñas=tritīyam=iva chakshur=udā-
- 24 [ra-vritti]=ddēva-dvijāti-guru-b[ā]ndhava-sādhu(?)-bhaktaḥ ||(I) śāstrai[h*] stutō
cha vinay[ē*] vyavahāra-hīnē yō-pakshapāta-rahitō nidadh[au]
- 25 [sva-chint]ām || Sarvvasya jīvitam=a-nityam=a-sāravach=cha dōlā-chalām=anu-
vichintya tathā vibhūtim ||(I) nyāy-āga[tē]-
- 26 [na vi]bhavēna parāñ=cha bhaktim vikhyāpayann=upari chakkra-gadā-
dharasya || Pina⁶-vyāyata-vṛitta-lambi-subhujāḥ=khaḍga-vraṇ[ai]-
- 27 [r=añki]taḥ ||(I) karṇ-ānta-pratisarppamāna(na)-nayana[h*] gyā(śyā)m-āvadāta-
chchhavaiḥ ||(I) darpp-āvishkri(shkri)ta-sō(sā)ra-śatru-mathanō dushṭh(ṣṭi)-
āśva-
- 28 [— —] balī ||(I) bhaktyā ch=āsuhrīdāñ=cha bāndhava-samō dharmm-Arttha-
kām-ōditāḥ || Prajñā-sauryya-kul-ōdgaṭō diśi-
- 29 [diśi] prakhyāta-vīryō vaśī ||(I) puttrē Vishṇubhaṭē tathā Haribhaṭē
sambaddha-vañśa-kriyāḥ ||(I) ēta-

¹ The final long ī of *kāmini* is shortened for the sake of the metre.

² Read *sainya*.

³ See page 73 above, note 1.

⁴ Read *saumyēshv=āśīta*; which, however, entails another violation of the metre, since *āśīta*, 'the eightieth,' gives us an amphibrach where an antibacch is required.—We might satisfy the requirements of the metre by reading *saumyē=shṭ-āśīta*, which would give the 'eighty-eighth (year).' But this would also give us a locative singular, *saumyē*, where the locative plural, *saumyēshu*, is required in apposition with *śatēshu*.

⁵ Read *śadapana*, or *ōdupāna*.

⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīdita; and in the next verse.

- 30 [t=pāpa]-path-āvarōdhi vipula-śrī-vallabhē(bhai)r-ātmajaiḥ II(I) Vishṇo[h*]
 sthānam=akārayad=bhagava-
 31 [taś=śrī]mān=**Mayūrákshakah** II Kailāsa¹-tūṅga-sikhara-ppratimasya yassya
 drishtv=ākri(kri)tiṁ prā-
 32 [muditai]r=vvadan-āravindi(ndai)ḥ II(I) vidyādharaḥ ppriyatama-sahitāḥ su-
 śobham=ādarśi(rśa)-bimba-
 33 [m=iva] yānty=avalōkayantaḥ II Yān²=drishtvā sura-sundarī-kara-tala-
 vyāghrishta-prishtha-kshaṇam II(I), pratyā-
 34 [vartta]na-saṅkinō ratha-hayan=ākri(kri)shya chañchat-saṭān II(I) puny-ōdarka-
 mati-prabhāva-munibhis=sam-
 35 [stū]yamānō=mbarē II samrajy=āñjali-kūṭṭalan³=nata-sirā bhītaḥ prayāṭty=
 aṇsumān II Mātri(tri)ṇān⁴=cha
 36 [pramu]dita-ghan-ātyartha-nihradīnām II(I) tāntr-ōdbhūta-prabala-pavan-ōd-
 varttit-āmbhōnidhīnām II(I)
 37 [— — — — —]gatam=idam dākinī-samprakṛṣṇam II(I) vēśm=ātyuggraṁ
 nripati-sachivō=kārayat=punya-hētōḥ II ⁵Patalō [— — —]
 38 [— — —]ratibhīr=gguptam bhujaṅg-ō[pa*]maiḥ II(I) śīta-svādu-viśuddha-bhūri-
 salilam sōpāni(na)-māl-ōj[*]valam II(I) da(?)[— — —]
 39 [— — —]gahanam kshīrōdadhi-sparddhinam II(I) kūṇa⁶=ch=ainam=akārayad=
 guṇa-nidhiḥ śrīmān=**Mayūrákshakah** II Yāvach⁷=ch[— — —]
 40 [— — —] sāgarā ratnavantō nānā-gulma-druma-vanavati yāvad=urvvi sa-
 śai(?)lā II(I) yāvach=ch=ēndur=ggraha-gaṇa-chitam vyōma⁸ bhā[śika].
 41 [rōti tā]vat-kīrttir=bhavatu vipulā śrī-Mayūrákshakasya-ēditi⁹ Siddhir=
 astu II(*)

TRANSLATION.

..... the arm of (the god) Vishṇu;
 the serpentine movements of the trunk of (Airāvata) the
 elephant of (Indra) the lord of the gods!

(Line 2.)—Born in a lineage of rulers of the earth who were possessed of renowned
 prowess and fame
 beautiful there was the illustrious king **Naravarman**, the famous one;—
 who pleased the gods with sacrifices, the saints with observances of a noble nature
 (his) servants with honourable
 treatment that was unequalled in the world, and the whole earth with excellent achieve-
 ments;—[who] the appliances of elephants and horses
 in [battle-fields] which were full of the rays of (his) sword; (and whose)
 enemies, losing the power of motion through fear, are destroyed (by simply) seeing his face
 in the van of war.

(L. 5.)—[His son⁹] magnanimous; equal to Brihaspati in
 intellect; possessed of a countenance like the full-moon; the standard of comparison, as it

¹ Metre, Vasantatilaka.² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Read *samkuchy=āñjali-kūṭmalan*.⁴ Metre, Mandākrāntā.⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Metre, Mandākrāntā.⁷ The composer, or the writer, seems to have become confused here between *Mayūrákshakasya-ēti*, which is the correct reading, and *Mayūrákshakasya syda=iti*.⁸ Or possibly "[his younger brother]"; see page 74 above, note 4.

were, for (even) Rāma and Bhagīratha; on the earth, (was) **Viśvavarman**;—who surpassed (the mountain) Mēru in firmness, Vainya in hereditary virtue, the moon in development of lustre, (the god) Viṣṇu in strength, and the most unendurable fire of universal destruction in brilliance, and (Indra) the lord of the gods in proweess;—who, when he grasps (his) weapon, cannot be gazed upon even for a moment by (his) enemies, whose eyes are blinded by fear, just like a sun, which, turning back upon (its) course, has an unendurable form and a brilliant and terrible lustre that is heightened by rising in a cloudless sky;—to whom obseisance is performed by the waterlilies which are the faces of the lovely women of (his) enemies, frightened beforehand by (hearing of) the prowess of (his) strength, (and now) destitute of ornaments, moist on the cheeks with the water of the tears that cling there, (and) deprived of beauty by having their wearing of adornments stopped;—whose forces, moreover, have reverence done to them by [the oceans], the palmyra-trees on the shores of which are beautified by the lustre of the production of jewels (from the waters); the rows of the foam on which are broken through by the terrified sharks and marine monsters; (and) all of whose hands, which are their waves, are shaken about by a fierce wind;—at the time of the journeying forth of whose army, the earth has (its) thickets emptied of the beasts and birds which flee away from fear of the lances that uproot the trees and make the mountains tremble, and, having (its) highways made uneven by protuberances, sinks down as it were (under the tread of his troops);—whose reputation has respect paid to it in a reverential manner in the sky by the Vidyādhara, bound in the fetters of the arms of (their) mistresses, who are blinded by the radiance, directed towards (them), of the rays of the jewels in (his) diadem, (and) the upper parts of whose cheeks are shaded by the lifting up of (their) joined hands in the act of respectful salutation;—and who, even when he was still in early youth, nourished (his) pure intellect by following the sacred writings, and now effects the protection of the world like Bharata, pointing out, as it were, the path of the true religion among kings. While he, the king, the bravest among kings, is governing the earth, just as (Indra) the lord of the gods, of unmeasured majesty, (governs) the heavens, there is never any one [among mankind] who delights in wickedness, [or] is beset by misfortune, or is destitute of happiness.

(L. 19.)—And when four hundred fully-complete auspicious years,¹ together with the eightieth (year), had here gone by; on the bright thirteenth day of the month Kārttika which brings happiness to the thoughts of all mankind;—in the season² which abounds with waters that are of a reddish-brown colour with the pollen that is discharged from the blue waterlilies; when the skirts of the groves are radiant with the flowers of the bandhūka³ and bāṇa⁴-trees; when there is the time of the awakening from sleep of (the god) Madhusūdana;⁵ (and) when the stars are as pure as a bed of waterlilies in full bloom;—

(L. 22.)—He who has adorned (this) city on the banks of the **Gargarā** with irrigation wells, tanks, and temples and halls of the gods, drinking-wells, and pleasure-gardens of

¹ See page 73 above, note 1; and page 75, note 4.

² *i.e.* Śarad, the autumn, consisting of the two months Āśvayuja (September-October) and Kārttika (October-November).

³ *bandhūka*; 'a shrub bearing a red flower; Pentapetes Phœnicea; Terminalia Tomentosa.'

⁴ *bāṇa*; 'the blue-flowering Barleria.'

⁵ Viṣṇu, who sleeps during the four months of the rainy season. His slumber commences on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Āṣāḍha (June-July), and ends on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika (October-November).

various kinds, and causeways, and long pools, just as if (*he were adorning his own*) beloved wife with different sorts of ornaments; he who is, as it were, the *third eye* of the king; who is of noble behaviour; who is devoted to gods, Brāhman, spiritual preceptors, relations, and holy men; and who, (*by nature*) not free from partiality (*for this particular virtue*), has (*always*) applied (*his*) thoughts to courteous behaviour, destitute of litigation, which is applauded by the sacred writings;—he who, having reflected that the life of every man lasts not for ever and is full of feebleness, and that prosperity is as unstable as a swing, is displaying, by means of (*his*) lawfully acquired riches, the most extreme devotion towards (the god Vishṇu) who bears the discus and the club;¹—he who has two handsome arms that are muscular and long and round and pendulous; who is [marked] with the wounds of swords; whose eyes stretch to the tips of (*his*) ears; who is possessed of a clear skin like that of a young woman of tender age; who destroys (*his*) enemies when they display energy through pride; who is powerful; who through devotion behaves like a relation towards (*his*) enemies; who is experienced in (*the combined pursuit, without mutual conflict, of*) religion and wealth and pleasure;—

(L. 28.)—He, the illustrious **Mayûrâkshaka**,—who is sprung from a family possessed of wisdom and prowess; whose heroism is renowned in every region; who holds himself under control; (*and*) who has accomplished, in his son Vishṇubhāta and also Haribhāta, the duty of (*continuing his*) lineage,—caused to be built by his sons, the favourites of great good fortune, this shrine of the divine (god) Vishṇu, which blocks up the path of sin,—seeing the aspect of which, resembling the lofty peak of (the mountain) Kailāsa, the Vidyâdharas, accompanied by their mistresses, come and gaze into it with happy faces that are like waterlilies, as if it were the very lustrous surface of a mirror;—(*and*) seeing which (*aspect*), at the moment when the surface (of the roof) has been polished by the palms of the hands of the lovely women of the gods, the sun, who in the sky is praised in chorus by the saints possessed of superhuman power of mind resulting from religious merit, reins in his chariot-horses with (*their*) tossing manes, which think (*from the reflection*) that they are returning towards (*themselves*), and, joining (*his hands*) together (*so that they resemble*) an expanding bud in respectful salutation, runs away in fear with bent-down head.

(L. 35.)—Also, for the sake of religious merit, the counsellor of the king caused to be built this very terrible abode, (*and*) filled full of female ghouls, of the divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (*and*) who stir up the (*very*) oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion.

(L. 37.)—And the illustrious **Mayûrâkshaka**, the receptacle of virtuous qualities, caused to be made this well, which is protected by in the lower regions, resembling serpents; which possesses much water, cool, and sweet, and pure; (*and*) which rivals the ocean.

(L. 39.)—As long as the oceans are full of jewels; as long as the earth, with (*its*) mountains, abounds with many thickets and trees and woods; and as long as the moon lights up the sky that is inlaid with the host of the planets;—so long let the fame of the illustrious **Mayûrâkshaka** remain abundant! Let there be success!

¹ This compound combines two well-known names of Vishṇu,—Chakradhara, and Gadâdhara.

No. 18; PLATE XI.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA II
AND BANDHUVARMAN.

THE MALAVA YEARS 493 AND 529.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 194 ff., was discovered through information given by the late Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who, in 1879, sent to General Cunningham, from Mandasôr, a hand-copy of the fragmentary pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC. I saw this copy in 1883, and, recognising in it the name of Mihirakula, sent my copyists, in March 1884, to take impressions of this fragment and of any other inscriptions that they might find. In the search made by them, they discovered the present inscription, and also the entire duplicate copy of the pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman, No. 33 below, Plate xxiB., which had escaped the notice of Mr. Sullivan.

Mandasôr,¹ or more properly **Dasôr,** the ancient **Daśapura,**² on the north or left

¹ The 'Mandesar, Mandesor, Mandesur, Mandisore, Mandosar, Mandasaur, Mundesor, and Mundesoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 24° 3' N.; Long. 75° 8' E.

² Dasôr is the name by which, in preference to Mandasôr, the town is habitually spoken of by the villagers and agriculturists of the locality and neighbourhood, and even as far as Indôr. And in some bilingual *sanads* or warrants, of about a century and a half ago, I found this form, Dasôr, used in the vernacular passages, while the Persian passages of the same documents give the form Mandasôr. So also, Paṇḍits still habitually use the form Daśapura in their correspondence; a practice with which we may compare the use, also by Paṇḍits, of Ahipura and Nakhapura for respectively Sampgaum and Ugargol in the Belgaum District; except that it is doubtful whether these are original Sanskrit names, or only pedantic Sanskrit translations of original vernacular names.—The local explanation of the name is, that the place was originally a city of the Purāṇic king Daśaratha. But, on this view, the modern name should be Dasrathôr. The true explanation evidently is that,—just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions; Khilchtpur, Jankûpurâ, Râmpuriyâ, Chandrapurâ, Bâlagafi, &c.,—so, when it was originally constituted, it included exactly ten (*daśa*) such hamlets (*grāma*).—As regards the fuller form of Mandasôr, by which alone the town is known officially and is entered in maps, I cannot at present explain the origin of it. But Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested to me that it may perhaps represent Manda-Daśapura, "the distressed or afflicted Daśapura," in commemoration of the overthrow of the town, and the destruction of the Hindu temples in it, by the Musalmâns, in memory of which, even to the present day, the Nāgar Brāhmins of the place will not drink the water there. And, as tending to support this suggestion, I would mention that one of the Paṇḍits whom I questioned on the spot, gave me Mannadasôr as another form of the name. Another suggestion, by Mr. F. S. Growse, is that the name combines the two names of Mad and Daśapura; the former of them (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 195) being the name of a village, also called Afzalpur, about eleven miles south-east of Mandasôr, from which, it is said, were brought, from ruined Hindu temples, the stones that were used in the construction of the Musalmân fort at Mandasôr. The true explanation, whatever it may be, would probably be found in the *Daśapura-Mâhātmya*, which is extant, but which I did not succeed in obtaining for examination.—In addition to the present inscription, the ancient Sanskrit name, Daśapura, occurs also in line 2 of an early Nāsik inscription of *Ushavadāta* (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 99, and Plate lii. No. 5); and in another inscription at Mandasôr itself, dated (Vikrama)-Samvat 1321 (A.D. 1264-65) Guru(vāra) or Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, which is on a white stone built into the wall on the left hand inside the inner gate of the eastern entrance of the Fort.—Under the same name, the place is also mentioned, in connection with Avanti (Ujjain), in the *Brihat-Samhitā*, xiv. vv. 11-16 (Kern's Translation, *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. V. p. 83).

bank of the river Śiwanā,¹ is the chief town of the Mandasōr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mālwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone slab, apparently rather good and dark sand-stone, built into the wall on the right hand half-way down a small flight of steps leading to the river in front of a mediæval temple of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādēva, at the Mahādēva-Ghāt, which is on the south bank of the river, just opposite the Fort, and, I think, in the limits of the hamlet of Chandrapurā.

The **writing** covers, except for a margin of about half an inch, the whole front of the stone, about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 4½" high. It has been a good deal worn away about the centre of the stone; and also the stone is chipped at several places round the edges; but only a few letters here and there are really illegible, and these can in each case be easily supplied.—The average **size** of the letters is about ½". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include two letters borrowed from the northern alphabets; *vis.* the separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, *e.g.* in *taḍit*, line 6, and *chāḍḍ*, line 17; and also the rare lingual *ḍh*, *e.g.* in *ḍrīḍha*, lines 9 and 11. They give a very good specimen of what may be called the Western Mālwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of the opening *siddham* and the concluding words in line 24, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of **orthography** we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the *jihvāmālīya* and *upadhmnīya*; *e.g.* in *jagatah-kshaya*, line 1; *ganaiḥ-kham*, line 8, *pravīṣṛitaiḥ=pushnāti*, line 2; and *abhitāmraḥ=ḥpadyat*, line 3; but not, for instance, in *avabhugnaiḥ kvachit*, line 5; *paraḥ kṛipand*, line 14; *rajaḥ-piṅjaritaiḥ*, line 5; and *pratimṇitāḥ pramuditā*, line 9; (2) the occasional doubling of *t*, *dh*, and *bh*, in conjunction with a following *r*; *e.g.* in *chitrēṇa*, line 12; *rōddhra*, line 18; and *abbhra*, line 6; (3) the same of *th* and *dh*, with a following *y*; *e.g.* in *patthya*, line 9; and *svāddhyāya*, line 8; and (4) the same of *dh*, with a following *v*; *e.g.* in *addhuddi*, line 3. ✓

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of a king named Kumāragupta, who, from the description of him in line 13 as sovereign of the whole earth, can be no other than the well-known Kumāragupta of the Early Gupta dynasty. Under him, the governor at Daśapura was Bandhuvarman, the son of Viśhvarman. The inscription belongs throughout to the solar form of worship. It narrates, in the first place, how a number of silk-weavers immigrated from the Lāṭa *vishaya*, or central and southern Gujarāt, into the city of Daśapura; and how some of the band took up other occupations, while those who adhered to their original pursuit constituted themselves into a separate and flourishing guild. And it then proceeds to record that, while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura, the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun, which was completed when, in words, four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed, "by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas," and therefore when the four hundred and ninety-fourth year (A.D. 437-38) was current, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya (December-January). Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair. And then it was restored by the same guild, when, in words, five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed, and therefore when the five hundred and thirtieth year (A.D. 473-74) was current, on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya (February-March). This second date is, of

¹ The 'Sau, and Seu,' of maps.

² See the Preface.

course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi, and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand.

TEXT.¹

- [Sid]dh[a]m [II] Y[ō] v[rit][t*]y-a[r]tttham^R upāsyatē sura-ganais=siddhais=cha
siddhy=artthibhir-ddhyān-aik-āgra-parair-vvidhēya-vishayair-mmōksh-artthibhir
=yyōgibhiḥ I bhaktyā tlvra-tapōdhanais=cha munibhis-śāpa-prasāda-
kshamair=hetur=yyō jagatah=kshay-ābhyudaya-yōh=pāyāt-sa vō bhāskarāḥ I(II)
^RTat[t*]va-jñāna-vidō=pi yasya na vidur=brahmarsha-^R
- 2 yō=bhyudyatāḥ=kritsnam^R yās=cha gabhastibhiḥ pravisritaiḥ=push[n]āti lōka-
trayam I gāndharv-āmarā-siddha-kinnara-narais=samstūyatē=bhyutthitō
bhaktēbhyaś=cha dadāti yō=bhīlashitam tasmai savitrē namaḥ I(II)
Yah²=pratyaham prativibhāty=udayāchalēndra-vistṛṇṇa-tuṅga-śikhara-skhalit-
āmsu-jalāḥ kshīb-āmganā-
- 3 jana-kapōla-tal-ābhītāmraḥ=pāyāt-sa vas=su-k[i]raṇ-ābharāṇō vivasvān I(II)
Kusuma⁴-bhar-ānata-taruvāra-dēvakulasabhā-vihāra-ramāṇi(ni)yāt I Lāta-
vishāyan=nag-āvrīta-sailāj=jagati prathita-sīlpāḥ I(II) Tē⁵ dēsa-pārtthiva-
guṇ-āpahritāḥ prakāśam⁶=addhv-ādi-jāny=a-viralāny=asukhā-
- 4 ny-apāsyā I jāt-ādārā Daśapuram⁷ prathamam manōbhir=anv=āgatās=
sa-suta-bandhu-janās=samētya II Mattēbha-gaṇḍa-tāṭa-vichyuta-dāna-bindu-
sikt-ōpal-āchala-sahasra-vibhūshā(sha)pāyāḥ [I*] pushp-āvanamra-taru-maṇḍa-
vatamsakāyā bhūmēḥ=paran=tilaka-bhūtam=idam kramēṇa II Taṭ⁸-ōttha-
vṛiksha-chyuta-
- 5 naika-pushpa-vichitra-tlr-ānta-jalāni bhānti I praphulta-padma-ābharāṇāni yatra
sarāmsi kāraṇḍava-samkulāni II Vilōla-vichī-chalit-āravīḍa-patad-rajah-
pifjaritais=cha hamsaiḥ I sva-kēsar-ōdāra-bhar-āvabhugnaiḥ kvachit=
sarāmsy=amburuhais=cha bhānti I(II) Sva-pushpa-bhār-āvanatair=
nnagēndrair=mada-
- 6 pragalbh-āli-kula-svanais=cha I ajasra-gabhis=cha pur-ānganābhir=vvaṇāni yasmin=
samalamkṛitāni II Chalāt⁹-patākāny=abalā-sanāthāny=atyarttha-suklāny=adhik-
ōnnatāni I taḍil-latā-chitra-sit-ābbhra-kūṭa-tuly-ōpamānāni grihāni yatra II
Kailāsa¹⁰-tuṅga-śikhara-pratimāni ch-ānyāny=ābhānti dṛgggha-valabhi-
- 7 ni sa-vēdikāni I gāndharvva-śabda-mukharāni(ni) nivishṭa-chitra-karmmaṇi lōla-
kadall-vana-sōbbhitāni II Prasāda¹¹-malābhir=alamkṛitāni dharām vidāryy=
aiva samutthitāni I vimāna-mālā-sadṛśāni yatra grihāni pūrṇ-ēndu-
kar-āmalāni II Yad¹²=bhāty=abhiramya-sarid-[d*]vayēna chapal-ōrmmaṇā
samupagōdham

¹ From the ink-impression.² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita; and in the next verse.³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁴ Metre, Āryā.⁵ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.⁶ Metre, Upēndravajrā; and in the next two verses.⁷ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁹ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.¹⁰ Metre, Āryā.

- 8 rahasi kucha-śālinibhyāṃ Prīti-Ratibhyāṃ Smar-āṅgam-iva || Satya¹-
kshamā-dama-śama-vrata-śauca-dhairya-svāddhyāya-vṛtta-vinaya-sṭhiti-bud-
dhy-upētaiḥ | vidyā-tapō-nidhibhir=a-smayitais=cha viprair-yyad-bhrājatē
graha-gaṇaiḥ=kham=iva pradīptaiḥ || Atha² samētya niranantara-saṅgatair-
aharahāḥ-pravijimbhita-
- 9 sauhṛdāḥ [^{*}] nripatibhis=suta-vat=pratiṃ[nitāḥ] pramuditā nyavasaṃtā
sukham purē || Śravaṇa³-[su]bhaga[m] dh[ā]nurvaidya[m] dṛḍham
parinishṭhitāḥ sucharita-śat-āsaṅgāḥ=kēchid=vichitra-kathā-vidah | vinaya-
nibhṛtās = samyag - dharmma - prasaṅga - parāyaṇāḥ = priyam = a - parusham⁴ ē
patthyam ch=ānyē kshamā bahu bhāṣitum ||
- 10 *Kēchit⁵=sva-karmmanya-adhikās=tath-ānyair=vvijñāyatē jyōtiṣham=ātmaavadbhīḥ |
adyāpi ch=ānyē samāra-pragalbhaḥ=kurvanty=arjṇam=a-hitam | pra-
sahya I(II) Prājñā⁶ manōjña-vadhavaḥ prathit-ōru-varṣā varṣ-ānurūpa-
charit-ābharāṇās=tath-ānyē | satya-vratāḥ prapayinām-upakāra-dakṣhā
visrambha-
- 11 [pūrvva]m=aparē dṛḍha-sauhṛdās=cha || Vijita⁷-vishaya-saṅgair=ddharma-
śāis=tath-ānyair=m[ri]dubhir=adhika-sat[t*]vair=llōkayātr-āmarais=cha | sva-
kula-tilaka-bhūtair=mukta-rāgair=udāir=adhikam=abhivibhāti śrēṇir=ēvam-
prakāraiḥ || Tārūnya⁸-kānty-upachitō=pi suvarṇahāra-tāmbūla-pushpa-
vidhinā ⁹ sama-
- [lamkri]tō=pi | nāri-janāḥ priyam=upaiti na tāvad=agryā(śrīyā)m yāvan=na,
paṭṭamayā=vastra-y[u]gāni dhattē || Sparsa[va]tā¹⁰ varṇāntara-
vibhāga-chittreṇa¹¹ nētra-subhagēna | yais=sakalam=idam kṣhititalam=alam-
kritam paṭṭa=vastrēna || Vidyādhari¹²-ruchira-pallava-karṇapūra-vāt-ērit-
āsthiratarām pravichintya
- 13 [lō]kam | mānushyam=artha-nichayāṃś=cha tathā viśālāṃś=tēśhām subhā
matir=abhūd=achalā tatas=tu || [Chatus¹³-samudr-ān[t]a-vilōla-mēkhalām
Sumēru-Kailāsa-brihat-payōdharām | van-ānta-vānta-sphuṭa-pushpa-hāsinīm
Kumāraguptē prithivīm praśāsati || Samāna¹⁴-dhīs=Sukra-Brihas-
patibhyām lālāma-bhūtō bhuvi
- 14 pārtthivānām | raṇēshu yah Pārttha-samāna-karmmā babhūva goptā
nripa-Viśvavarmmā ||] Dn¹⁵-ānukampana-parah kripan-ārta-vargga-
sandh[ā]-pradō=dhika-dayātur=anātha-nāthaḥ | kalpa-drumaḥ prapayinām=
abhayam pradaś=cha bhītasya yō janapadasya cha bandhur-āstī ||
[Tasy¹⁶=ātmajaḥ sthairyya-nay-ōpapannō bandhu-priyō
- 15 bandhur=iva prajānām | bandhv-artti-harttā nripa-Bandhuvarmmā dvīd-
dṛipta-pakṣha-kṣhapaṇ-aika-dakṣhaḥ ||] Kāntō¹⁷ yuvā raṇa-patur=vinay-
ānvitās=cha rāj-āpi sann=upasritō na madaiḥ smay-ādyaiḥ | śrīngāra-

¹ Metre, Vasantatilaka.² Metre, Hariṇī.³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁴ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁵ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁶ Metre, Upēndravajrā.⁷ Metre, Indravajrā.⁸ Metre, Drutavilambita.⁹ Metre, Indravajrā.¹⁰ Metre, Mālinī.¹¹ Metre, Āryā.¹² Metre, Varmāstha.¹³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.¹⁴ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

mūrttir-abhibhāty-an-alamkṛitō=pi rūpēṇa yāh=^Rkusumachāpa iva dvitīyāḥ ||
Vaidhavya¹-tīvra-vyasana-kshatānām

16 smri(smri)tvā. yam=adyāpy=ari-sundarīnām | bhāyād=bhavaty-āyata-lōchanānām
ghana-stan-āyāsa-karaḥ prakampāḥ || /Tasminn²=ēva kṣmītipati-vri(vri)shē
Bāṁdhuvārmmany³=udārē samyak-sphītaḥ Daśapuram=idam pālayaty-
unnat-āṁsē | śilp-āvaptair=ddhana-samūdayaiḥ patṭavāyair=udāram
śrēṇbhūtair=bbhavanam=atulaṁ kārītaṁ

17 dipta-raśmēḥ || Vistīrṇa⁴-tuṅga-sikharam sikhari-prakāśam=abhyudgat-ēndv-
amala-raśmi-kalāpa-gauram | yad=bhāti paśchma-pūrasya nivishṭa-
kānta-chūḍāmaṇi-pratisaman=nayan-abhiramam || Rāmā-sañātha-[ra]chanē
dara-bhāskar-āṁśu-vahni-pratāpa-subhagē jala-līna-mīnē | chandrāṁśu-
harmyatala-

18 chandana-tālavṛnta-hār-ōpabhōdha(ga)-rahitē hima-dagdha-padme || Rōddhra-
priyāṅgu-taru-kundalatā-vikōśa-pushp - āsava - pramud[ī]t - āli - kal - abhirāmē |
kalē tushāra-kaṇa-karkkaśa-śīṭa-vāta-vēga-pranṛitta-lavall-nagaṇ-aikaśākhē ||
Smara⁵-vaśaga-taruṇajana-vallabhāṅganā-vipula-kānta-pīn-ōru-

19 stana-jaghana-ghan-ālingana-nirbhartsita-tuhina-hima-pātē || Mālavānām⁶
gaṇa-sthityā yāt[ē] śata-chatusṭayē | tri-navaty-adhikē=bdānām=ri(ri)tau
• sēvyā-ghana-syanē || Sahasya-māsa-śuklasya praśastē=hni trayōdaśē |
maṅgal-āchāra-vidhinā prāsādō=yam nivēśitah || Bahunā samatītēna

20 kalēn-ānyais=cha pārīṭhyaiḥ | vyaśīryat=aika-dēśō=sya bhavanasya tatō-
dhunā || Sva-yaśō-v[rī](vri)ddhayē sarvva=aty-udāram=udārayā samskā-
ritam=idam bhūyāḥ śrēṇyā bhānumatō griham || ⁷Aty⁸=unnatam-
avadātām nābhā[h]-sprisann=iva⁹ manōharaiḥ sikharaiḥ | śasi-bhānvōr-
abhyudayēshv=amala-mayūkh-āyatana-

21 bhūtām || Vatsara-satēshu pāmchasu viśamty¹⁰-adhikēshu navasu ch=
• ābdēshu | yātēshv=abhiramya-Tapasya-māsa-śukla-dvītyāyām || Spashtair¹¹-
aśōkataru-kētaka-simduvāra-lōlātīmuktakalatā-madayantikānām | ^Rpushp-
ōdgamair=abhinavair=adhigamya nūnām=aikyam vijrimbhita-śarē Hara-
pū(dhō)ta-dēhē || R

22 Madhu¹²-pāna-mudita-madhukara-kul-ōpagīta-nagan(n)-aika-prithu-śākhē | kalē
nava-kusum-ōdgama-damtura-kānta-prachura-rōddhrē || Śāsin=ēva nabhō
vimalam kaus[t]ubha-maṇi=ēva Śāringi¹³ vakshaḥ | bhavana-varēṇa
tath=ēdam puram=akhilam=alamkṛitam=udāram || Amalina¹⁴-śasi-

23 lēkhā-damturam pingalānām parivahati samūtham yāvad=^Rīśō jāṭānām |
vikāṭa-kamala-mālām=amśa-saktām cha Śāringi¹⁵ bhavanam=idam=udāram

¹ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

² Metre, Mandākrāntā.

³ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next two verses.

⁴ Metre, Āryā.

⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next three verses.

⁶ Metre, Āryā; and in the next verse.

⁷ *sprīṣan* is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter *sprīṣat*, in apposition with *griham*, is what is required. This, however, would not suit the metre. The only emendation that suits the metre, is to alter the construction and read *nabhāḥ sprīṣat=iva*.

⁸ Read *vimśaty*.

⁹ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

¹⁰ Metre, Āryā; and in the next verse.

¹¹ Metre, Mālinī.

śāśvatan=tāvad=astu || Śrēṇy'-Adāśēna⁶ bhaktyā cha kārītaṁ
 bhavanam ravēḥ⁷ pūrvvā ch=ēyam⁸ prayatnēna rachitā
 Vatsabhaṭṭinā ||

24 Svasti kartri-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōṭṛibhyaḥ || Siddhir=astu ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun protect you,—who is worshipped by the hosts of the gods for the sake of existence, and by the Siddhas¹ who wish for supernatural powers, (*and*) by ascetics, entirely given over to abstract meditation (*and*) having worldly attractions well under control, who wish for the final liberation of the soul, and, with devotion, by saints, practising strict penances, (*who wish to become*) able to counteract curses; (*and*) who is the cause of the destruction and the commencing (*again*) of the universe! Reverence to that Sun,—whom (*even*) the Brāhmanical sages, though they knew the knowledge of the truth (*and*) exerted themselves, failed to comprehend; and who nourishes the whole of the three worlds with (*his*) rays diffused in all directions; who, when he is risen, is praised by Gandharvas,² gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras,³ and Naras;⁴ and who grants (*their*) desires to those who worship (*him*)! May that Sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you,—who shines, day after day, with the mass of (*his*) rays flowing down over the wide and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of dawn, (*and*) who is of a dark-red colour like the cheeks of intoxicated women!

(Line 3.)—From the district of Lāṭa, which is pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (*their*) flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods, and with vihāras, (*and*) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (*this*) city of Daśapura there came, full of respect,—first, in thought; and afterwards (*in person*) in a band, together with (*their*) children and kinsmen,—men who were renowned in the world for (*skill in their*) craft (*of silk-weaving*), and who, being manifestly attracted by the virtues of the kings of the country, gave no thought to the continuous discomforts produced by the journey and its accompaniments. And in course (*of time*) this (*city*) became the forehead-decoration of the earth, which is adorned with a thousand mountains whose rocks are besprinkled with the drops of rut that trickle down from the sides of the temples of rutting elephants, (*and*) which has for (*its*) decorative ear-ornaments the trees weighed down with flowers. Here⁵ the lakes, crowded with kārandava-ducks, are beautiful,—having the waters close to (*their*) shores made variegated with the many flowers that fall down from the trees growing on the banks, (*and*) being adorned with full-blown waterlilies. The lakes are beautiful (*in some places*) with the

¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

² Supply *prāśastiḥ*.—See page 87 below, note¹⁰.

³ Siddhas; semi-divine beings, supposed to be of great purity and holiness, and said to be specially characterised by the possession of the eight supernatural faculties. Their habitation is in the sky, or in the middle region between the earth and the sky.

⁴ Gandharvas; the celestial musicians.

⁵ Kinnaras; mythical beings, with a human figure and the head of a horse, reckoned among the Gandharvas, and celebrated as musicians.

⁶ Naras; mythical beings, allied to the Gandharvas and Kinnaras.

⁷ The original has, as far as line 8, the relative construction, which I have changed, for convenience of translation, into the absolute.

swans that are engaged in the pollen that falls from the waterlilies shaken by the tremulous waves; and in other places with the waterlilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments. Here the woods are adorned with lordly trees, that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly through intoxication (*caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck*), and with the women from the city who are perpetually singing. Here the houses have waving flags, (*and*) are full of tender women, (*and*) are very white (*and*) extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with forked lightning. And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of (the mountain) Kailāsa; being vocal with songs (*like those*) of the Gandharvas; having pictured representations arranged (*in them*); (*and*) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees. Here, cleaving asunder the earth, there rise up houses which are decorated with successions of storeys; which are like rows of aerial chariots; (*and*) which are as pure as the rays of the full-moon. This (*city*) is beautiful (*through*) being embraced by two charming rivers,¹ with tremulous waves, as if it were the body of (the god) Smara (*embraced*) in secrecy by (*his wives*) Prīti and Rati, possessed of (*heaving*) breasts. Like the sky with the brilliant multitudes of planets, it shines with Brāhmanas endowed with truth, patience, self-control, tranquillity, religious vows, purity, fortitude, private study, good conduct, refinement, and steadfastness, (*and*) abounding in learning and penances, and free from the excitement of surprise.

(L. 8).—So assembling together, (*and*) day by day received into greater friendship by (*their*) constant associates, (*and*) honourably treated like sons by the kings, in joy and happiness they settled in (*this*) city. Some of them (*became*) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery, (*in which the twanging of the bow is*) pleasing to the ear; others, devoting themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, (*became*) acquainted with wonderful tales; and others, unassuming in (*their*) modesty (*and*) devoted to discourses of the true religion, (*became*) able to say much that was free from harshness (*and yet was*) salutary. Some excelled in their own business (*of silk-weaving*); and by others, possessed of high aims, the science of astrology was mastered; and even to-day others of them, valorous in battle, effect by force the destruction of (*their*) enemies. So also others, wise, possessed of charming wives, (*and*) belonging to a famous and mighty lineage, are decorated with achievements that befit (*their*) birth; and others, true to (*their*) promises (*and*) firm in friendship with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon (*their*) intimates. (*And so*) the guild shines gloriously all around through those who are of this sort, and through others who,—overcoming the attachment for worldly objects; being characterised by piety; (*and*) possessing most abundant goodness,—(*are*) very gods in an earthly habitation.

(L. 11).—(*Just as*) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (*and*) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers, goes not to meet (*her*) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths,—(*so*) the whole of this region of the earth, is (*almost superfluously*) adorned through them, (*as if*) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, (*and*) pleasing to the eye.

¹ Of these rivers, one, of course, is the Śiwanā, on the north bank of which the town stands. The other must be the 'Sumli,' which now flows into the Śiwanā about three miles to the north-east of the town.

(L. 12.)—Having reflected that the world is very unsteady, being blown about by the wind like the charming ear-ornaments, (*made of*) sprigs, of the women of the Vidyā-dharas; (*and similarly*) the estate of man; and also accumulations of wealth, large (*though they may be*),—they became possessed of a virtuous (*and*) stable understanding; and then;¹—

(L. 13.)—While **Kumārāgupta** was reigning over the (*whole*) earth, whose pendulous marriage-string is the verge of the four oceans; whose large breasts are (the mountains) Sumēru and Kailāsa;² (*and*) whose laughter is the full-blown flowers showered forth from the borders of the woods;—

(L. 13.)—There was a ruler, king **Viśvavarman**,³ who was equal in intellect to Śukra and Brihaspati, who became the most eminent of princes on the earth; (*and*) whose deeds in war were equal to (*those of*) Pārtha;⁴—who was very compassionate to the unhappy; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed; who was excessively full of tenderness; (*and*) who was a very tree of plenty to (*his*) friends, and the giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (*his*) country;—

(L. 14.)—His son (*was*) king **Bandhuvarman**, possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (*his*) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (*his*) subjects; the remover of the afflictions of (*his*) connections; pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of (*his*) proud enemies. Handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with humility, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, astonishment, and other (*evil sentiments*); being the very incarnation of erotic passion, he resembled in beauty, even though he was not adorned with ornaments, a second (Kāmadēva) armed with the bow that is made of flowers. Even to-day, when the long-eyed lovely women of (*his*) enemies, pained with the fierce pangs of widowhood, think of him, they stagger about through fear, in such a way as to fatigue (*their*) firm and compact breasts.

(L. 16.)—While he, the noble **Bandhuvarman**, the best of kings, the strong-shouldered one,⁴ was governing this city of **Daśapura**, which had been brought to a state of great prosperity,—a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun), was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers, as a guild, with the stores of wealth acquired by (*the exercise of their*) craft;—(a temple) which, having broad and lofty spires, (*and*) resembling a mountain, (*and*) white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon, shines, charming to the eye, having the similarity of (*being*) the lovely crest-jewel, fixed (*in its proper place*), of (*this*) city of the west.

(L. 17.)—In that season⁵ which unites men with (*their*) lovely mistresses; which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (*shining*) in the glens; in

¹ The context is "a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be built" &c., in line 16; all that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

² Conf. *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, xliii. 35, where the earth is described as having the mountains of sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himālaya and Vindhya for breasts.—Compare also line 34 of the Aṭṭha grant of Śīlāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where the Sahya and Vindhya mountains are called the breasts of the earth.—Similes of this kind doubtless varied in accordance with the extent of the kingdoms in which the inventors of them resided.

³ This, again, is a second parenthesis, the real context of the preceding verse being the description of Bandhuvarman in line 14 ff.

⁴ *lit.* 'high-shouldered.'

⁵ *i.e.* Hēmantā, the cold weather, consisting of the months Mārgaśrāṣa (November-December) and Pauṣa or Sahasya (December-January).

which the fishes lie low down in the water; which (*on account of the cold*) is destitute of the enjoyment of the beams of the moon, and (*sitting in the open air on*) the flat roofs of houses, and sandal-wood perfumes, and palmleaf-fans, and necklaces;—in which the waterlilies are bitten by the frost; which is charming with the humming of the bees that are made happy by the juice of the full-blown flowers of the *rôdhra*¹ and *priyangu*-plants² and the jasmine-creepers; in which the *lavalî*-trees³ and the solitary branches of the *nagand*-bushes⁴ are made to dance with the force of the wind that is harsh and cold with particles of frost;—(*and*) in which (*the cold induced by*) the falling of frost and snow is derided by the close embraces of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (*their*) mistresses, completely under the influence of love;—when, by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the **Mâlavas**, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed; in that season when the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed (*as indicating the approach of warmth again*);—on the excellent thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya,—this temple was established, with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

(L. 19).—And, in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now, in order to increase their own fame, the whole of this most noble house of the Sun has been repaired again by the munificent corporation;—(this temple) which is very lofty (*and*) pure; which touches the sky, as it were, with (*its*) charming spires; (*and*) which is the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at (*their*) times of rising. Thus, when five centuries of years, increased by twenty, and nine years had elapsed; on the charming second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya;—in the season⁵ when (Kamadêva), whose body was destroyed by Hara, develops (*his number of five*) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting-forth of the flowers of the *asôka*⁶ and *kêtaka*⁷ and *sinduvôdra*-trees,⁸ and the pendulous *atimuktaka*-creeper,⁹ and the wild-jasmine;—when the solitary large branches of the *nagand*-bushes are full of the songs of the bees that are delighted by drinking the nectar; (*and*) when the beautiful and luxuriant *rôdhra*-trees swing to and fro with the fresh bursting forth of (*their*) flowers,—the whole of this noble city was decorated with (*this*) best of temples; just as the pure sky is decorated with the moon, and the breast of (the god) Śarîgin with the *kaustubha*-jewel. As long as (the god) Îśa wears a mass of tawny matted locks, undulating with the spotless rays of the moon (*on his forehead*); and (*as long as*) (the god) Śarîgin (*carries*) a garland of lovely waterlilies on his shoulder;—so long may this noble temple endure for ever!

(L. 23).—By the command of the guild, and from devotion, (*this*) temple of the Sun was caused to be built; and this (*ewlogy*)¹⁰ that precedes was, with particular care, compos-

¹ *rôdhra*, also *lôdhra*; the tree *Symplocos Racemosa*.

² *priyangu*; a medicinal plant and perfume; *Panicum Italicum*; *Sinapis Ramosa*; saffron.

³ *lavalî*; the *Averrhoa Acida*.

⁴ *nagand*; the *Cardiospermum Halicacabum*.

⁵ i.e. *Śitîra*, the cool or dewy season, consisting of the months *Mâgha* (January-February) and *Phâlguna* or *Tapasya* (February-March).

⁶ *asôka*; the tree or shrub *Jonesia Asôka*.

⁷ *kêtaka*; the tree *Pandanus Odoratissimus*.

⁸ *sinduvôdra*; the tree or shrub *Vitex Negundo*.

⁹ *atimuktaka*; a certain creeper, tree, or shrub, with apparently white flowers.

¹⁰ *prâśasti*.—This was the customary technical term applied to inscriptions on stone. It has to be supplied here; but it is of constant occurrence; e.g. in line 27 of the Apsad inscription of

ed by Vatsabhaṭṭi. Hail to the composer and the writer, and those who read or listen (*to it*)! Let there be success!

No. 19; PLATE XIIA.

ERAN STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA THE YEAR 165.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain F. S. Burt, or the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 633 f. when Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,¹ accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxi.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—In 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 17 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.—And finally, in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 82, General Cunningham, in reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, pointed out that the *aksharas* in line 3,—in which Mr. Prinsep had found a reference to the Surāshtras; and which Dr. Hall read as *samsurabhā*, and translated by "chosen land of the gods,"—were in reality a repetition of the date in numerical symbols, as had, in fact, been suggested, though without particularisation, by Dr. Hall himself, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 127, note.

This is another inscription from Ēran² in the Khurāt Sub-Division of the Sāgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the west face towards the bottom of the lower and square part of a large monolith red-sandstone column, which stands near the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village, and which seems from its position to be specially connected with a small double temple that General Cunningham has named the "Lakshmi Temple," separated by the intervening "Vishnu Temple" from the "Varāha Temple," or temple of the Boar, at which there is the well-known inscription of Tōramāṇa, No. 36 below.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 6½" broad by 1' 7¼" high, has suffered a good deal in places from the weather; but on the original column the whole inscription can be read with certainty, except a few letters at the proper left side that have been quite worn away by sharpening tools on the edge of the stone. The bottom line of the inscription is about 3' 3" above the plinth from which the column rises.—The size of the letters varies from ¼" to ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; they approximate in some respects to the type of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and in others to that of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta, II., No. 4, Plate iiiA.; but they also present some developments and differences that must be attributed partly to their somewhat later age, and partly to the particular locality to which the inscription belongs. I should be inclined to name them a variety, with northern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of towards the end of the fifth

¹Adityasēna, No. 42 below, Plate xxviii.—The only instance that I can quote of its use to denote a copper-plate charter, is in line 20-21 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the *Mahārāja* Indravarman of the year 128 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 121).

²The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 249.

³See page 18 above, and note 1.

⁴*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 87, and Plates xxv. and xxvi.

century A.D. The letter *r*, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed sometimes within the top line of the writing, e.g. in *arṇava*, line 1, and sometimes above it, e.g. in *paryyāṅka*, in the same line. The characters include, in line 3, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 60, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 4, and the rest in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the constant doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *maitrāyaṇīya*, line 5; *pautrēṇa*, line 6; and *pittrōh*, line 8.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Budhagupta**, whose feudatory, the **Mahārāja Suraśmichandra**, was governing the country lying between the river **Kālindī**, or the **Jamnā**, and the **Narmadā**. It is dated, completely in words, and partly in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and sixty-five (A.D. 484-85), on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month **Āṣāḍha** (June-July), and on **Suragurvāra** or Thursday. It is a **Vaiṣṇava** inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection of the column, which is called a *dhvaja-stambha* or 'flag-staff' of the god **Vishṇu**, under the name of **Janārdana**, by a **Mahārāja** named **Mātrivishṇu** and his younger brother, **Dhanyavishṇu**.

TEXT:

- 1 Jayati¹ vibhuś=chatur-bhujaś=chatur-arṇava-vipula-salila-paryyāṅkaḥ jagataḥ
sthity-utpatti-nya[y-ādi]².
- 2 hētur=Ggaruḍa-kētuḥ [11*] Śatē pañcha-shashty-adhikē varshāṇām bhūpatau
cha **Budhaguptē** Āṣāḍha-māsa-ś[ukla]-
- 3 dvādaśyām Suragurōr=ddivasē 1(11) Sam 100 60 5 [11*] **Kālindī**³
Narmadāyōr=mmadhyaṁ pālayati lōkapāla-guṇair=jagati mahārāja-
4 śjyam-anubhavati **Suraśmichandrē** cha 1(11) Asyām samvatsara-māsa-
divasa-pūrvvāyām sva-karm-ābhiratasya kratu-yāji[nah]⁴
adhita-svādhyāyasya vipr-arshē=Mmaitrāyaṇīya-vrīṣhabhāsy=Endravishṇōḥ pra-
pautrēṇa pitur=guṇ-ānukāriṇō Varuṇav[i]śh[nōh]⁵
- 6 pautrēṇa pitaram=anu-jātasya sva-vamśa-vriddhi-hētōr=Harivishṇōḥ puttṛṇ=
ātyanta-bhagavad-bhaktēna Vidhātur=ichchhayā svayamvaray=ēva r[ā]ja-
7 lakshmy-Adhigatēna chatuḥ-samudra-pariyanta-prathita-yāsā akṣhṇa-māna-
dhanēn=ānēka-sattu-samara-jishṇunā mahārāja-Mātrivishṇun[ā]⁶
- 8 tasyaiv=ānujēna tad-anuvidhāyin[ā] tat-prasāda-parigri[hī]tēna **Dhanya-**
vishṇunā cha 1 mātri(tā)pittrōḥ puny-āpyāyan-ārtham=ēsha bhagavataḥ 1⁷
- 9 punyajana-ārddanasya Janārdanasya dhvaja-stambhō=bhyuchchhritāḥ [11*]
Svasty=astu gō-brāhmaṇa-p[u]rōgābhyāḥ sarvva-prajābhyā iti 1(11)

¹ Compare *dhvaja*, 'standard,' as applied to the Méharault column, in line 6 of No. 32 below, Plate xxiA.

² From the original stone.

³ Metre *Āryā*; and in the next verse.—In the first *pāda* of this, and of the second verse, we have the proper number of twelve syllabic instants; but they are not arranged in accordance with the usual rule for this metre.

⁴ I have adopted Dr. Hall's suggestion for supplying the effaced letters. In the last legible syllable, part of the subscript *y* is quite distinct, and the consonant above it seems to be a broken *n*; and the requirements of both the metre and the sense are properly met by supplying *yādi* for the effaced syllables.

⁵ This *akshara* is somewhat damaged; but it is very distinctly *dvādaśyām*. Prinsep's reading of *traydaśyām* is proved to be wrong by the metre, if by nothing else.

⁶ Metre, *Āryā*.

⁷ Supply *tithau*.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the lord, the four-armed (god Vishṇu)—whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans; who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction, &c., of the universe; (and) whose ensign is Garuḍa !

(Line 2.)—In a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while **Budhagupta** (is) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha; on the day of Suraguru; ¹ (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5 :—

(L. 3.)—And while **Surasṃichandra** is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world, ² (the country that lies) between the (rivers) **Kālindī** and **Narmadā**, (and) is enjoying in the world the glory of (being) a **Mahārāja**;—

(L. 4.)—On this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the year and month and day;—by the **Mahārāja Mātrivishṇu**, who is excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhātṛi, was approached (in marriage-choice) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (him) of her own accord (to be her husband); whose fame extends up to the borders of the four oceans; who is possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (and) who has been victorious in battle against many enemies;—who is the son of the son's son of **Indravishṇu**, who was attentive to his duties; who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (of the scriptures); who was a Brāhman saint; (and) who was the most excellent (of the followers) of the **Maitrāyaṇīya (Śākhā)**;—who is the son's son of **Varuṇavishṇu**, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who is the son of **Hariṇishṇu**, who was the counterpart of (his) father in meritorious qualities, ³ (and) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—

(L. 8.)—(By him) and by his younger brother **Dhanyavishṇu**, who is obedient to him, (and) has been accepted with favour by him,—this flag-staff of the divine (god) Janārdana, the troubler of the demons, ⁴ has been erected, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (their) parents.

(L. 9.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmanas !

¹ i.e. "on Thursday."—Suraguru, 'the preceptor of the gods,' is another name of Brihaspati, from which latter name the day takes its customary appellation of Brihaspativāra.

² *lōkapāla*.—The *lōkapālas*, or guardians of the points of the compass, are sometimes reckoned as eight, viz. 1, Indra, of the east; 2, Agni, of the south-east; 3, Yama, of the south; 4, Nirṛiti, or sometimes Sūrya, of the south-west; 5, Varuṇa, of the west; 6, Vāyu, of the north-west; 7, Kubēra, of the north; and 8, Śāna, or sometimes Chandra, and sometimes Prithivī, of the north-east;—and sometimes as four, viz. Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 7, above.

³ *pitarāṃ=anu-jātasya*.—Dr. Hall explained this expression in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 139, note, by a passage quoted in the St. Petersburg Dictionary from the *Pañchatantra*; viz.—

Jātaḥ putrō=nujātaś=cha atijātaś=tath=aiṇva cha |
 apajātaś=cha lōkē=smin=mantavyāḥ śāstra=vēdibhiḥ ||
 Mātri-tulya-guṇō jātaś=tv=anujātaḥ pituḥ samāḥ |
 atijātō=dhikas=tasmād=apajātō=dham-ādhamāḥ ||

"By those who know the scriptures, (sons) are to be understood among men as being a *jāta* son, or an *anujāta*, or an *atijāta*, or an *apajāta*. A *jāta* (is) one whose virtues are equal to (those of his) mother; an *anujāta* (is) equal to (his) father (in virtue); an *atijāta* surpasses that (father); (and) an *apajāta* (is) altogether inferior (to him)."

⁴ *punyajana*, lit. 'a good, pious, or virtuous man,' also denotes 'a class of supernatural beings, a fiend, a goblin, a demon.'

No. 20; PLATE XII B.

ERAN POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF GOPARAJA.

THE YEAR 191.

THIS inscription, which has not previously been published, was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 89 f.

It is another inscription from Ēran,¹ in the Khurāt Sub-Division of the Sāgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a *linga* or phallic emblem of Śiva, which stands under some tall trees near the left bank of the Blnā, about half a mile to the south-east of Ēran, and half-way between it and the neighbouring village of Pēhēlējpur.² The original lower part of the pillar is now broken away and lost; the remnant of it is about 3' 11" high and 1' 6" in diameter. The bottom part is octagonal; and the inscription is at the top of this octagonal part, on three of the eight faces, each of which is about 7" broad; the bottom line is about six inches above the level of the ground. Above this, the pillar is sixteen-sided. Above this, it is again octagonal; and the faces here have sculptures of men and women, who are probably intended for the Gōparāja of the inscription, and his wife and friends; the compartment immediately above the centre of the inscription, represents a man and a woman, sitting, who must be Gōparāja and his wife. Above this, the pillar is again sixteen-sided. Above this, it is once more octagonal; and on two of the faces here, there are the remains of a quite illegible inscription of four lines, in characters of the same type with those of the inscription now published. Above this, the pillar curves over in sixteen flutes or ribs, into a round top. The pillar was converted into a *linga*, by fitting an ablution-trough to it; this was attached over the part where the inscription lay; and it was only by the breaking of it, that the greater part of the inscription was disclosed to view.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 9" broad by 11" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather, and from the sharpening of tools on the edges of the stone; but, on the original pillar, it is fairly legible almost throughout; and the only historical items that have been lost are, in line 2, the name of Gōparāja's grandfather, and of the family to which he belonged.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though not quite so well formed, are of almost precisely the same type with those of the Ēran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiiA. The letter *r*, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed within the top line of the writing in *pārtha*, line 5, and *bhāryā*, line 7; but above it in *sarddhā*, line 5. The characters include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 7, 90, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and, the inscription is in prose as far as the end of the date, in line 2, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *raśa*, lines 1 and 4; and (2) the doubling of *k* and *ś*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *vikkrdnta* and *puttra*, line 3.

¹ See page 18 above, and note 1.

² The 'Pahlehpur' of Gen. Cunningham's map (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Pl. xxiii.)

The inscription, which does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight, and solar day¹ of the month, of Śrāvaṇa (July-August). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record that, in the company of a powerful king named Bhānugupta, a chieftain or noble named Gōparāja came to the place where the pillar was set up, and fought a battle; that Gōparāja was killed; and that his wife accompanied him, by cremating herself on his funeral pyre.²

TEXT:

- 1 Om Samvatsara-śatē³ ēka-navaty-uttarē Śrāvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[t]amy[ām]
 2 samvat 100 90 1 Śrāvaṇa ba⁴ di 7 11 [-]la(?)ksha⁵-vaṇśād=
 utpannō [- -]
 3 rāj-ēti-viśrutah tasya puttrō=ti-vikkrāntō nāmnā rāj=ātha Mādhavaḥ 11
Gōparājah
 4 sūtas=tasya śrīmān=vikhyāta-pauruṣah . Śarabharāja-dauhitrāḥ sva-vaṇśa-
 tilakō-dhu(?)nā(?) [11]
 5 Śrī-Bhānuguptō jagati pravirō rājā mahān=Pārtha-samō=ti-sūrah tēn=ātha
 sārddhan=tv-iha Gōpar[ā]j[ō]

¹The day is indicated as a solar day, as well as lunar, by the use, in the numerical-symbol record, of *di*, the abbreviation of *dina*, *dinē*, *divasa*, or *divasē*, in addition to, in the fuller record, *saptamī*, which denotes the lunar *tithi*.—The abbreviation *di* is preceded by *ba*, which stands for *bahula-paksha* or *bahula-pakshē*. Sometimes, instead of *ba*, we have *va*; e.g. in line 17 of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahārāja* Vināyakapāla, *samvatsrō* (sic) 100 80 8 *Phālguna va di* 9 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 141); in which case *va* may, according to the general orthography of the particular record, stand for *ba*; or it may be an abbreviation of *vadya*, which is a synonym of *bahula*, and is of common enough use in the present day, though it was not so in ancient times. The corresponding method of denoting the bright fortnight, is by the use of the abbreviation *śu*, which represents *śukla* or *śuddha*, similarly in composition with *paksha* or *pakshē*; e.g. in line 14 of the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, No. 71 below, Plate xliA., *samvat 200 60 9 Chaittra śu di* 8.—These abbreviations, *śu di* and *ba di* or *va di*, are often quoted as if they were words in themselves ('*Sudī*, *badi*, *vadi*'), meaning respectively 'the bright fortnight' and 'the dark fortnight.' And Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *vadi* as an indeclinable word, meaning 'in the dark half of a month;' with the remark that, according to some, it stands for *badi*, and is a contraction of *bahula-dina*; but with an intimation of his own opinion that it represents *vadya*. But I doubt whether the Hindus themselves, even when using the abbreviations, look on them as words. And it is worth noting that Molesworth and Candy's Marāṭhī Dictionary, which is very comprehensive, does not include these expressions, either as abbreviations, or as words. Even if a modern practice of treating these abbreviations as words, should be proved, it is an erroneous practice. By origin, the syllables are nothing but distinct and separate abbreviations, of which the first denotes the fortnight of the month, and the second, the day of the month or fortnight. And this is the point of view from which they have to be looked at, in dealing with any ancient records.

²i.e., according to the colloquial expression, she became *Sati* ('*Suttē*').—With this early instance of the cremation of widows, we may compare the indication of the same practice that is given in Bhagwanlal Indrajī's Nēpāl inscription No. 1, of Mānadēva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 164, line 7 f., and p. 165), when Rājyavatī, the widow of Dharmadēva, bids her son Mānadēva take up the government, in order that she may follow her deceased husband to the other world. This instance belongs to about A.D. 705 (see *id.* Vol. XIV. pp. 344, 350).—As noted by Gen. Cunningham, there are several other *Sati*-pillars, but of much later date, at Eran.

³ From the original stone.

⁵ i.e. *bahula-paksha*.

⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next verse.

⁶ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the following verse.

- 6 mitrân=uva(?)tyā(?)ra(?) kil=ānuyātaḥ || Kṛityā [cha*] y[u]ddham su-
mahat-prak[ā]śam svarggam gatā divya-narē(?)[ndra-kalpāḥ]
7 bhakt=ānuraktā cha¹ priyā cha kāntā bh[ā]r[ī]y[ā]=ā[va]lag[n]=ānugat=
āg[n]i-r[ā]śim || 5

TRANSLATION.

Om! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrāvaṇa; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 90 (and) 1; (the month) Śrāvaṇa; the dark fortnight; the day 7:—

(Line 2).—(There was) a king, renowned under the name of . . . rāja, sprung from the . . laksha(?) lineage; and his son (was) that very valorous king (who was known) by the name (of) Mādhava.

(L. 3).—His son was the illustrious Gōparāja, renowned for manliness; the daughter's son of the Śarabha king; who is (even) now(?) the ornament of (his) lineage.

(L. 5).—(There is) the glorious Bhānugupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha, exceedingly heroic; and, along with him, Gōparāja followed (his) friends (and came) here. [And*] having fought a very famous battle, he,² [who was but little short of being equal to] the celestial [king (Indra)], (died and) went to heaven; and (his) devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied (him) onto the funeral pyre.

No. 21; (No PLATE)

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 156.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nagaudh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Professor H. H. Wilson's translation, combining both this and the next inscription of the year 163, from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts. —In 1861, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX.* p. 6 ff., Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11, No. 1, General Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, substituted a close approximation to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor H. H. Wilson and differing from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 1.)

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh,³ about three miles south-west of Uchaharâ,⁴ the present capital

¹ The metre is faulty here, as the *cha*, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following double consonant, *pr*.

² Gōparāja.

³ The 'Kho' of maps. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, but is not shewn there. — *khôh* means literally 'a cave.'

⁴ The 'Oochaira, Uchahara, Uchara, Uchera, Ucheyra, Uhchehra, Unchehra, Unchehrah, Unchera, Urchara, and Urcharah,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 23' N.; Long. 80° 51' E.—

of the Native State of Nāgaudh or Nāgaundh¹ in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskrit College at Benares; but, with the ring and seal, were lost sight of in being transferred from there to the Allahābād Museum, and thence to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow (Lakhnau). I am informed that the second plate has been recently found at Lucknow. But I have not been able to obtain it, or an ink-impression of it, for examination. And I, therefore, edit the inscription here from a hand-copy made by General Cunningham, which, though not suitable for lithography, suffices admirably for reading the text.

The plates, two in number, and inscribed on one side only, appear to have been in a state of excellent preservation throughout. From the original accounts, they seem to have been connected as usual by a ring, the ends of which were secured in the lower part of a seal, the front of which had on it the legend, Śrī-mahārāja-Hastināh, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin," as on the seal of his grant of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type as those of the following inscription of the same Mahārāja of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xiii. The letter *r* in conjunction with a following *y*, is formed in two ways; in *kāryah*, line 14, and *kuryāt*, line 14-15, the *r* is written within the top line of the writing, with only a single *y* below it, as in *kuryāt*, line 12, and *sūryadatta*, line 19, of No. 23 below, Plate xiv.; while in *sūryadatta*, lines 10 and 21, and *maryyāddh*, line 12, it is formed above the top line, as in the case of conjunction with other letters, and the *y* is doubled.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *vakkṛd*, line 20; and *sagōttra* and *puttra*, line 9; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *avaddhyānēna*, line 15; and (4) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *smbatsarē*, line 2; and *barsha*, line 19.

In addition to 'Uchahara,' Gen. Cunningham uses three other forms, 'Uchahara,' 'Uchahada,' and 'Uchahada,' (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 5); but, in my inquiries at Satnā, I could not obtain anything in support of them.—He has also proposed (*id.* p. 10) to identify Uchaharā with 'Udyāra,' the supposed capital of Svāmīdatta mentioned in line 19 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1; but the real reading there (page 7 above) gives Giri-Koṭṭāra, or "Koṭṭāra on the hill."—Uchaharā is probably by no means an unique name; as the maps give an 'Ocharah,' ten miles towards the north-east, an 'Ocharah,' twenty-nine miles north by east, an 'Uchera,' thirty-one miles to the south-east by east, and another 'Uchera,' about fifty-nine miles to the south-east by south, from the place under reference.

¹ The 'Nagode, Nagound, and Nagudh,' of maps, &c. *Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 24° 33' N.; Long. 80° 37' E.*—On the badges of the Police Sepoys, I found the name written Nāgaud. But the correct form is undoubtedly Nāgaudh, which is sometimes nasalised and pronounced Nāgaundh.—The Rājā is officially called the 'Rājā of Nagode;' and Nāgaudh was formerly the capital of the State. The present capital is Uchaharā. And the Political Agency is now at Satnā, which, in reality the name of a river, has been adopted as the name of the station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The station and the Agency are really in the lands of the village of Bardādīh.—Gen. Cunningham has proposed (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 12) to identify Nāgaudh with the Nāgadēya that is mentioned in line 5 of the Kārtīkāl plates of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 below. But the name would rather seem to be derived from *nāga-vadha* or *nāga-bandha*, 'the slaughter or the capture of the hooded-serpents or of the Nāga tribe;' whereas Nāgadēya would mean 'the gift to the hooded-serpents, or to the Nāga tribe.'

The inscription is one of the **Parivrājaka**¹ **Mahārāja Hastin**. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**,"² in the year one hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 475-76), in the **Mahā-Vaiśākha samvatsara**,³ and on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month **Kārttika** (October-November). The inscription is non-sectarian, except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of **Mahādēva**. The object of it is to record the grant, by the **Mahārāja Hastin**, of the village of **Vasuntarashandika** to **Gōpasvāmin** and other Brahmins.

TEXT.

RG

First Plate.

- 1 **Namō Mahādēvāya** || **Svasti** **Ṣaṭpañcāś-ōttarē-bḍa-satē** **Gupta-nripa-**
 2 **rāja-bhuktau** **Mahā-Vaiśākha-sambatsarē**⁴ 1^o **Kārttika-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-tṛtīyā-**
 3 **yām-asyān-divasa-pūrvvāyām**⁷ **nripatiparivrājaka-kul-ōtpannēna** 1^o **mahā-**
 4 **rāja-Dēvādhyā-pranāpṭrā** **mā(rā)hārāja-Prabhañjana-napṭranā**¹⁰ **mahārāja-**
Dāmōdara-sutēna

¹ **parivrājaka** means literally 'a wandering religious mendicant, an ascetic in the fourth and last religious order or stage of life.'—The compound used in line 3 of the Text, **nripati-parivrājaka**, 'a kingly ascetic,' is of the same class with **rāj-arshi**, 'a royal saint, a saint of royal descent.' Compare also **rājādhirāj-arshi**, 'a saintly sovereign,' which is applied to **Chandragupta II.** in the **Udayagiri** cave inscription, No. 6, page 35 above, line 3.—The particular kingly ascetic, from whom **Hastin's** family derived its origin, was **Susarman** (see No. 25 below, Plate xvB, line 5 f.)—The word **parivrājaka** seems to have been adopted as the regular and habitual appellation of the family. At any rate, it furnishes, for distinctive purposes, a convenient and unobjectionable name for it.

² **Gupta-nripa-rāja-bhuktau**; line 1f.—The same expression occurs in Nos. 22, 23, and 25. It indicates clearly that the **Gupta** dynasty and sway were still continuing; and of course the date refers to the era used by the **Guptas**. But there is nothing in the expression, tending to give the era the name of the "**Gupta era**."—Prof. H. H. Wilson's translation of this date, combined with that of the following inscription, No. 22, (Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251) was "in the 163rd year of the occupation of the kingdom by the **Gupta kings**." And this was substantially correct. But he added a note that **bhukṭō** or **bhuktau** might be read **mukṭō** or **muktau**, 'from the end or cessation.'—In publishing this translation, Mr. Thomas pointed out that the reading **mukṭō** or **muktau** could not possibly be admitted. And, following this, Dr. Hall (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. pp. 3 f., note, and 6, 12) adopted the reading **bhuktau** or **bhukṭō**; but laid down the dictum that **bhukṭi**, "if unqualified by a temporal particle, denotes 'possession,' or 'fruition,' only as a thing of the past;" and he then proceeded to translate the passage by "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the extinction of the sovereignty of the **Gupta kings**;" and again "one hundred and sixty-three years after the domination, of the **Guptas** had been laid to rest."—Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11) gave "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**." And this, again, was substantially correct, though not grammatically.—As in the case of **santē**, in line 3 of the **Kaṇaṁ** pillar inscription of **Skandagupta** (see page 67 above, note 7), it is impossible to imagine how **bhukṭi**, lit. 'the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, usufruct,' ever came to be applied in the sense of 'extinction'; except under the influence of a preconceived bias, so strong as to prevent entirely the critical consideration which would at once have shewn the error.

³ **samvatsara**, 'a year,' is used principally, if not entirely, to denote (as is indicated by the first component, **sam**, 'with, together with') years that have a close connection with those that precede and follow them; i.e. years of cycles, eras, and reigns.—In the present case, the twelve-year cycle of the planet **Jupiter** is referred to.

⁴ From Gen. Cunningham's hand-copy.

⁵ Read **samvatsarē**.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ Supply **tithau**.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁹ See page 97 below, note 4. ¹⁰ Read **napṭrā**.

- 5 ~~gô-sahasra-hasty-asva-hirany-ânêka-bhûmi-pradêna~~ guru-pitri-mâtri-pûjâ-tatparê-
 6 ~~n-âtyanta-dêva-brâhmana-bhâktêna~~ II¹ ~~naika-samara-satata-vijayinâ sva-vanâ-a-~~
 7 ~~môdakarêna mahârâja-śrī Hastinâ~~ ~~sva-pûny-âpyâyan-ârtham-âtmânâṁ~~ sva-
 8 ~~rgga-sôpâna-paṅktibhir-ârôha(pa)yatâ~~ brâhmaṇa-Vâjisinêya³Mâdhya³
 9 ~~ndina-Kautsasagôṭtra-Gôpasvâmi~~ Bhavasvâmi I Sandhyâputtra I Divâkara-
 10 dattah Bhâskaradatta I Sûryyadattasya⁴ ~~Vasuntarashandika-grâmô-~~
 11 tisriṣṭah II Samantâd=garttâ uttarê paśchimô(mê)na

Second Plate.

- 12 pûrvva-bhûktâ⁵ mā(ma)ryyadâḥ [II*] Samndhyâ⁶puttra-pramukhânâḥ
 s-ôdraṅgaḥ s-ôparikarâḥ
 13 ^Ga-châtâ-bhata-prâvēśyâḥ chôra-varijâṁ [II*] Tad=asmat-kul-ôṭthaiḥ mat-
 pādapiṇḍ-ôpajī-
 14 ^vvibhir=vvâ kâlântarêshv=api na vyâghatâḥ kâryâḥ [I*] évam=âjñâpta⁷
 yô=nyathâ ku-
 15 ryât=tam=aham dēhântara-gatô=pi mahat=âvaddhyânêna nirddahêd⁸=Uktam
 cha bhagavatâ pa-
 16 ram-arshiṇâ vêda-vyâsêna I Pûrvva⁹-dattâḥ dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=
 rakshya(ksha) Yudhishtîrah¹⁰
 17 mahi(hî)m mahimatâm¹¹ śrêṣṭha dânaçh=chhreyô=nupâlanam¹² [II*]
 Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râ-
 18 jabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ
 phalam [II*]
 19 Shashṭim-ba(va)rsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêtâ
 ch-ânuma-
 20 ntâ cha tâny=êva narakô yasêd=iti II Likhitaṁ=cha¹³ Vakk^G-âmatya-
 21 [pra*]¹⁴naptrâ bhôgik-âmatya-Naradatta-naptrâ bhôgi¹⁵ka-Ravidatta-puttr[êna*]
 Sûryya-
 22 dattên=êti [I*] ^GDutakô Bhâgrahaḥ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahâdêva! Hail!¹⁶ In a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (year); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² Read *sata*.

³ Read *vâjisanêya*.

⁴ Read, in composition, *Gôpasvâmi-Bhavasvâmi-Sandhyâputtra-Divâkaradatta-Bhâskaradatta-Sûryyadattêbhyô*.

⁵ Read *bhuktâ*.—F. E. Hall read *bhûkti*. But the *bhûktâ* (for *bhuktâ*) of Gen. Cunningham's copy, seems preferable.

⁶ Read *sandhyâ*.

⁷ Read either *âjñâptê*, or *âjñâptê*.

⁸ Read *nirddahyam*.

⁹ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.

¹⁰ Read *yudhishtîra*.

¹¹ For some various readings here, see page 99 below, note 1.

¹² Read *nupâlanam*, or *nupâlanam*.

¹³ Supply *âsanam*, or *tâmraâsanam*, in apposition with *likhitam*; and see page 99 below, note 2.

¹⁴ This *gi* is omitted in Gen. Cunningham's copy.

¹⁵ *svasti*; lit. "it is well" (*su asti*).—Like *siddham* (see page 25 above, note 4), this word of constant use as a *mangala*, or 'auspicious invocation,' at the commencement of inscriptions.—

Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (*&c.*),¹—

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Hastin*,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;²—who is the great-grandson³ of the *Mahārāja Dēvādhyā*;⁴—who is the grandson of the *Mahārāja Prabhāñjana*;—who is the son of the *Mahārāja Dāmōdara*;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhmins;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 7.)—(*By him*),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit, (*and*) in order to cause (*himself*) to ascend by the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—the village of *Vasuntarashandika* is granted to the Brāhmaṇ Gōpasvāmin, of the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyamīna (*śākhā*) and the Kautsa *gōtra*, and to Bhavasvāmin, Sandhyāputra, Divākaradatta, Bhāskaradatta, and Sūryadatta.

(L. 11.)—On all sides (*there are*) trenches (*of demarcation*);⁵ (*and*) on the north by the west, the boundaries are those that have been previously enjoyed. (*This village is made the property*) of Sandhyāputra and the others, with the *udraṅga*⁶ and the *upari*—

It also occurs, governing a dative case, at the end of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvārman, No. 18, page 84 above, line 24; and as a neuter noun, signifying 'prosperity,' in conjunction with *astu*, 'let there be,' the two together governing a dative, at the end of the Éraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19, page 89 above, line 9, and at the end of the Éraṇ inscription of Tōramāpa, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiiA. line 8.

¹ The text (line 3) has *asyān=divasa-pūrvvāyām*, in apposition with which *tithau* has to be supplied.—The same expression was used in the Gaḍhwā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 7, page 37 above, line 2 f.; and it occurs in other places also.—But the fuller and more formal expression was *asyām saṃvatsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyām*, "on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the *saṃvatsara* (or year) and month and day," which occurs, for instance, in the Majhgawān grant of the *Mahārāja Hastin* of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. line 2 f.—Another variety of the expression is *asyān=divasa-māsa-saṃvatsar-ānupūrvvāyām*, in the Shāhpur image inscription of Ādityasēna, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA. line 2.—In the Bilsāḍ pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10, page 44 above, line 7, we have *asyān=divasa-pūrvvāyām*, without the specification of any details except the year.

² See page 95 above, note 1.

³ In this and the other three formal inscriptions of this family, Nos. 22, 23, and 25 below, *pranapti* and *naptri* are used, instead of the more customary and stricter terms, *prapautra*, or 'son of a son's son,' and *pautra*, 'son's son'; see page 15 above, note 3. *Pranapti* and *naptri* may denote, at any rate in early times, descendants through a daughter, as well as through a son; and I therefore translate them by the less binding expressions of 'great-grandson' and 'grandson.' We may, however, assume with safety that they are used here to denote descendants through sons.

⁴ F. E. Hall (*Your. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 6, and p. 8, note) read this name as *Dēvādhyā*, and rejected H. H. Wilson's reading of *Dwārhyā* (which is evidently a misprint for *Dēvārhyā*, i.e. *Dēvādhyā*) with the remark—"in both inscriptions, the name is most legibly incised; and Mr. Thomas' decipherments bear out my lection unhesitatingly." The fact remains, however, that in all the three inscriptions of *Hastin*, and in the inscription of *Samkshōbha*, the name is unmistakably *Dēvādhyā*; as, indeed, would be recognised at once by any careful reader, acquainted with Sanskrit, since *ahya* or *dhya* is no real word or termination at all; and Prof. H. H. Wilson was right, and Dr. FitzEdward Hall was wrong.

⁵ *garta*; *lit.* 'a hollow, a hole, a cave.'

⁶ *udraṅga* is a technical fiscal term.—Dr. Bühler has brought to notice (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 189, note 39) that in the *Sāvatarkōsha*, Zachariæ's edition, pp. xxix., 260, it is explained by *uddhāra*

kara,¹ (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops;² (but) with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves.³

(L. 13.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories.⁴ This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 15.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage,⁵ the arranger of the

and *udgrantha* (? *udgrāha*), and thus seems to mean 'the share of the produce collected usually for the king.'—The only passage in which it occurs otherwise than among the technical conditions of a grant, is in connection with Kharagraha II.; e.g. in line 46 of the Alṅā grant of Śīlāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv.—In this passage, as it is given in line 46 of the grant of Śīlāditya III. of the year 352 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 308), it appears to be spelt with a double *d*, *uddraṅga*; so also in line 10 of the grant of the *Mahārāja* Guhasēna of the year 246 (*id.* Vol. IV. p. 175.)

¹ *uparikara* is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which has not been made clear. But I would suggest that the first component is the Prakrit word *upari* or *upri* (see Molesworth and Candy's Marāṭhi Dictionary, and Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*; and that the term denotes 'a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil.'

² *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśya*; a technical term of constant occurrence.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 175, note 41) takes *chāṭa-bhaṭa* as meaning *chāṭān prati bhaṭāh*, 'soldiers against robbers,' and as denoting the royal police. But, that *chāṭa* is not governed by *bhaṭa*, seems to be made clear by the analogous but differently arranged expression, *a-bhaṭa-chchhātra-pravēśya*, in line 26 of the Chammak grant of the *Mahārāja* Pravaraśēna II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv., and in line 27-28 of his Siwanī grant, No. 56, Plate xxxv. And, in line 6 of the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of Śāka-Samvat 532 (*Your. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365), we have the simple expression *a-bhaṭa-pravēśya*.—I follow Dr. Bühler's interpretation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 115 and note).—A slightly different expression, but of exactly the same purport, viz. *pratiśiḍḍha-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśa* occurs, for instance, in l. 10-11 of the Kapālēsvar grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 56).—Other expressions, which help to indicate the bearing of the term, are *saṁastarājakiyānām=a-pravēśya*, "not to be entered by any of the king's people," e.g. in line 17 of the Ilāḍ grant of Dadda II. of Śāka-Samvat 417 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 117); and *rāja-sēvakānām vasatidanda-prayānadandau na stāh*, in line 97 of the Paiṭhan grant of Rāmachandra of Śāka-Samvat 1193 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 318). The latter expression may refer to 'fees' imposed on the king's servants for halting at, or starting from, a village; or it may refer to 'fines,' i.e. 'forced contributions of money or supplies,' obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions.

³ This elliptical expression, *chōra-varjjam*, *lit.* "with the exception of thieves," is explained by the fuller expression *chōra-danda-varjjam*, "with the exception of fines (imposed) on thieves," in line 14 of the Khōh grant of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 177 (No. 27 below, Plate xvii).

⁴ *mat-pādapind-ōpajivin*; *lit.* 'subsisting on the cakes which are my feet.' Compare *tat-pādapadm-ōpajivin*, 'subsisting (like a bee) on the waterlilies that are his feet,' which, in later times in the south, became the customary technical expression for the relation of feudatory princes and nobles, and other officials, to their paramount sovereigns; e.g. in line 8 of the Kādarōjī inscription of Śāka-Samvat 997 (*Archzol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 105).—Compare, also, an expression of very similar purport, *tat-pādapallav-ōpaśōhhit-ōitamāṅga*, 'whose head is adorned with the fresh sprouts that are his feet,'—in line 5 f. of the Balagāṁve inscription of Śāka-Samvat 970 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 179).—See also page 55 above, and note 1.

⁵ Vyāsa; whose name, as well as his epithet of "arranger of the Vēdas," is usually inserted in this passage; e.g. in line 13 of the Majhgawām grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—In line 13 of No. 26 below, Plate xvi., line 14 of No. 27, Plate xvii., line 22 of

Vēdas,—“O Yudhiṣṭhira, best of kings,¹ carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!”

(L. 20.)—And (*this charter*)² has been written³ by Sūryadatta, the [great*]-grand-

No. 28, Plate xviii., and line 3 of No. 30, Plate xixB., these verses are said to be from the Mahābhārata. And in line 19 of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Saṁkshōbha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., it is also added that they are in the *Satasāhasri-Saṁhitā* of the Mahābhārata.—These verses are nearly always attributed, in the inscriptions, to Vyāsa. But, in line 27-28 of the Karṇūl grant of the third year of Vikramāditya I. (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 237), the verse commencing *Bahubhir-vasudhā bhuktā*, the second in the present inscription, with one other not in this inscription, is allotted to Manu; a point which may be of some interest in connection with Dr. Bühler's discovery (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 324) that about one-tenth of Manu's verses occur in the Mahābhārata.

¹ *mahimat*, or *mahīmat*, in the sense of a 'king' (*lit.* 'possessed of the earth') is not a dictionary word. But its meaning, based on its etymology, is obvious; and it is further borne out by the various reading *kshītibhritām*, which occurs in the same verse in line 32 of the Chhārōl grant of a Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakka of Śaka-Saṁvat 679 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 109). Another various reading, in a slight variety of the same verse, is *matimatām*, 'wise, prudent,' in line 40 of the Nausārī grant of Jayabhāta II. of the year 456 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 79).

² *śāsana*, 'a charter,' or *tāmra-śāsana*, 'a copper-charter.'—These were the technical terms for conveyances of this kind. The first word, *śāsana*, occurs, for instance, in line 4 of the legend on the seals of the Chammak and Siwant grants of the Mahārāja Pravaraśena II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plate xxxiii C. and D. The second, *tāmra-śāsana*, occurs, for instance, in line 10 of the Majhgawām grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—See also p. 87 above, note 10, where I have given an instance (the only one known to me) of a copper-plate charter being called *prastastī*, which word is properly the technical term for an inscription on stone.

³ *likhitam*.—This refers either to the manual drafting of the record, or to the writing of it on the plates, for the guidance of the engraver, who then had to follow the writing and impress it with his tools. And of course it is to be understood, in the case of a high official like Sūryadatta, who in No. 22 below, Plate xiii. line 29 f. has the title of *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika*, that the writing was done by one of his clerks, not by himself.—The process of engraving is always denoted by *utkīrṇā* (*prastastī*), e.g. in line 25 of the Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.; or *utkīrṇam* (*śāsanam*), e.g. in line 23 of the Āraṅ grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—It might be thought that *likhitam* may refer to the composition or drawing up of the record. But this part of the process is always denoted by a derivative from the root *kri*, 'to make,' e.g. *prastastēh kartā*, in line 17 of the Aihole Mēguṭi inscription of Pulikēśin II. of Śaka-Saṁvat 556 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 242); or *rach*, 'to compose,' e.g. *rachitā* (*prastastī*), in line 23 of No. 18 above, page 84. And in line 37 of a grant of Ālhaṇadēva of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1218 (*Indian Inscriptions*, No. 10), we have the double expression *rachayām-chakāra lilikhē ch-ēdam mahā-śāsanam*.—Some of the functions connected with a copper-charter are very well indicated in line 46 of the Kapālāsvar grant of Mahā-Bhāvagupta, (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 57, 58) where the proper translation (from my own reading of the original) runs,—“This triplicate copper-charter has been written by the illustrious Māhuka,—the son of Priyamkarāditya,—a writer (*Kāyastha*) belonging to (the office of) the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahin*, the *Rānaka*, the illustrious Malladatta. (This) charter, presented by the lord of Kōśala, by which the village-headman (*Mahattama*) is to be informed,—Puṇḍarikāksha received it (apparently to superintend the engraving), transferred to copper. It has been engraved by Mādhyava, the son of Vāsu.”

son of the *Amṭya*¹ Vakra; the grandson of the *Bhōgika*² and *Amṭya* Naradatta; (and) the son of the *Bhōgika* Ravidatta. The *Dātaka*³ (is) *Bhāgraha*.⁴

No. 22; PLATE XIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN, THE YEAR 163.

THIS inscription, again, appears to have been discovered about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nāgaudh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Professor H. H. Wilson's translation, combining both this and the preceding inscription of the year 156, from Mr. Thomas'

¹ *Amṭya*, lit. 'an inmate of the same house; a counsellor,' is a technical official title.

² *Bhōgika*, lit. 'one who enjoys or possesses,' is explained in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary by 'housekeeper, groom.' In the inscriptions it is a technical official title, possibly connected with the territorial terms *bhōga* and *bhukti*.—If we may judge by the passage in line 8 of the *Kāvi* grant of Jayabhāta II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 114), the *Bhōgikas* came in rank below the *Sāmantas* and above the *Vishayapatis*.

³ *Dātaka*, and occasionally *Datta*, (e.g. in line 14 of the Nirmanḍ grant of the Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrasēna, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.), lit. 'a messenger,' is the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. The term is most commonly used in connection with copper-charters. But there are a few instances in which it occurs in inscriptions on stone; e.g. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's *Nepāl inscriptions*, No. 3, line 21 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 167), No. 4, line 17-18 (*id.* p. 168), No. 6, line 13 (*id.* p. 170), &c. And these are sufficient to shew that the *Dātaka*'s office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it then was to have the charter drawn up and delivered. And, in accordance with this, there is no mention of any *Dātaka* when we have such expressions as *ājñā suayam*, 'the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own self,' e.g. in line 19 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the Mahārāja Indravarman of the year 128 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 121); *sva-mukh-ājñā*, 'the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own mouth,' e.g. in line 24 of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Saṃkshobha, No. 25 below, Plate xvB.; *ājñaptih sva-mukham*, with the same meaning, e.g. in line 34 of the Gōḍavari grant of the Rāja Prithivimūla (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 118); and *sva-mukh-ājñāyā utkirnam*, 'engraved at the order of (the grantor's) own mouth,' e.g. in line 23 of the Arāṅ plates of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—As pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 161, note 28), *ājñāddātaka*, lit. 'conveyer of orders,' in line 29 of the Ujjain grant of Vākpatirāja of Dhārā (*id.* p. 160) seems to have been another regular title of the same officer; though this is, I think, at present the only instance in which it occurs.—And it is now plain that it is the same office which is referred to in such expressions as *ājñā mahāmahattara-Gaurisarmā*, 'the order (is) (conveyed by) the Mahāmahattara Gaurisarma,' in line 24 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the Mahārāja Indravarman of the year 146 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 123); *ājñapti-Siyasarmā*, in line 28 of the 'Pedda-Maddālī' grant of Jayasimha I. (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 138); and *ājñaptih Dāmakirttibhōjakah &c.*, in line 12-13 of the Halst grant of the eighth year of Mṛigēśavarman (*id.* Vol. VI. p. 24 f.).—Line 13 of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of the year 197, No. 30 below, Plate xixB., mentions, in addition to the ordinary *Dātaka*, another *Dātaka*, sent as a messenger to a second writer, who was ordered to insert certain additional privileges. And this, again, is in favour of my position that the *Dātaka* carried the orders for the drawing up of a charter, not the charter itself.

⁴ In No. 22 below, Plate xiv. line 30, this name occurs with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable. It is impossible to decide which form is correct, as the first component may be either *bhā*, 'light, splendour, lustre,' or *bha*, 'a star, a planet.'

reading of the texts.—In 1861, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 10 ff., Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11 f., No. 2, General Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, substituted a close approximation to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor Wilson and differing from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the 'date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 2.)

The inscription is on another set of copper-plates that were found, with the plates containing the inscription of the same *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 156, No. 21 above, somewhere in the valley near the village of *Khôh*¹ in the *Nagāudh* State in the *Baghêl-khand* division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskrit College at Benares, but were transferred, first to the Provincial Museum at Allahābād, and then to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow, where they now are; but without their ring and seal, which were lost during the transfers.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are three in number. The first two measure about $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by $5\frac{5}{8}$ ", and the third, which was evidently added as an afterthought, when it was found that the inscription could not be completed on the front of the second and that the back of it was not suitable for engraving, about $5\frac{3}{8}$ " by $2\frac{3}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Except, however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the third plate, the writing is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters, being rather deeply engraved, shew through so plainly on the backs of them that even vowel-marks can be read there; and it is evidently owing to this, that the inscription was finished on a third and smaller plate, instead of on the back of the second. The engraving is well executed; but the interiors of the majority of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is a hole in the upper part² of each plate for a ring, with a seal attached to it; but the ring and seal are not now forthcoming. From the original accounts, the seal appears to have had on it the legend *Śrī-Mahārāja-Hastināh*, "of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Hastin," as on the seal of his grant of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the following, from No. 24, Plate xvA., to No. 31, Plate xx., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. In *sūryadatta*, line 30, on the one hand, and, on the other, in *kāryya*, line 20, and *kuryyāt*, line 21, we have further illustrations of the two methods of writing *r* in combination with a following *y*, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In *brahmachārīne* and *cha*, line 8, *chāṭa*, line 16, and *dāndāch*, line 23, we have a form of *ch* which belongs properly to a somewhat later period, and to the southern alphabets; but which is perhaps indicative of the current and non-official form of the letter in Central India in this period.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout. It has been

¹ See page 93 above, and note 3.

² When the rings are arranged as in these plates, it is customary to find the ring-hole in the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second. But all the grants of this family, and of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa, as far as Plate xx., have the ring-holes in the top of each plate as here.

engrossed with less care than is usual in epigraphical records of this early date.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vakkra*, line 28; (3) the doubling of *t*, under the same circumstances, in *ttri*, line 1; *chaittra*, line 2; and other places; but not in *putrēna*, line 29; (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *madḍhyēna*, line 18; but not in *avadhydnēna*, line 21; and (5) the use of *v* for *b*, in *lamvōshtha*, line 14.

The inscription is one of the **Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin**. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta** kings," in the year one hundred and sixty-three¹ (A.D. 482-83), in the Mahā-Aśvayuja *samvatsara*, and on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). Except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādēva, the inscription is non-sectarian. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the **Mahārāja Hastin**, of the *agrādāra* of **Kōrparika** to certain Brāhmanas.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Namō Mahādēvāya (II) Svasti Ttri-shashty-uttarē-bda-śatē Gupta-nripa-
rāja-bhuktau
- 2 Mah-Aśvayuja-sāmvatyārē² Chaittra-māsa-śukla-paksha-dvittī[ā*]yām-asy[ā*]n-
divasa-
- 3 pūrvv[ā*]yā[m*]³ nripatiparivrājaka-kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-Dēvādhyā-
pranapt[r*]ā ¶

¹ In respect of the date of this inscription, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 9 and 11, and Vol. X. p. 116) has expressed the opinion that one hundred and sixty-three is a mistake for one hundred and seventy-three. And certainly the record in No. 21, page 95 above, that the year 156 was Mahā-Vaiśākha, leads *prima facie* to the conclusion that 163 would be Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, and that Mahā-Aśvayuja would be (either 161 or) 173; especially since the record of No. 25, page 112 below, that 209 was Mahā-Aśvayuja, points to the names of the *samvatsaras* running in regular succession, without any adjustment by expunction, through this period of fifty-four years. But Gen. Cunningham's suggestion that the apparent error is "a mistake of the engraver, who has written *shasht*" (sic.) "(60) instead of *sapt*" (sic.) "(70), which in Gupta characters might easily happen," takes no account of an additional *akshara* that must then have been omitted altogether. "Increased by seventy-three" would be, not *ttri-sapty-uttarē*, but *ttri-saptaty-uttarē*. And it would not be an easy matter for the engraver to turn this full and correct form into *ttri-shashty-uttarē*. Gen. Cunningham's present tables for the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 118 ff.; and *Indian Eras*, Table xvii. Col. 10, p. 135 ff.) will have to be re-examined. In this process, with the possibility, which there always is, of the drafters of these epigraphical records making a mistake between current and expired years, it may turn out that this passage really does contain a mistake; which, if it does exist, is more likely to be in the direction of *ttri*, 'three,' having been engraved instead of *dvi*, 'two,' and perhaps of the drafter of the record having also written one hundred and sixty-two, instead of one hundred and sixty-one.—Meanwhile, Dr. Thibaut, who is a competent authority, has recorded his opinion (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 322) that "observation has, as we know, never been the strong point of Hindu astronomers; and if, according to their system, a certain year was to be called Mahā-Chaitra, they would scarcely have hesitated to do so, even if they had found that the name was not justified by Jupiter's actual position." And, until the matter is definitely settled one way or the other, it is better to adhere to the distinct reading of the year one hundred and sixty-three.

² From the original plates.

³ Read *samvatsarē*.

⁴ Supply *tithau*.

- 4 mahārāja-sri-Prabhāñjana-naptra mahārāja-Dāmōdara-sutēna gō-sahasra-
 5 hasty-aśva-hiranyāṅka-bhūmi-pradēna guru-pitri-mātri-pūja-tanatparēn¹-a-
 6 tyanta-dēva-brāhmaṇa-bhaktēna naika-samara-śata-vijayinā sva-vanś-āmōdaka-
 7 rēna mahārāja-sri-Hastinā sva-puny-āpyāyan-ārtham-Agnisv[ā*]miputtra-
 Bharadvāja-S
 8 sagōttra-Vāji(ja)sanēvasabrahmachariṇē² Dēvasvāminē³ Śarvasvāminē⁴
 cha
 9 Gōrisvāminē⁵ Vāji(ja)sanēya-sabrahmachariṇē Kautsa-sagōttrāya Di-
 10 vākarasvāminē⁶ cha Sv[ā*]tisvāminē⁷ Vājasanēya-sabrā(hma)chhariṇē⁸
 Bhārgva-S
 11 va-sagōttrāya Varuṇasarmmaṇah⁹ (Bappasvāminē¹⁰) Vāsula-sagōttr[ā*]ya
 12 Kātha-sabrahmachariṇē Kumārādēvarēva¹¹ Vāji(ja)sanēya-sabrahmachari-
 13 na Māt[ri*]sarmmaṇah¹² Nāgaśa[r*]mma Rukharādēvaḥ¹³ Kaudravādēvaḥ¹⁴
 Vishn[u*]dēvaḥ¹⁵

Second Plate.

- 14 Dēvanāga Kumārasēna¹¹ Rudrasarmma¹² Dēvadā(?)ṅgarā(?)¹³
 Lamvō(mbō)shṭha Dēdamita¹⁴
 15 Mahadēva Guṇṭhaka ity-ēvam-ādibhyō brāhmaṇēbhy-ōttare¹⁵ paṭṭē
 Kōrppari-¹⁶
 16 k-āgrāhārah s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikarāḥ a-chāta-bhata-prāvēśyō=tisrishtah-
 17 s¹⁶-Tasy-āghātāḥ pūrvvēna Kōrpparagarttā¹⁷ uttarēn-Ānimuktakakōṇakah
 18 Vaṅgara-grāmakaśya dakshina-p[ā*]rsvē Valaka-maddhyēma¹⁷ vrikah
 amvrata-sāmitāra-
 19 kaḥ¹⁸ [I*] paśchimēna Nāgasarī dakshinēna Balavarmma-parichchhēdaḥ [II*]
 Tad-asma-
 20 [t*]-kul-ōthair=mmat-pādami(pi)hō-ōpaitvibhir=vvā¹⁹ kālāntarēshv=api na
 vyāghātāḥ kāryya[h*] [I*]
 21 ēvam-ājñāpta²⁰ yō=nyathā kuryyān(t)=tam=aham dēhāntara-gatō=pi mahat=
 āvadhyanē-

¹ Read *pūjā-tatparēn*.—The engraver omitted to cut the *ā* of *jā*; and to cancel the *na*, when he inserted, partly above the line and somewhat small, the *ta* for which *na* had been engraved by mistake.

² Read *chārinē*.

³ First *nai* was engraved; and then it was corrected into *nē*, by partial erasure of the upper stroke of the *ai*.

⁴ Read *sarmmaṇē*.

⁵ Read *dēvāya*.

⁶ Read *chārinē*.

⁷ Read *sarmma*.—From here, down to *ity-ēvam-ādibhyō* in line 15, is properly a compound; but it is spoilt by the three nominative cases at the end of this line, and by the unnecessary mark of punctuation in the next line.

⁸, ⁹, and ¹⁰ Read *dēva*.

¹¹ After this *na*, some letter, which is not quite certain, was engraved and then cancelled.

¹² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

¹³ Read *dēvadāṅgirah* (?).

¹⁴ This is perhaps a mistake for *dēvamitra*.

¹⁵ Read *brāhmaṇēbhyā uttarē*.

¹⁶ Read *tisrishtas*.

¹⁷ Read *maddhyamē*.

¹⁸ Read *amvrata*; and probably *sambhāraka*.

¹⁹ First *rvna* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *rvvā*.

²⁰ Read *ājñāptē* or *ājñāpitē*.

- 22 na nirdadahéd¹=Uktañ=cha bhagavatā param-arshipā veda-vyāsena [I*]
Pūrvva²-dattā[m*]
23 dvijātibhyō yatnād=rakshya(ksha) Yudhishtīrah³ mahl[m*] mah[i*]matām
śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrē-
24 yō=nupālanam I(II) Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ
sa(ya)sya ya-
25 yasya⁴ yadā bhūmis=tasya [tasya*] tadā phalan(m) [II*] Sva-
dattā[m*] para-dattām vā yō harē-
26 ta vasundharāḥ(m) sa vishṭh[ā*]yā[m*] kṛimir=bhūtvā pitrabhiḥ saha
pachyatē [II*]

Third Plate.

- 27 Sh[a]shṭ[im] v[ar]vva(sha)-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhu(bhū)mi-daḥ
āchchhēt[t*]a
28 ch=ānumant[ā*] ma(cha) t[ā*]ny=ēva narakē vasē[t*] [II*] Likhitañ-
cha⁵ Vakk-ām[ā*]tya-prana-
29 ptranatrā⁷ bhōṛika-Naradatta-napt[r*]a⁸ bhōṛika-Ravidatta-putrēna(ṇa) mahā-
30 sāndhivigrahika-Suryadatēnaḥ⁹ [I*] Bhagrāhō Gdōtaka[h*] [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahādēva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by sixty-three;⁹ in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**; in the Mahā-Aśvayuja *samvatsara*; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (&c.),—

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Hastin**,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the *Mahārāja Dēvādhyā*;—who is the grandson of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Prabhāñjana**;—who is the son of the *Mahārāja Dāmōdara*;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhman;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 7.)—(*By him*),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit,—the *agrāhāra* of **Kōrparika**, in the northern *paṭṭa*,¹⁰ is granted, with the *udraṅga* and the

¹ Read *nirdadahēyam*.

² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following three verses.

³ Read *yudhishtīra*.⁴ Read *yasya*; the engraver repeated the *ya* by mistake.⁵ Read *pitrībhiḥ*.⁶ Supply *śāsanam*.⁷ Read *pranaptrā*.—Mistakes of this kind would occur through the engraver not spacing the *aksharas* out as far as they were spaced in the painted arrangement on the copper. He would thus come to engrave *naptra* (for *naptrā*) two *aksharas* before the place intended for it; and he then ignorantly, and also imperfectly, repeated the *aksharas*, by engraving the painted marks still remaining on the plate.⁸ Read *sūryadatēna*.

⁹ See page 102 above, note 1.

¹⁰ *paṭṭa*, as used here, is apparently some technical territorial term. Compare *paṭṭ*, for *paṭṭi*, in line 8 of the Halsi grant of Bhānuvarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 20 and 29, note), which, both in Kanarese and in Marāṭhī, is used for 'a strip of land, a division of a village.' Compare also *paṭṭikā* in line 16 of the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja of the year 394 (*ib.* Vol. VII. pp. 248 and 250, note 27), and in line 11 ff. of the cancelled grant on the same plates (*id.* p. 252).

uparikara, and (with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops, to (certain) Brāhmanas, commencing with *Dēvasvāmin*, the son of *Agnisvāmin*, of the *Bharadvāja gōtra* (and) a student of the *Vājasaneyā (śākhā)*, and *Śarvasvāmin*, (and) *Gōrisvāmin*,—*Divākarasvāmin*, of the *Kautsa gōtra*, a student of the *Vājasaneyā (śākhā)*, (and) *Śvātisvāmin*,—*Varuṇaśarman*, of the *Bhārgava gōtra*, a student of the *Vājasaneyā (śākhā)*, (and) *Bappasvāmin*,—*Kumārādēva*, of the *Vāsula gōtra*, a student of the *Kaṭha (śākhā)*,—(and) *Mātrīśarman*, a student of the *Vājasaneyā (śākhā)*, (and) *Nāgaśarman*, *Rukharādēva*, *Kaudravādēva*, *Vishnudēva*, *Dēvanāga*, *Kumārāsēna*, *Rudraśarman*, *Dēvadāngira* (?), *Lambōshṭha*, *Dēvamitra* (?), *Mahadēva*, (and) *Guṇṭhaka*.

(L. 17.)—The boundaries of it (are),—on the east, (the boundary-trench or village called) *Kōrparagartā*; on the north, *Animuktakakōṇaka*, (and) a *vrika*-tree¹ in the centre of *Valaka* on the south side of the village of *Vaṅgara*, (and) a clump² of *amrṭa*-trees;³ on the west, (the tank or village called) *Nāgasarī*; (and) on the south, the *parichchhēda*⁴ of *Balavarman*.

(L. 19.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 22.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, the arranger of the *Vēdas*,—"O *Yudhisṭhira*, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with *Sagara*; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormented together with his ancestors, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!"

(L. 28.)—And (this charter) has been written by the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika*⁵ *Sūryadatta*; the great-grandson of the *Amātya Vakra*; the grandson of the *Bhōgika Naradatta*; (and) the son of the *Bhōgika Ravidatta*. *Bhagraha*⁶ (is) the *Dūtaka*.

¹ *vrika*; the *Sesbana Grandiflora*.

² Or,—if we keep the original reading of *saṁdraka*,—"the ferry (at the place) of the *amrṭa*-trees."

³ *amrṭa*; the hog-plum, *Spondias Mangifera*.

⁴ *parichchhēda*; lit. 'division, separation,' is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which cannot be at present suggested.

⁵ *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika*, lit. 'a great officer entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war' is a technical official title denoting an official superior to the *Sāmdhivigrahikas* (see page 16 above, note 6). Another of his titles was *Mahāsāmdhivigrahādhipati*; e.g. in line 18-19 of the grant of *Gōvinda III.* of Śāka-Samvat 726 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127.)

⁶ See page 100 above, note 4.

No. 23, PLATE XIV.

MAJHGAWAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 191.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. IX. pp. 7 and 13 f., No. 5, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 5),—is on some copper-plates that were discovered in 1870, in ploughing a field at the village of Majhgawām,¹ about three miles towards the south-west from Uchaharā, the capital of the Nāgaudh State in the Baghēlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr, Political Agent, Satnā.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about $8\frac{3}{8}$ " by $5\frac{7}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Except, however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the second plate, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are not very thick; and the letters, which are rather deeply engraved, shew through on the backs of them. The engraving is very good, but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring, with a seal attached to it. The ring and seal are not now forthcoming; but fortunately General Cunningham had preserved a pencil-rubbing of the seal, from which I have been able to give a lithograph. It represents a pointed oval seal, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by 1", with the legend *Śrīr-mahārāja-Hastināh*, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin."—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 14 oz.—The average size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar 'nail-headed' type, on which I have commented at page 19 above; thus giving another variety, with northern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of the period. They include the very rare initial *au*, in *aupamanyava*, line 8. In *kuryāt*, line 12, and *sūryadatta*, line 19, we have further illustrations of the first method of writing *r* in combination with a following *y*, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In *chhréyō*, line 14, *yō*, line 16, *apāntyēshu*, line 17, and *yē*, line 18, we have a form of *y*, differing from the form used throughout the rest of this inscription, e.g. in *dēvāya*, line 1, and *trīlīyāyām*, line 2. It belongs properly to a somewhat later development of the northern alphabet, as used in formal official records; and we find it, for instance, throughout the Bôdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, of the year 269, No. 71 below, Plate xliA.; but it is perhaps indicative of the current form of the letter in this period.² The characters also include, in lines 20 and 21, forms of the numerical

¹This name, given in maps, &c., as 'Majgama, Majgowa, Majhgawan, Mugjowan, Mujgoah, Mujgowan, and Munjgowa,' is a very common one in that part of the country. The present village should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89; but it is not entered there, unless 'Moghani' (Lat. $24^{\circ} 22'$ N.; Long. $80^{\circ} 47'$ E.) is intended for it.

²Read *śrī-mahā*.

³To quote another early instance, the same form occurs also in *vijaya*, in line 1 of the 'Kondakur' grant of the Pallava prince Vijayabuddhavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 101 and Plate); but the cor-

symbols for 1, 3, 90, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 18, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *h*, in *sinha*, line 20; (2) the doubling of *k*, *g*, and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vakkra*, line 18; *viggrahika*, line 19; and *chaitra*, line 2, and *pitrôr*, line 7; but not in other places, e.g. in *sagôtrêbhyaś*, line 8; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *avaddhyānēna*, line 12; (4) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsara*, line 2 (twice), and *sambat*, line 20; and (5) the occasional use of *v* for *b*, in *vr̥dhmaṇa*, line 5, and *vahubhir*, line 14.

The inscription is one of the **Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin**. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**," in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), in the **Mahā-Chaitra samvat-sara**, and on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight, and the third solar day of the whole month, of **Māgha** (January-February).¹ Except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of **Mahādēva**, the inscription is non-sectarian. The object of it is to record the grant, by the **Mahārāja Hastin**, at the request of a certain person named **Mahādēvidēva**, of the village of **Vālugarta** to certain Brāhmanas.

TEXT¹

First Plate.

- 1 Namô Mahādēvāya || Svasty-Ēka-navaty-uttarē-bda-śatē **Gupta-nripa-**
 rāja-bhuktāu śrīmati pravarddhamāna².
 2 Mahā-Chaitra-samba(mva)tsarē Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-tṛtīyāyām-asyā[m*]
 samba(mva)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvā-
 3 yām⁴ [1*] Nripatiparivrājaka-kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-Dēvādhyā-pranaptrā
 mahārāja-śrī-**Prabhamjana**-naptrā mahā-
 4 rāja-śrī-Dāmōdara-sutēna gō-sahasra-hasty-aśva-hirany-ānēka-bhūmi-pradēna
 guru-pitri-mātri-pūjā-
 5 tatparēn-ātyanta-dēva-vrā(hmaṇa)-bhaktēn-ānēka-samara-śata-vijayinā sva-
 vartm-āmōdakarēna mahā-
 6 rāja-śrī-Hastinā Mahādēvidēva-sukha-vijñaptiyā **Vālugarttō** nāma grāmah
 pūrvv-āghāta-parichchēda-ma-
 7 ryādayā s-ōdraṅgaṇ s-ōpanikarō=ch[ā*]ta-bhāta-prāvēśyāḥ mātāpitrôr=
 ātmanas=cha puny-ābhivṛddhayē Mahādē-

rect ancient form of the letter is used throughout the rest of this inscription also, e.g. in *yuvā*, line 2, and *vijaya*, line 3.

¹The double record of this date is of considerable importance. In line 2, the day is distinctly specified as the third lunar day of the dark fortnight; while, in line 21, in numerical symbols, it is shewn as the third day of the month, without any specification of the fortnight. So, again, in No. 25 below, page 114 f., the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (line 2 f.), is shewn in line 24 as the twenty-ninth solar day of the whole month. The four entries together prove that, as might be expected in the case of an era belonging to Northern India, the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year followed the northern custom, with the dark fortnight preceding the bright.

²From the original plates.

³The vowel *ē*, of *ne*, appears to have been engraved and then cancelled here. In Plate xvB, l. 2, the reading is as I transcribe it here.

⁴Supply *tithau*.

- 8 vidēva-sukhām cha svargga-sōpāna-pāṅktim-ārōpayatā ^SAupāmanyava-
 sagotrēbhyaś=Chhandōga-Kauthuma-^S
 9 sabrahmachāribhyō=mibhya¹ brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ Gōvindasvāmi- I Gōmika².
 svāmi-Dēvasvāmibhyaḥ putra-pau-
 10 tr-ānvay-ōpabhōgyas=tāmra-śāsanēn=āgrāhārō=tisrishtaḥ ^Gchaurā-varijam [I*]. Tad-
 asmat-kul-ōtthair=mmaṭ-pāda-
 11 pind-ōpajivibhir=vva kāl-āntarēshv=api na vyāghātāḥ karaṇṭyaḥ [I*]
 ēvam=ājñāptē³ yō=nyathā
 12 kuryāt=tam=aham dēhāntara-gatō=pi ^Rmaṇat=āvaddhyānēna nirddahēyam=
 Uktam cha bhagavatā parama-

^RSecond Plate.

- 13 [r]sh[i]ṇā vēda-vyāsēna ^RVyāsēna II(I) Pūrvva⁴-dattām dvijātibhyō yatnād-
 raksha Yudhishṭhira mahi[m*]
 14 mahimatām śrēshṭha dānāch=chkrēyō=nupālanam I(II) Va(ba)hubhir-
 vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ ya-
 15 sya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [II*] Shashṭim
 varsha-sahasr[ā*]ṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-dah
 16 ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [II*] Sva-dattām
 para-dattām=bā(vā) yō harēta vasundharām
 17 sa vishṭhāyām kkrimir=bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha majjatē [II*]
 A-pānyēshv=araṇyēshu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinah
 18 krishṇ-āhayō=bhijāyantē pūrvva-dāyam haranti yē II Likhitam⁵ cha
 Vakkr-ānātva-pranaptri-naptrā⁶
 19 bhōgika-Naradatta-pranaptrā ^GRavidatta-naptrā ^GSōryadatta-pūtrēna mahā-
 sādhivigrahika⁷
 20 Vibhudattēn-ēti [I*] ^GMahāva(ba)lādhikrita-Nāgasinhō dūtakah [II*]
 Samba(mva)t 100 go 1
 21 Māgha di 3 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahādēva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the prosperous augmenting Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the *samvatsara* and month and day,⁷—

¹ Read *mibhyō*.

² Read *gōvindasvāmi-gōmika*.

³ Read *ājñāptē*, or *ājñāpitē*.

⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following four verses.

⁵ Supply *śāsanam*.

⁶ This must be a mistake for either *naptri-naptrā*, or *pranaptri-pūtrēna*; since, as the text stands, it passes over the generation between Vakra and Naradatta.

⁷ See page 97 above, note 1.

(Line 3).—By the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Hastin**,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the *Mahārāja* **Dēvādhyā**;—who is the grandson of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Prabhāñjana**;—who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Dāmōdara**;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (his) spiritual preceptor and (his) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhman;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(and) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 6).—(By him), at the agreeable request of **Mahādēvidēva**, the village named **Vālugarta**, in accordance with the usage of the specification of (its) ancient boundaries, with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, is granted as an *agrādāra*, by a copper-charter,—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself, and in order to erect the steps of a ladder leading to heaven, acceptable to **Mahādēvidēva**,—to these Brāhman, of the *Aupamanyava* *gotra*, students of the *Cchandōga*-*Kauthuma* (*śākhā*), (*vis.*) *Gōvindasvāmin*, *Gōmikasvāmin*, and *Dēvasvāmin*,—to be enjoyed by (their) sons and sons' sons, with the exception of (the proceeds of fines imposed on) thieves.

(L. 10).—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my *fudatories*. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 12).—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, *Vyāsa*, the arranger of the *Vēdas*,—"O *Yudhishtīra*, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with *Sagara*; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormented together with his ancestors, who confiscate land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! Those who confiscate a previous grant, are born (again) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!"

(L. 18).—And (this charter) has been written by the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika* **Vibhudatta**, the son¹ of the great-grandson of the *Amṛtya* *Vakra*; the great-grandson of the *Bhōgika* *Naradatta*; the grandson of *Ravidatta*; (and) the son of *Sūryadatta*. The *Mahābalādhikṛita*² **Nāgasinha** (is) the *Dūtaka*. The year 100 (and) 90 (and) 1; (the month) *Māgha*; the day 3.

¹ See page 108 above, note 6.

² *Mahābalādhikṛita*, *lit.* 'a great officer placed at the head of the forces,' is a technical official title, denoting an officer superior to the *Balādhikṛitas*.—The latter title, *Balādhikṛita*, occurs in line 2 of the *Shāhpur* image inscription of *Ādityasēna*, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA.—A synonym for *Mahābalādhikṛita* was *Mahābalādhyaśakha*, which occurs in Mr. Bendall's *Nēpal* inscription of *Harsha-Samvat* 34 (*Journey in Nēpal*, p. 75, line 17.)

No. 24 ; PLATE XV A.

BHUMARA STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJAS HASTIN AND SARVANATHA.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 8f. and 16, No. 9, where he published his translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate iv. No. 9.)

Bhumarā' is a village about nine miles to the north-west of Uchaharā, in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. From line 3 of the inscription, the ancient name of the place seems to have been **Amblōda**. The inscription is on one of the faces of the bottom and rectangular part of a small red-sandstone pillar, popularly called *thādī-patthar* or "the standing stone," in the lands of this village.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 10½" broad by 1' 6½" high, is in a state of very fair preservation throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from ⅜" to ⅞". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 9, forms of the **numerical symbols**¹ for 9 and 10.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *puttra*, line 5; (2) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 2; and (3) the use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsarē*, line 8.

The **inscription** is one of the two *Mahārājās Hastin*, of the *Parivrājaka* family, and *Śarvanātha*,² of *Uchchakalpa*. It is dated, in numerical symbols, on the nineteenth day,³ without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Kārtika* (October-

¹ The 'Bhomara and Bumra' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 24° 25' N.; Long. 80° 41' E.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name 'Bhubhara.' And, at Satnā, it was given to me as 'Bhubhura.' But my office-people brought back the name as either Bumara or Bhumara, and said that the villagers do not know of any other form of the name. Of these two forms, Bhumarā agrees most closely with the names in the maps, and seems to be the correct one.

² I am a little doubtful about the second symbol, which occurs again in line 24 of No. 25 below, Plate xvB, and line 14 of No. 71, Plate xliA. But it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. The only other possibilities are 7 or 8.

³ For this *Mahārāja*, see Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31 below.

⁴ Other instances will be met with, in the present series, of the number of a day exceeding sixteen, which is the extreme number in a lunar fortnight, bright or dark. And such instances are still more common in other inscriptions.—In such cases, whether there is any mention of a lunar fortnight or not, and also in cases in which the number of the day does not exceed sixteen, and the lunar fortnight is not mentioned, it is sometimes thought that the reference is to the solar, not the luni-solar, months and year. But I do not consider that this necessarily follows. At Hulgūr, in the Bankāpur Tāluka or Sub-Division of the Dhārwad District, there is an inscription of the Yādava king Mahādēva of Dēvagiri, in which the date (line 15 ff.) is *Śaka-varshada 1189neya Prabhava-samvatsarada Jyēshtha ba 30 Budhavāra śrīyagrahaṇad-andu*, "(the month) Jyēshtha of the Prabhava *samvatsara*, which is the 1189th Śaka year (A.D. 1267-68); the dark fortnight; (the solar day or lunar *tithi*) 30 (of the month); Wednesday; at the time of an eclipse of the sun." And we also have the *Kōṭā* inscription of the *Sāmanta* Dēvadatta, in which the date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 351 f.) runs *Samvat 800 70 9 Māgha śu di 20*, "the year 800 (and) 70 (and) 9 (A.D. 822-23); (the month) Māgha; the bright fortnight; the day 20 (of the month)." Of these, the first is a southern date, according to the arrange-

November), in the *Mahā-Māgha samvatsara*, without any reference to an era. But the choice lies only between *Gupta-Samvat* 189 and 201; and, as we have for the *Mahārāja Hastin* the early date of the year 156, in No. 21 above, page 93, the preference is in favour of the year one hundred and eighty-nine (A. D. 508-9). The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being simply to record the erection, at *Āmblōda*, of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two *Mahārājas* in question.

One point of importance in connection with this inscription, is that its existence on stone furnishes definite evidence that the *Parivrājaka Mahārājas* and the *Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa* really did belong to this part of the country. This is a point on which stone-inscriptions give testimony of a kind that can never be derived from the mere finding, in a certain locality, of copper-plates, which, being small and portable, are always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong,¹ and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified.

TEXT:

- 1 Svasti Mahādēva-pād[ā].
- 2 nuddhyātō(ta)-mahārāja-Hasti-
- 3 rājyē Āmblōdē mahārāja-
- 4 Śarvanātha-bhōgē Indana.
- 5 naptrā Vāsu-grāmika-puttra-
- 6 Śivadāsēna vala-ya-
- 7 śhṭi uchchhritā⁴ [I*] Mahā-
- Māghē
- 8 samba(mva)tsarē Kārttika-
- māsa
- 9 divasa 10 9 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In (*the boundary of*) the kingdom of the *Mahārāja Hastin*, who meditates on the feet of (the god) Mahādēva; at (the village of) *Āmblōda*; (*and*) in (*the boundary*

ment by which the bright half of the month comes first; and the second is a northern date, according to the arrangement by which the dark half comes first. These instances, of course, are exceptional ones. But they suffice to shew that, both in northern and in southern India, down to comparatively late times, the numbering of the solar days and lunar *tithis* of the month up to thirty did occasionally continue alongside of the more usual reckoning by fortnights, in which the lunar *tithis* of each fortnight are denoted by the numbers one to fifteen only, and the solar days by the numbers one to fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen, as the case may be.

¹ A marked instance of the distances to which copper-plates and seals may travel, is afforded by the finding of the seal of the Maukhari Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, at *Aśṛgaḍh* in the *Nimāḍ* District in the Central Provinces. Its original locality must have been some hundreds of miles to the east of this.

² From the ink-impression.

³ The engraver seems to have first engraved *hlō*, or perhaps *dhlō*, and then corrected it into *mblō*.

⁴ Read *balaya-yashṭir=uchchhritā*. — As regards the correction of *vala* into *valaya*, *vala-yashṭi* or *bala-yashṭi* gives no meaning; whereas the appropriateness of *valaya-yashṭi*, 'boundary-staff or pillar,' is apparent. The mistake arose from the omission to repeat, at the beginning of line 7, the *ya* at the end of line 6.

of) the *bhōga*¹ of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*,—(this) boundary-pillar has been set up by *Śivadāsa*, the grandson of Indana, and the son of the *Grāmika*² Vāsu;—in the *Mahā-Māgha samvatsara*; the month *Kārttika*; the day 10 (and) 9.

No. 25; PLATE XVB.

KHÔH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SAMKSHOBHA.

THE YEAR 209.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 7, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 4),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of *Khôh*,³ in the *Nāgaudh* State in the *Baghelkhand* division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the *Rāja* of *Nāgaudh*, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $8\frac{3}{8}$ " by $4\frac{7}{8}$ ", and the second about $8\frac{1}{8}$ " by $4\frac{7}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They have apparently been subjected to the action of fire; but the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and shew through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It had not been cut, when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be separated from the plates. The seal, in the lower part of which the ends of the ring were originally fused and so secured, is rectangular, about $1\frac{3}{8}$ " by $\frac{1}{2}$ ". It must have had a legend, on a countersunk surface; but it is now perfectly illegible, and not worth reproducing by a lithograph. Also, from the shape of the seal, as contrasted with that of the *Khôh* grant of the *Mahārāja* *Hastin* of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv., and compared with the seal of the *Khôh* grant of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha* of the year 193, No. 28 below, Plate xviii., it would seem to be a seal of one of the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa*, rather than of one of the *Parivrājaka Mahārājas*.—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. $8\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, 6 oz.; total 1 lb. $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare initial *ḍ*, in *ḍpāni*, line 14. In *kurydi*, line 17, and in *kāryyah*, line 16, we have further illustrations of the two methods of forming *r*, in combination with a following *y*, on which I have commented at page 94 above. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the numerical symbols⁴ for 9 and 20.

¹ *bhōga*, lit. 'enjoyment, possession, government,' is a technical territorial term, probably of much the same purport as the *bhukti* of other inscriptions.

² *Grāmika*, 'a villager, the headman of a village,' is a technical official title corresponding to the modern Kanarese *Gauda* and Marāṭhi *Pāṭil*.

³ See page 93 above, and note 3.

⁴ As regards the symbol for 9, see page 110 above, note 2.

—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecator in lines 18 to 23, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice in *śrīṭaka*, line 13, the affix *ka*, on which I have commented at page 69 above. — In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of *b* for *v*, in *śambatsara*, line 3; and (2) the occasional use of *v* for *b*, in *avda*, line 1; *vr̥dhmaṇa*, line 7; and *vahubhiḥ*, line 19.

The inscription is one of the **Parivrājaka Mahārāja Samkshōbha**. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**," in the year two hundred and nine (A.D. 528-29), in the *Mahā-Aśvayuja śamvatsara*, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and at the end, in numerical symbols, the date is given again as the twenty-ninth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the same month Chaitra.¹ Judging by the opening invocation of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Vāsudēva, it is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the **Mahārāja Samkshōbha**, at the request of a certain person named **Chandugomin**, of the village of **Ōpāni** to a temple of the goddess **Pishtapurī**,²—apparently some local form of Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu.³

One point of importance in this inscription is, that it mentions the **Mahārāja Hastin** as governing the kingdom of **Dabhālā**, or possibly Dahālā, that had come to him by inheritance, together with all the country included in the **eighteen forest kingdoms**. I cannot identify these eighteen forest kingdoms.⁴ But, in **Dabhālā** or Dahālā, we have

¹ On the extreme importance of this double record, see page 107 above, note 1.

² Through his identification of Pishtapura with the place that he writes 'Pithaora,' and which is entered in maps as 'Pataora' and 'Puttura,' nine miles north of Uchchaharā, Gen. Cunningham (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 10) identified this goddess Pishtapurī with the local goddess Pataindēvī of this 'Pithaora.' But this identification will not hold good; if only for the reason that 'Pithaora' is in reality Pataurā, probably from *pitri-pura*, 'the town of deceased ancestors.'—Pataurā and Pitaurā, in passing, are evidently common names in that part of the country; as the maps shew 'Patoura,' 'Pitoura,' 'Patora,' and 'Pithoura,' respectively 29 miles west by a little north, 18 miles west, 13 miles north-west, and 24 miles north-west, of Uchchaharā.—Of Pishtapura we have already had an earlier mention in line 19 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1, page 7 above, as the capital of a king named Mahendra, who was conquered by Samudragupta, in the *dakṣiṇāpātha* or 'region of the south.' And we have another later mention of it, as being conquered by the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II., in line 13 of the Aihole Mēguti inscription of Śaka-Samvat 556 or A.D. 634-35 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 242, 245). It is the modern Pittāpuram, the 'Pithāpur and Pittāpooram' of maps, &c. (Indian Atlas Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6' N., Long. 82° 18' E.), twelve miles north by east of 'Coconada' in the Gōdāvarī District in the Madras Presidency. It is the chief town of a Zamindārī, or Estate of the same name; and the remains at it shew that it is a place of considerable antiquity (see Sewell in *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. p. 23 f.)—The Pishtapurī of this inscription must be a local form of some more famous and original goddess at Pishtapura itself. She is mentioned again, under the slightly different name of Pishtapurikādēvī, in line 12 of No. 29 below, Plate xixA., and in line 11 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and the latter passage shews that her local shrine was at a place named Mānapura, which may perhaps be the modern 'Manpoor, Manpora, and Mānpur,' of maps about forty-seven miles towards the south-east from Uchchaharā.

³ This seems to be shewn (1) by the general Vaishṇava tendency of the present inscription; and (2) by the fact that,—whereas in the year 177 the village of Dhavashāṇḍikā was allotted by the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha for the purposes of a temple of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One (No. 27 below, Plate xvii.),—subsequently half of this same village was set apart, by a grant of the *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pishtapurikādēvī (No. 29 below, Plate xixA.)

⁴ See page 13 above, note 7.



undoubtedly the older form of **Dāhala**, **Dāhāla**, **Ḍahāla**, or **Ḍahalā**, which seems to represent the modern **Bundēlkhand**, and which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was **Kālañjara** in **Bundēlkhand**. This, therefore, is another item of evidence connecting the **Parivrājaka Mahārājas** with this part of the country.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm Namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya || Svasti Nav-ōttarē-vda(bda)-śata-dvayē
Gupta-nripa-r[ā*]jya-bhuktau
- 2 śrīmati pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē Mah-Āsvayuja-sa[m*]vatsarē Chaitra-māsa-
śukla-
- 3 paksha-trayōdaśy[ā*]m=asyām sambha(va)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyā[m*]³ [i*]
Chaturdāśa-vidyāsthāna-vidi-
- 4 ta-paramārthasya Kapilasy=[ai*]va mah-arshēḥ sarvva-tat[t*]va-jñasya
Bharadvāja-sagōtrasya nripa-
- 5 pi⁴parivrājaka-**Suśarmmaṇaḥ** kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-śrī-**Dēvādhyā**-putra-
pranaptrā mahārā-
- 6 ja⁵-śrī-**Prabhañjana**-pranaptrā mahārāja-śrī-**Dāmōdara**-naptrā gō-sahasra-
hasty-aśva-hiraṇy-ānēka-
- 7 bhūmi-pradasya guru-pitri-mātri-pūjā-tatparasy-ātyanta-dēva-vrā(bṛā)hmaṇa-
bhaktasy-ānēka-samara-
- 8 śata-vijayinaḥ s-**āṣṭādaś-ātavi-rājy**-ābhyantaram **Dabhā(Phā)lā-rājyam**=
anvay-āgataṁ samadī⁶
- 9 pālapiṇḍo(ṣṇḍo)r-anēka-guṇa-vikhyāta-yaśasō mahārāja-grī(śrī)-**Hastinaḥ**
sutēna
- 10 varṇa-āśrama-dharmma-sthāpanā-niratēna paramabhāgavatēn-ātyanta-pitri-
bhaktēna sva-varṇ-
- 11 ś-āmōdakarēna mahārāja-śrī-**Samkshōbhēna(ṇa)** mātāpitrōr-ātmanā⁷-cha
puṇy-ābhi-
- 12 ~~viriddhaye⁸~~ **Chhōḍgōmi-vijñāptyā** tam-ēva cha sva[r*]gga-sōpāna-pamkṣim=
ārōpaya-

Second Plate.

- 13 tā bhagava⁹tyāḥ Piṣṭapuryāḥ kārītaka-dēvakulē va(ba)li-charu-sat[t*]r-
ōpayō-

¹ It is perhaps worth mentioning, that there is in this neighbourhood a station on the Allahābād-Jabalpur railway, called **Dabhaurā** (the 'Dabhura' and 'Daboora' of maps), about fourteen miles east of **Mānikpur**, and fifty miles east by north of **Kālañjara**.

² From the original plates.

³ Supply *tiṭhan*.

⁴ Read *nripati*.—In the second syllable, first *ti* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *pa*.

⁵ This *ja* was first omitted, and then inserted in the margin of the plate.

⁶ Some correction or other is required here; but it is not apparent what was intended; possibly, however, *samyak*, *sampadi*, or *sapadi*. I do not suggest *samadhīpaleyaśrōr*, because I cannot find any authority for the composition of *sam* and *adhi* with *pā*, 'protect'.—In the third syllable, *di* was certainly engraved; but the *i* may perhaps have been cancelled.

⁷ Read *ābhiviriddhaye*.

⁸ The mark over this *va* is only a fault or rust-hole in the copper. There are several other similar faults or rust-holes in these two plates; e.g. after *sy=arddham* in line 15.

- 14 g-ārthaḥ(m) khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṃskār-ārthaḥ-cha **Maṇināga-pēṭhē** Opāṇi-
grāma-
15 sy-ārddham chōra-drōhaka-varjjah(m) tāmra-sāsanēn=ātisriṣṭam [1*] tad=
asmat-kul-ōttah(tthai)h mā-
16 t-pādapiṇḍ-ōpajīvbhir-vvā kālāntarēshv=api na vyāghātaḥ kāryyah [1*]
ēvam-ājñā-
17 pta¹ yō=nyathā kuryāt=tam=aham dēhāntara-gatō=pi mahat=āvadhyanēna
nirddahēyam [1*]
18 Uktam cha bhagavatā param-arshiṇā vēda-vyāsena Vyāsēnah² [1*]
Pūrvva³-dattām divijātibhyō
19 yatnād-raksha Yudhishṭhirah⁴ mahīm=mahimatā[m*] śrēṣṭha dānāch=
chhrēyō-nupālanaḥ(m) [1*] Va(ba)hubhiḥ
20 vasudhā bhuktā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=
tasya tasya tadā
21 phalam [1*] Shasṭīm varsha-sāhasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ
ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ē-
22 va narakē vasēt [1*] Bhūmi⁵-pradānān=nā(na) param pradānam dānād=
viśiṣṭam paripālan=chha⁶
23 sarvvē=tisriṣṭā[m*] paripālya bhūmi[m*] nripā Nrig-ādyas=tridivam
prapannāḥ || Likhitam⁷=cha
24 Jlvita-naptrā Bhujamgādasa-putr-Ēśvaradāsēn=ēti [1*] Sva-mukh-ājñā [1*]
Chaitra di 20 9 [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Reverence to the divine (god) Vāsudēva! Hail! In two centuries of years, increased by nine; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign; in the Mahā-Aśvayuja *samvatsara*; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the *samvatsara* and month and day,—

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Samketobha*,—who is born of the family of the kingly ascetic *Susārman*, who had learned the whole truth of the four great sections of science; who was a great sage, (*being*) indeed (*a incarnation of*) *Kṛishṇa*, who knew all the first principles; (*and*) who was of the *Bharadvaja* *gotra*;—who is the great grandson of the great *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Dēvādhyā*;—who is the great grandson of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Prabhāñjana*;—who is the grandson of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Dāmōdara*;—who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Hastin*, who was the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and

¹ Read either *djāptē*, or *djāpītē*.² Read *vyāsēna*.³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.⁴ Read *yudhishṭhira*.⁵ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.⁶ Read *paripālana=cha*.⁷ Read *likhitam*.—And supply *śāsanam*.⁸ *chaturdāśa-vidyāśikhā*; viz. the four Vēdas, the six Vēdāṅgas, the Purāṇas, the Mīmāṃsā system of philosophy, the Nyāya system, and Dharma, or law.

gold, and many lands; who was earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother; who was extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhman; who was victorious in many hundreds of battles; who sought to govern properly the kingdom of **Dabhālā**,¹ which had come (*to him*) by inheritance, together with (*all the country*) included in **the eighteen forest kingdoms**; (*and*) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life;—who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One;—who is extremely devoted to (*his*) ancestors;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 11.)—(*By him*),—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself,—at the request of Chhōdugāmin, and (*with the object of*) causing him to ascend the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—half of the village of **Ōpāni**, in the **Manināga pēṭha**,² is granted by a copper-charter, with the exception of (*the right to fines imposed on*) thieves and mischief-doers, for the purpose of observing the *bali*, *charu*, and *sattra*,³ at the temple, which (*he*) has caused to be built, of the divine (goddess) **Pishtapuri**, and for the purpose of renewing whatever may become broken or torn.

(L. 15.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 18.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—“O Yudhishtira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sāgara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents to (*an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! (*There is*) no gift better than a gift of land, and the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) better than making a grant; all kings, commencing with Nṛiga, have attained heaven, (*by*) preserving land that had been granted!”

(L. 23.)—And (*this charter*) has been written by **Īśvaradāsa**, the grandson of Jīvita, (*and*) the son of Bhujangadāsa. The order (*is that*) of his own mouth. (*The month*) Chaitra the

possibly **Dahālā**; but the second syllable, though rather badly formed, seems to be *dhā*, rather than *dhā*.

¹ *pēṭha*; a technical territorial term, represented in modern Marāṭhī by *pēṭā*. Another form of it, *venṭha*, occurs in line 30-31 of the Harihar grant of Bukkarāya of Śālivāhana-Śaka 1276 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XII. p. 347*); and we also have *venṭheya* or *penṭheya* in line 24 of the Harihar inscription of Achyutarāya of Śālivāhana-Śaka 1460 (*Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 331*).

² *bali* is the offering of ghee, grain, rice, &c., to the gods and all creatures of every description; *charu*, the oblation of rice, barley, and pulse boiled with butter and milk, for the deceased ancestors; and *sattra*, the giving of alms and refuge. They are three of the *pañcha-mahāyajña*, or ‘five great sacrifices,’ which are usually (*e.g.* in line 27 f. of the Māliya grant of the *Mahārāja* Dharasēna II., No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.) enumerated as *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* (the offering to all deities), *agnihōtra* (see page 71 above, note 8), and *atithi* (hospitality; the *sattra* of the present inscription).—The *sattra*-rite was the special object of the *sattra*, or ‘charitable hall or almshouse,’ which is mentioned for instance, in No. 7, line 6, page 38 above.

³ *Samskṛbhā's*. These words imply that he employed no *Dātaka* to convey the orders to the local officials, but gave them in person; see page 100 above, note 3.

No. 26; PLATE XVI.

KARĪTALAI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 174.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 12. f. No. 3, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 5),—is from some copper-plates that were found, about 1850, in a small receptacle inside a ruined temple of the god Vishnu, in his incarnation as the Boar, at Karīṭalai,¹ a village about twenty-three miles north-east of Muḍwārā,² the chief town of the Muḍwārā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Jabalpur District in the Central Provinces. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $9\frac{1}{8}$ " by $6\frac{1}{8}$ ", and the second $9\frac{1}{8}$ " by $6\frac{1}{8}$ ". The edges of them are here and there fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and shew through on the backs, so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part³ of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring, and the seal attached to it, are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 7 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the five that follow, and with No. 22 above, Plate xiii., No. 24, Plate xvA., and No. 25, Plate xvB., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. The characters include the rather rare initial δ , in *ôghadêva*, line 1, and δh , in *hūṭadā*, line 5; also, in lines 24 and 25, forms of the numerical characters 1, 5, 6, and 10.—The language is Sanskrit, of the Gupta period, and of the type of the Imperial Gupta period. In the inscription, as in the other Gupta inscriptions, from a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, before δ , in *vansa*, line 10; (2) the constant doubling of t , in conjunction with a following r , e.g. in *puttra*, line 2; *sagôṭtra*, line 7; and *ttrāṭā*, line 20; and (3) the occasional use of b for v , in *sambatsara*, line 21, and *sambat*, line 24.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Jayanātha*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa.⁴ The date of the writing of the

¹The 'Karitalai and Kareetullace' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. $24^{\circ} 3' N.$; Long. $80^{\circ} 46' E.$

²The 'Moorwari, Moorwarra, and Murwāra,' of maps, &c.

³See page 101 above, note 2.

⁴The literal meaning, 'that which is but little short of being a high place,' points perhaps rather to the name being properly that of a hill; but of course with a town on it.

charter is given, in both words and numerical symbols, as the year one hundred and seventy-four, and the fourteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Āṣāḍha (June-July). There is no information given as to the era. But the Bhumarā pillar inscription of the *Mahārāja* Hastin and Śaryanātha No. 24 above, page 110, shews that the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* and the *Mahārāja* of Uchchakalpa were contemporaries; and, therefore, that the era of the latter must be the same with that of the former, which is distinctly indicated as being the Gupta era. And the result, accordingly, for the present date, is A.D. 493-94. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha, to a Brāhmaṇ, of the village of Chhandāpallikā in the *Nāgadēya*¹ *santaka*.²

TEXT:

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm Svasti Uchchakalpān-mahārāja-Ōgha³dēvas-tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānudyātō mahā-
- 2 dēvyām Kumāradēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Kumāradēvas-tasya puttras-
tat-pād-[ā*]nudyātē(tō)
- 3 mahādēvyām Jayasvāmīnyām=utpannō mah[ā*]rāja-Jayasvāmī tasya
puttras=tat-pād-[ā*]nudyātē(tō).
- 4 mah[ā*]dēvyā[m*] Rāmādēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Vy[ā*]ghras-tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ānudyātō mahā-
- 5 dēvyām=Ajjhitadēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Jayanāthaḥ kuśalī Nāgadēya-
santaka-Chha-
- 6 ndāpallikāyām brāhmaṇ-ādin-kuṭumbīnaḥ kārūkāmś=cha samājñāpayati [1*]
Vadatarām=bō⁴=stu
- 7 yath=aisha grāmō mayā sva-puny-ābhivṛddhayē Kaṇvasagōttra-Vāja-
sanēyaMādhyā-
- 8 ndina-brāhmaṇa-Mittrasvāmināḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-
prāvēśyaḥ
- 9 chōra-varjjitō=tisṛiṣṭas=Tē yōyam=asya samuchita-bhāgabhōga-kara-pratyāy-
ōpa-
- 10 nayam kaka(ri)shyatha ājñā-śravapa-vidhēyās=cha bhaviṣhyatha [1*] Ye
ch=āsmad-vanś-ōtpadya-
- 11 mānaka-rājānas=tair-iyam dattir=nna vilōpy-ānumōdanīyā samuchita-rāj-ā-
- 12 bhāvya-kara-pratyāyā na grāhyāḥ [1*] Yaś=ch=aimām dattim lōpayēt
sa pañchabhīḥ

¹ As regards Gen. Cunningham's desire to identify Nāgadēya with the modern Nāgaudh, see page 94 above, note 1.

² *santaka* is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning of which is not apparent. It is perhaps identical in etymology with the Prākṛit *santaka*, 'belonging to,' in *asmat-santaka*, 'belonging to us,' which occurs in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, No. 55 below, line 21, and No. 56, line 23.—In No. 29 below, line 7, we have the slightly different form, as a territorial term, of *santika*.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Read *rāj-augha*.

Read *viditām vō*.

Second Plate.

- 13 mahāpātakair=upapātakais=cha samyukta[h*] syān(d)=Uktaṃ cha Mahā-
bhāratē bhagavatā
- 14 Vyāsena [1*] Sva¹-dattām para-dattām vā yatnād=rakṣa Yudhiṣṭhira
mahīm=mahīmatām śrēṣṭhā
- 15 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [11*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ
Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya
- 16 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [11*] Prāyēṇa hi
narēndrāṇām vidyatē n=ā-
- 17 subhā gatiḥ pūyāntē tē tu satatām prayachchhantō vasun-
dharām [11*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrā-
- 18 ni svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
narakē vasēt [11*]
- 19 Āsphōṭala(ya)nti pitarah prāvalganti pitāmahaḥ bhūmi-dō=sma[t*]-kulē
jātaḥ sa nō(naḥ)
- 20 ttrātā bhaviṣyati [11*] Sarvva-sasya-samriddhān=tu yō harēta vasun-
dharām śva-viṣṭhāyām kṛimi-
- 21 r=bhūtvā piṭribhis=saha majjati I(II) Samba(mva)tsara-ga(śa)tē chatuḥ-
saptatē Āśhādha-māsa-
- 22 sya chaturdāśamē divasē asyām divasa-purvāyām¹ likhitam² mayā
bhōgika-Rājyi-
- 23 l-āmātya-naptri-bhōgika-Dhruvadatta-puttra-bhōgika-Guñjakirttiṇā [1*] Dūtāk-
ōparika-³
- 24 dīkṣhita-grihapati-sthapatisamrāt-Chchha(chha)rvvadatta iti II Samba(mva)t
100 70 4 Āśhā-
- 25 dha di 10 4 I(II)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city or hill of) Uchchakalpa;⁴—(There was) the Mahārāja Ūghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādēvī Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, begotten on the Mahādēvī Jayasvāmini. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādēvī Rāmadēvi.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the Mahārāja Jayanātha,—begotten on the Mahādēvī Ajjhitadēvi,⁵—being in good health,⁶ issues a command to the

¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following five verses.

² Supply *tithau*.

³ Supply *śāsanam*.

⁴ Read *dātaka uparika*.—*Dātaka* should be a word by itself, in the nominative singular; not in composition with *uparika*.

⁵ The context is in line 5 f.,—"the Mahārāja Jayanātha issues a command." The genealogy that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

⁶ See page 16 above, note 2.

⁷ The first part of this name, *ajjhita*, must be a Prākṛit word. There might be some temptation to correct it into the Sanskrit *ujjhita*; but there is not the slightest approach to the vowel *u* below the final *m* of the preceding word *dēvyām*, in any of the passages in which it occurs.—Gen. Cunningham read the name as *Majjhitadēvi*; but this is incorrect, as there is no trace whatever of an *anusvāra* over the *vyā* of *dēvyām*, in any of the passages.—We have another Prākṛit name in *Ijjādēvi* in line 5 of the Dēo-Baraṇār inscription of Jivitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.

⁸ *kuśalin*; a technical expression of constant use in charters.

cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmanas, and to the artisans, at (the village of) **Chhandāpallikā** in the **Nāgadēya santaka** :—

(L. 6.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, this village is granted by me,—with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, (but) with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves,—to the Brāhman *Mitrasvāmin*, of the *Kāṇva gōtra* and the *Vājasaneyā-Mādhyaṃdiṇa* (*śākhā*).

(L. 9.)—"You yourselves shall render to him the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties¹ and taxes, and shall be obedient to (his) commands.

(L. 10.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to; (and) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 12.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 13.)—And it has been said in the *Mahābhārata* by the venerable *Vyāsa*,—"O *Yudhishtira*, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with *Sāgara*; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Fathers (in the world of the dead) clap their hands upon their arms, (and) grandfathers leap (from joy), (saying)—'A giver of land has been born in our family; he shall become our deliverer'! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell), together with (his) ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, together with the seventy-fourth (year), on the fourteenth day of the month *Āshādha*,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (&c.),²—(this charter) has been written by me, the *Bhōgika Guṇjakirti*, the grandson of the *Bhōgika*, the *Amātya Rājyila*, and the son of the *Bhōgika Dhruvadatta*. The *Dātaka* (is) the *Uparika*, *Dikshita*,³ householder,⁴ and chief of architects,⁵ *Śarvadatta*.

(L. 24.)—The year 100 (and) 70 (and) 4; (the month) *Āshādha*; the day 10 (and) 4.

¹ *bhāga-bhōga*; *lit.* 'enjoyment of shares.' My rendering is on the authority of *Monier Williams'* explanation of *bhāga-bhuj*, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, by 'enjoying taxes; a king, sovereign.'

² See page 97 above, note 1.

³ *Dikshita*; 'one who has received initiation, or by whom the preparatory ceremonies have been observed.'

⁴ *grihapati*; 'the master of a house, a householder; a man of the second class, who, having finished his studies, is married and settled.'

⁵ *sthapati-samudj*; the meaning, however, is not quite certain. Perhaps it may mean 'superintendent of the attendants of the women's apartments.'

No. 27; PLATE XVII.

**KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.****THE YEAR 177.**

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 13, No. 4, where he published a partial translation of it, with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 6),—is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh**,¹ in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghêlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Raja of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The **plates**, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", and the second $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $6\frac{3}{4}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; the inscription, however, is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters here and there shew through faintly on the backs of them. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring and seal are not forthcoming.—The **weight** of the two plates is 3 lbs. 11 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of the same *Mahârāja* of the year 174, No. 26 above, Plate xvi. In *rājānas*, line 12, the vowel *ā* is attached, in a very unusual way, to the top stroke of the *j*; instead of to the centre of it, as in *rājā* (for *rājā*), line 13; this occurs occasionally in other inscriptions also; and it is difficult to say whether it is an authorized variety of practice, or only a mistake on the part of the engraver. The letter *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed uniformly above the top line of writing. The characters include the rather rare *jh*, in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prākṛit word *phuḷla*, in line 10; and (2) in *pratishṭhāpitaka*, line 9, and *utpadyamānaka*, line 12, the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *kkramēṇa*, *puttra*, and *prapauttra*, line 9; and (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vali*, line 10.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahârāja Jayanātha*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa**. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 496-97), and the twenty-second day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahârāja Jayanātha*, to some **Brāhmins**, of the village of **Dhava-shandika**, for the purposes of a temple of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One, established by them there.

¹ See page 93 above, and note 3.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Svasty-Uchchakalpân=mahārāj-Aughadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō mahā-
- 2 dēvyām Kumārad[ē*]jyām=utpannō mahārāja-Kumāradēvas=tasya puttras=tat-p[ā*]d-ānudhyātō
- 3 mahādēvyām Jayasvāmīnyām=utpannō mahārāja-Jayasvāmi(mi) tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō
- 4 mahādēvyām Rāmadēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Vyāghras=tasya puttras=tat-p[ā*]d-ānudhyātō mahā-
- 5 dēvy[ā*]m-Ajjhitadēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Jayanāthah kuśali(II)
Dhavaśaṇḍikāyā[m*] vrā(brā)hma-
- 6 ṇ-ādīn-kuṭumvi(mbi)naḥ kārukāms=cha samājñāpayati [I*] Veditam vō=stu yath=aisha grāmō may=ā-
- 7 chandr-ārka-samakālikah Śāsātanēya-Sarvvavādha-divira-tatputtra-bhāgavata-Gaṅga-ta[t*]puttra-
- 8 Raṅkabōta-Aja²garadās[ā*]nām sva-puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē bhagavat-pād[ē*]bhyah dēv-[ā*]grāhārō-tisṛṣṭa[h*] [I*]
- 9 ēbhiś=ch-āttira pratisṭhāpitaka-bhagavat-pādānām puttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtr-āti(di)-kkramēṇa khaṇḍa-
- 10 phuṭṭa³-pratisamsk[ā*]-[ēṇa*] va(ba)li-charu-sattra-pravarttan-ādy-anuśṭhānēna cha sva-puṇy-ābhivṛddhiḥ
- 11 karttavyā [II*] Tē yūyam=ēśhām samuchita-śu[I*]ka-bhāgabhōga-kara-hirany-
ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayam⁴
- 12 karishyath=ājñā-śrāvāṇa-vidhēyās=cha bhavishyatha [I*] Yē ch=āsmad-varṇś-ōtpadyamānaka-rājānas=tair-iyam
- 13 datti[r*]=nna vilōpyā anumōdan[I*]yā samuchita-rō(rā)j-ābhāvya-kara-
pratyāyā na grāhyā[h*]

Second Plate.

- 14 chōra-danda-variyaṁ I kāl-ānukālām cha pratipalanīya [I*] Yaś=ch-aimām dattim lōpayēt=sa pa[m*]cha-
- 15 bhir=mmahāpātakair=upapātakais=cha samyuktaḥ sy[ād*] [II*] Uktam cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna
- 16 Vyāsēna [I*] Sva⁵-dattām para-dattām=vā yatnād-raksha Yudhishṭhira mahi[m*] mahīmatām śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō-nupāla-
- 17 nam [II*] Prāyēṇa hi narēndrānām vidyatē n=ā-subhā gatih pūyattē(ntē) tē tu satata[m*] prayachchhantō vasundha-
- 18 rā[m*] II Shasṭim varsha-sahamsrāpi⁶ svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ I āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=[ē*]va narak[ē*] vasēt [II*]

¹ From the original plates.² Read *bōt-Aja*.³ Read *sphuṭita*. — *Phuṭṭa* is a regular Prākṛit formation; but is not admissible in a Sanskrit passage.⁴ This *anusvāra* is so high above the *ya*, that it seems to have been omitted at first, and inserted subsequently, somewhat at random.⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following four verses.⁶ Read *sahasrāpi*.

- 19 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | rya(ya)sya yasya
yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [11*]
20 Sarvva-sasya-sāmriddhān=[t*]u yō harēta vasundharā[m*] | sa viśṭhāyāṁ
krimi[r*]=bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha majya(jja)tē [11*]
21 Samvatsara-satē sapta-saptaty-u[tta*]rē Chaitra-māsa-dīvasē dvā-
viṁsatimē likhitam¹ bhōgika-Phālgua²datt-āmātya-
22 mātya³-naptrā bhōgika-Varāhadinna-puttra-sāṅdhivigrahika-Gallunā | dūtaka-
ōparika⁴-dikshita-griha-
23 pati-sthapatisamrat-**Chharvavadattah** || Yattr=āghātāḥ Dhānyavāhika-
pratyuddesē garttā pālī cha |
24 Durggamaṇḍala-pradēsē pālī [1*] Suvarṇnakakshaka-pradēsē gōpatha-
sarah ardhēna cha pālī [1*]
25 Āmuka-pradēsē garttā [1*] Dāramaṇḍala-pradēsē(śē) pālī [1*] Vakra-
vaṇa-prāvēśya-maṇḍala-pradēsē pālī [1*]
26 grāmē yāvat-kūpaṁ pravishṭa iti [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! From **Uchchakalpa**;—(There was) the *Mahārāja Ōghadēva*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Kumāradēva*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Jayasvāmin*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Jayasvāminī*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Vyāghra*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Rāmadēvī*.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahārāja Jayanātha*,—begotten on the *Mahādēvī Ajjhitadēvī*,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhman, and to the artisans, at (the village of) **Dhavashandikā** :—

(L. 6.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, (and) for the benefit of the feet of the Divine One,⁵ this village is granted by me, as an *agrahāra* of the god, to continue for the same time with the moon and the sun, to the *Divira*⁶ Sarvavāḍha, of the Śāśatanēya (*gōtra*) (?), and his son the *Bhāgavata* Gaṅga, and his sons Raṅkabōta and Ajagaradāsa. And the increase of their own religious merit should be effected by the succession of (their) sons, [sons' sons*], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c., by repairing whatever may become broken or torn, and by attending to the

¹ Supply *śāsanam*.

² Read *phalgu*.—The name occurs again with the long vowel *ā* in the first syllable, in line 30 of No. 28 below, and line 11 of No. 30 below. But the correct form, with the short vowel *a*, occurs in line 28 of No. 31 below, page 137.

³ Read *āmātya-naptrā*. The syllables *mātya* are repeated by mistake.

⁴ Read *dūtaka uparika*; see page 119 above, note 4.

⁵ i. e. "for the benefit of the Divine One."—Here, and in line 9 below, the words "the feet" are only used in accordance with the customary method of respectful mention. No reference is intended to any shrine containing 'foot-prints' of Viṣṇu, which would be denoted by the use of *pada*, not *ōḍḍa*.

⁶ *Divira* is a technical official title, explained by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 10) as meaning 'a clerk, writer, or accountant,' on the authority of a passage in the *Lōkaprakāśa* of Kṣhēmendra, which explains the details of written documents for the benefit of the *Diviras*.

maintenance of the *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, and other (*such rites*), of the feet of the Divine One, established here by these persons.

(L. 11.)—"You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 12.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to; (*and*), with the exception of fines imposed on thieves, the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken; and (*this grant*) should be preserved from time to time.

(L. 14.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 15.)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,— "O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks (*into hell*), together with his ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, increased by seventy-seven, on the twenty-second day of the month Chaitra, (*this charter*) has been written by the *Sāṃdhivigrahika* Gallu, the grandson of the *Bhōgika*, the *Amātya* Phalgudatta,¹ (*and*) the son of the *Bhōgika* Varāhadinna.² The *Dūtaka* (*is*) the *Uparika*, *Dikshita*, householder, and chief of architects,³ *Śarvadatta*.

(L. 23.)—The boundaries in this matter (*are*),—in the direction of *Dhānya-vāhika*,⁴ a boundary-trench and a bridge;⁵—in the direction of *Durgamaṇḍala*, a

¹ See page 123 above, note 2.

² *dinna* is rather a rare word. But it occurs again (1) as the second part of a proper name, in Indradinna, a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 247, 251), and perhaps in Vṛkidinna, in line 25 of the Māliya grant of Dharasēna II., No. 38 below (where, however, it may be a name by itself); (2) as a proper name by itself, in line 9 of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja* Samudrasēna, No. 80 below, Plate xlv., and in the case of a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 247, 252); and (3) as the first component of the name of a village in Dinnāgrāma (Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v.). Also, we have a village or town named Dinnaputra, either a mistake or a local variation for Dinnaputra, or more probably a mistake for Dinnāputra, in line 54 of one of the Dhānka grants of Śīlāditya V. (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 345; and *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 15.)

³ *sthapati-samraj*; see page 120 above, note 5.

⁴ Dhānyavāhika must have been a very common village-name in those parts, as the maps give 'Danwai,' 'Dhanwahi' (three times), 'Dhunwahee,' and 'Dhunwai,' all within a distance of thirty-two miles from Uchaharā, on the south-east, south, and south-west.

⁵ *pālī*; or 'a raised bank, dike, or causeway.'—This, also, if it did not occur five times in this passage, and in five different directions, might be taken as a village-name; since the maps give 'Pali,' thirty-seven miles north-west, and again seventy miles south by east, from Uchaharā.

bridge;—in the direction of **Suvarṇakakshaka**, (*partly*) the place where the reeds grow by the cattle-path,¹ and partly a bridge;—in the direction of **Āmuka**, a boundary-trench;—in the direction of **Dāramāṇḍala**, a bridge;—(*and*) in the direction of the district at the entrance of **Vakravāṇa**, a bridge;—(*then the boundaries*) enter the village (*again*) at the well.

No. 28; PLATE XVIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 193.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khoh**,² in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which, so far as the inscription now published is concerned, are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", and the second, $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $6\frac{1}{4}$ ". The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thick, and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is about $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick and $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It had not been cut when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be detached from the plates. It appears, however, to be the ring properly belonging to these plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is rectangular, about $\frac{1}{8}$ " by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". With the plates, it has been subjected to the action of fire, and has received considerably more injury than the plates. It can be seen, however, that it contains, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, Garuḍa, the bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu, with outstretched wings, just as on the copper-coins of Chandragupta II.; and below this, in two lines, the legend, very much damaged, *Mahārāja-Śa[r]va[n]dītha*.—The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total, 2 lbs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kāṭīalā grant of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117 ff., and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jh*, in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prākṛit word *phuṭṭa*, in line 15; and (2) in *anumōditaka*, line 13 f.; *uparīlikhitaka*, line 14; *pratishṭhāpitaka*, line 14 f.; and

¹ *gōpatha-sara*, line 24; the meaning, however, is not quite certain.—*sara*, in one of its meanings, denotes the reed or grass called *Saccharum Sara*.

² See page 93 above, and note 3.

utpadyamānaka, line 18 f., the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.— In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya*, in *saḥ=pañchabhir*, line 21; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ṣ*, in *kārūṣ=cha*, line 8; *anṣa*, in various forms, in lines 10 to 12; and *vanṣa*, line 18; (3) the constant doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *anukrama*, line 13; *kkrama*, line 14; *puttra*, line 1; *sattra*, line 16; and *kshattriya*, line 31; (4) the doubling of *g*, under the same circumstances, in *viggrahika*, line 31; (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, lines 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6; (6) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *bā* (for *vā*), line 8; *bā* (for *vā*) line 23; and *sambatsara*, line 29; and (7) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vali*, line 16; and *valādhikṛita*, line 31.

The first plate of this grant is a **quasi-palimpsest**. On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible; and only detached words can be read here and there. But I could distinguish the names of *Rāmadēvī*, in line 4; *Ajjhitadēvī*, in line 5; *Jayanātha*, in line 6; and *Śarvanātha* in line 7. And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words *Tamasā-nadyā uttara-pārē*, between *mahārāja-Śarvanāthaḥ kuśalī* and *brāhmaṇ-ādīn=kutumbinaḥ*, in line 7.

The extant **inscription** is one of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa**. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-three (A. D. 512-13), and the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month **Chaitra** (March-April). It is partly *Vaiṣṇava*, and partly of solar worship; the object of it being to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*, of the village of **Āśramaka** on the north bank of the river **Tamasā**, on the agreement between him and the grantees that it was to be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a shrine of *Vishṇu* under the title of *Bhagavat* or the Divine One, and of a shrine of a god the name of which, as written, must be a mistake for *Āditya*, the Sun.

I have not been able to identify the village of **Āśramaka**. But the river **Tamasā** is, of course, the modern '**Tamas**' and '**Tons**' of maps, &c., which rises in the *Mahiyar* State, on the south of *Nāgaudh*, and, running through the north part of *Rewah* (properly *Rīwār*, or sometimes *Rīmār*) flows into the *Ganges* about eighteen miles to the south-east of *Allahābād*. And the mention of it, under circumstances which shew that *Śarvanātha* had territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on its northern bank, is of importance, as giving evidence that the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa* did belong to the part of the country in which their grants are found. The only other definite proof of this is, as noted above, page 111, the existence of the inscription mentioning both *Hastin* and *Śarvanātha* on the stone-pillar at *Bhumarā*.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

Om Svasty=**Uchchakalpāt(n)**=mahārāj-**Aughadēvas**=tasya puttra-~~tat-pād-~~
anuddhyātō mahādēvyā[m*]

¹ From the original plates.

- 2 **Kumâradēvyām**=utpannô mahârāja-**Kumâradēvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
 ānu-
 3 ddhyâtô mahādēvyām **Jayasvāmīnyām**=utpannô mahârāja-**Jayasvāmī** tasya
 4 puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyâtô mahādēvyām **Rāmadēvyām**=utpannô mahârāja-
Vyāghras=tasya
 5 puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyâtô mahādēvyām=**Ajjhitadēvyām**=utpannô mahârāja-
Jaya-
 6 **nāthas**=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyâtô mahādēvyām **Murundadēvyām**=
 utpannô mahârāja-
 7 **Śarvanāthaḥ** kuśalī **Tamasā**-nadyā uttara-pârē **Āsramakē** brāhmaṇ-ā-
 8 dīn=kuṭumbinas=sarvva-kārūṇś=cha samājñāpayati [1*] Vīditam=bā(vô)-stu
 yath=aisha
 9 grāmô may=ā-chandr-ārka-samakālikas=s-[ô*]draṅgas=s-ôparikarāḥ a-chāṭa-
 10 bhaṭa-prāvēśyaś=chōra-danḍa-varjjitah chatur[ī*]bhīr=anśô¹ pratipāditah [1*]
 atô=
 11 nśa-dvayam Vishṇunandinah aparô=py-anśah Svāmīnāga-puttra-vanija-
 12 Śaktināgasya aparô=py-anśah Kumāranāga-Skandanāgayôḥ [1*] êtat-pu-
 13 ttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtr-ādy-anukṛramēṇa² tāmra-śāsanēn=āti-
 sriṣṭa[h*] [1*] ēbhīr=ap[ī*] may=[ā*]-
 14 **numôditakam** yath=ôparilikhitaka-kkramēn=aiva sva-puny-ābhivṛddhayē sva
 prati-
 15 **shṭhāpitaka-bhagavat-pādānām**=āditsā³-**bhaṭṭāraka-pādānāñ**=cha khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa⁴
 pratisam-
 16 skāra-karaṇāya va(ba)li-charu-sattra-gandha-dhūpa-mālya-dīpa-pravarttanāya ch=
 [ā*]tisriṣṭah⁵ [1*]

Second Plate.

- 17 Tai(tē) yōyam=ēshām samuchita-bhāgabhogā-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ôpa-
 18 naya[m*] karishyath=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyāś=cha bhavishyatha [1*] Yē ch=
 āsmad-vanś-ôtpadya-
 19 mānaka-rājānas=tair=īyan=dattir=na vilōpy=ānumōdanīyā yathô(thā)-kālañ=cha
 20 pratipālanīyā samuchita-rāj-ābhāvya-kara-pratyāyāś=cha na grāhyah [1*] Yah
 21 imān=dattin=lōpayēt=sah=pañchabhīr⁶=mahāpātakair=upapātakaiś=cha samyukta[h*]
 22 syād=Uktañ=cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [1*]
 Sva⁷-dattām=para-dattā-

¹ Read *anśaiḥ*.² We have to supply *upabhōgyah*, or some similar word, here.³ Read *āditya*. — *āditsā* is a regular formation, in the sense of 'a desire to seize or take,' from the desiderative of *dā*, 'give,' in composition with the prefix *d*. But it is not known as a proper name; and there can be no doubt that the engraver has written it by mistake for *āditya*, 'the sun.'⁴ Read *sphuṭita*. See page 122 above, note 3.⁵ This *shṭhah* is inserted below the *ch*=[ā*], from want of space at the end of the line.⁶ Read *ya imān=dattim lōpayēt=sa pañchabhīr*.⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following four verses.

- 23 m=bā(vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahim=mahimatāñ=chhrēshṭha'
dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [11*]
24 Prāyēna(ṇa) hi narēndrānām vidyatē n=[ā*]-śubhā 'gatih' pūyantē
tē tu satatam pra-
25 yachchharitō vasundharā[m*] [11*] Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājābhis=
Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya
26 yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [11*] Shashṭim
varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōda-
27 ti bhūmi-daḥ āchchhētā ch-ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt=
Sarvva²-sasya-samṛi-
28 ddhān-tu yō harēta vasundharām śva-vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhis=
saha majjatē [11*]
29 Likhitam³ samba(mva)tsara-śatē tṛi(tri)-navaty-uttarē Chaittra-māsa-divasē
daśamē
30 bhōgika-Phālgudatt-āmātya-naptrā bhōgika-Varāhadinna-puttrēṇa mahā-
31 sāndhiviggrahika-Manōrathēna [1*] Dūtak[ō*] rma(ma)hāva(ba)lādihikṛita-
kshattriya-
32 Śivagu⁴ptah [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From **Uchchakalpa**;—(There was) the *Mahārāja Ōghadēva*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Kumāradēva*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Jayasvāmin*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Jayasvāminī*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Vyāghra*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Rāmadēvī*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Jayanātha*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Ajjhitadēvī*.

(Line 6.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*,—begotten on the *Mahādēvī Muruṇḍadēvī*,⁵—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhman, and to all the artisans, at (the village of) **Āśramaka** on the north bank of the river **Tamasā**:—

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that this village is allotted by me, in four shares, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops. Out of them, two shares belong to Vishṇunandin; and another share belongs to the merchant *Śaktināga*, the son of Svāmināga; and another share belongs to Kumārānāga and Skandānāga. It is given by (this) copper-plate charter, [to be enjoyed⁶] by the succession of them and (their) sons, [sons' sons⁷], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c. Moreover, it is agreed by them (and) by me that it is given for the repairs, by the above-mentioned succession (of them and their descendants), in order to increase their own religious merit, of whatever may become broken or torn (in the shrines) of the feet⁸ of the

¹ Read *mahimatām śrēshṭha*.

² Read *vasēt* [11*] *Sarvva*.

³ Supply *śāsanam*.

⁴ Read *phalgu*. See page 123 above, note 2.

⁵ This *gu* is very much blurred in the original, but is quite legible.

⁶ In No. 29, line 6, and No. 31, line 6, she is called *Muruṇḍasvāminī*.

⁷ See page 123 above, note 5

Divine One, established by them, and of the feet of the sacred Sun,¹ and for the maintenance of the *bali, charu, sattra*, perfumes, incense, garlands, and lamps.

(L. 17).—"You yourselves shall render to them the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 18).—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to, and should be preserved according to opportunity. (*And*) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 20).—"Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 22).—"And it has been said in the Mahābhārata by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—“O Yudhishtira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) better than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*) together with (*his*) ancestors!"

(L. 29).—(*This charter*) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-three, on the tenth day of the month Chaitra, by the Mahāsāmdhivigrahika Manōratha, the grandson of the Bhōgika, the Amātya Phalgudatta,² (*and*) the son of the Bhōgika Varāhadinna. The Dātaka (*is*) the Mahābalādhikṛita, the Kshatriya Śivagupta.

No. 29; PLATE XIX A.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 8, where he published a translation of it,³—is on another copper-plate, the only one now forthcoming of an original set of two,⁴ that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh,⁵ in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

¹ See page 123 above, note 5; and page 127, note 3.

² See page 123 above, note 2.

³ But he wrongly took, as the continuation of it, the second plate of the grant of the same Mahārāja Śarvanātha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

⁴ See page 132 below, note 3.

⁵ See page 93 above, and note 3.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by 6". The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of very fair preservation almost throughout. The plate is rather thin; but the letters are shallower than usual, and shew through only indistinctly on the back of it. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout. —In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the plate is $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kārtalā grant of the *Mahārāja Jayanātha* of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jh*, in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, the first plate only being extant, this portion of the inscription is in prose throughout. It has not been engrossed as carefully as was usual in inscriptions of this early date. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prakrit word *phuṭṭa* in line 12; and (2) in *uparilikkhitaka*, line 10, and *utpadyamānaka*, line 15, the affix *ka*, that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *kārśś=cha*, line 7, and *vanta*, line 15; (2) the doubling of *k*, *g*, and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *anukkrāma*, line 10; *ggrāma*, line 8; and *puttra*, line 1, and *satira*, line 13; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, lines 1 to 5; and (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vali*, line 13.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called *Uchchakalpa*. The date is lost, in the second plate. The inscription is apparently Vaishṇava; the object of it being to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*, of half of the village of *Dhavashaṇḍikā*, on the agreement between him and the grantees that it should be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a temple of the goddess *Pishta-purikādevī*.

This village of *Dhavashaṇḍikā* seems to be the same one that was granted by the *Mahārāja Jayanātha*, in the year 177, as recorded in No. 27 above, page 121, for the purposes of a temple of the god *Vishṇu*, under the name of *Bhagavat* or the Divine One. And the present assignment of half of it specially for the purposes of a temple of *Pishta-purikādevī*, furnishes one item of proof that this goddess was a form of *Lakshmi*, the wife of *Vishṇu*.¹

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm Svasty=*Uchchakalpāt(n)=mahārāj-Aughadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānuddhyātō mahādēvyām*
- 2 *Kumāradēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Kumāradēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānuddhyātō*
- 3 *mahādēvyā[m*] Jayasvāmīnyām=utpannō mahārāja-Jayasvāmī tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ānu-*
- 4 *ddhyātō mahādēvyā[m*] Rāmadēvy[ā*]m=utpann[ō*] mahārāja-Vyāghras-
tasya puttras=tat-p[ā*]d-ānuddhyātō*

¹ See also page 113 above, note 2.

² From the original plate.

- 5 mah[ā*]dēvyām-Ajjhitadēvyām=[u*]tpannō mahārāja-Jayanāthas-tasya
 putras=tat-p[ā*]d-ānuddhyā-
- 6 tō 'mahādā(dē)vyā[m*]¹ Murū(ru)ṇḍasvāmīnyām=utpannō mahārāja-
 Śarvvanātha² kuśall Vōta-
- 7 santika-Dhavaśaṇḍik-ārdhē brāhmaṇ-ādīn=kuṭumbīnas=sarvva-kārūṇś=cha
 samājñāpayati [1]
- 8 Viditaṁ vō=stu yath=aisha ggrām-ārdhō may=ā-chandr-ārka-sama-
 kālīkā(ka)s=s-[ō*]draṅgaḥ
- 9 s-ōparikarāḥ a-ch[ā*]ta-bhaṭa-prāvēśya[h*]³ sarvva-karā-tyagaḥ⁴ dr(s)-ōtpadya-
 mānaka-pui(pra)tyāya-
- 10 samētaḥ Chhōḍugōmika⁵ ētat-puttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtr-ādy-anu-
 kramēṇa⁶ tāmbra⁷
- 11 śāsanēn=ātisriṣṭaḥ [1*] Anēn=āpi may=ānumōditaṁ yath=ōpari-
 likhitaka-
- 12 kkrāmēṇ=aiva bhagavatyāḥ⁸ Pisṭtapurik[ā*]⁹-dēvyāḥ khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa¹⁰-
 pratisaṁskāra-
- 13 karaṇāya va(ba)li-charu-sattra-prādharttanāya¹¹ ch=ātisriṣṭas=Tō yūyam=
 ēśhām
- 14 samuchita-bhāgabhoḥga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanaya[m*]¹² karishyath=ājñā-
 śrava-
- 15 ṇa-vidhēyās=cha bhaviṣyatha [1*] Yō ch=āsmad-vanś-ōtpadyamānaka-
 rājānas=tair=īya[m*]
- 16 dattir=na vilōky(py)=ānumōdaniyā

(The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Ōghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumārādēva, begotten on the Mahādēvī Kumārādēvī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmīn, begotten on the Mahādēvī Jayasvāmīnī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādēvī Rāmādēvī. His son, who meditated on his feet, was the Mahārāja Jayanātha, begotten on the Mahādēvī Ajjhitadēvī.

¹ This *anusūdra* is omitted also in line 6 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and thus, as Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *Uruṇḍa* as a proper name of a demon and of a man, as well as *Muruṇḍa*, we might have read *mahādēvyām=Uruṇḍasvāmīnyām*. In line 6, however, of the newly-discovered grant, No. 28 above, page 127, the reading is very distinctly *mahādēvyām Muruṇḍadēvyām*.

² Read *sarvva-kara-tyagaḥ*.

³ Read *gōmīkāya*.

⁴ We have to supply *upabhōgyaḥ*, or some similar word, here.

⁵ Read *tāmra*.

⁶ See line 11 of No. 31 below, page 137, and Plate xx., in which the long vowel *ā* was duly engraved, and is quite distinct.

⁷ Read *sphuṭita*. See page 122 above, note 3.

⁸ Read *pravarttanāya*.

(Line 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*,—begotten on the *Mahādēvi Muruṇḍasvāmini*,¹—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, and to the artisans, in half of (the village of) *Dhavaśandikā* in the *Vōṭa santika* :—

(L. 8.)—“Be it known to you that this half village is, by (*this*) copper-plate charter, given to Chhōdugōmika, [to be enjoyed*] by the succession of him and (*his*) sons, sons’ sons, sons of the latter, &c.,—to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with remission of all the taxes; (*and*) with such tribute as may accrue. And it is agreed by him (*and*) by me, that it is granted for the purpose of the repairs, by the above-mentioned succession (*of him and his descendants*), of whatever may become broken or torn, belonging to the divine goddess *Pisṭaparikādēvi*, and for the maintenance of the *bali*, *charu*, and *sattra*.

(L. 13.)—“You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 15.)—“And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to.”

(*The rest of this inscription, on the second plate, is not forthcoming.*)

No. 30; PLATE XIX B.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 197.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 14, No. 6, where he published a partial translation of it,² with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 7),—is on another copper-plate, the only one forthcoming of an original set of two,³ that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of *Khōh*,⁴ in the *Nāgaudh* State in the *Baghelkhand* division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examin-

¹In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called *Muruṇḍadēvi*. In No. 31 below, line 6, page 136, the termination of her name is *svāmini* as here.

²But he wrongly treated it as the continuation of the first plate of the grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

³The grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., furnishes another instance, similar to that of the grant, the date of which is lost, No. 29 above, page 129, in which the last line of the first plate is left half blank. And, so far as the context goes, this inscription might be taken as the continuation of No. 29. But the edges of this plate are rounded off more; the copper is of a totally different quality, thickness, and weight; and the characters, though of just the same period, differ very much in details of execution,—notably in the *visarga*, e.g. in *grdhyaḥ*, line 2, *guptaḥ*, line 13, and *dātakaḥ*, line 14, as contrasted with *nāthaḥ* in line 6, *s[ṣ]drangaḥ* in line 8, and *samātāḥ* in line 10, of No. 29, Plate xixA. And there can, on the whole, be no doubt that in Plate xixA. and B. we have the first and second plates of two separate grants; not one entire grant.

⁴See page 93 above, and note 3.

ation, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about $7\frac{7}{8}$ " by $5\frac{7}{8}$ ". The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters are rather deep, and shew through clearly on the back of it. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the plate is 13 oz.—The average size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kāritālāi grant of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 4 to 10, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya*, in *saḥ=pañchabhir*, line 2; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vinśati*, line 11; (3) the doubling of *g* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *viggrahika* and *putrēṇa*, line 12; (4) the use of *b* for *v*, in *bā*, line 4, and *sambatsara*, line 10; and (5) the use of *v* for *b*, in *valādhikṛita*, line 13.

The first plate, containing the name of the Mahārāja and the place whence the charter was issued, is lost; but the date, and other details at the end, shew that the inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-seven (A.D. 516-17), and the twentieth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Āsvayuja (September-October.) The details of the grant are lost, in the first plate.

TEXT.¹

(The first plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

Second Plate.

- 1 Yathā-kālāñ=cha pratipālaniyā [1*] samuchita-rāj-ābhāvya-kara-pratyāyāś-
chah²
- 2 na grāhyāḥ [1*] Ya imān=dattin=lōpayēt=saḥ=pañchabhir³=mahāpātakair-
upapāta-
- 3 kaiś=cha samyuktas=syād=Uktañ=cha Mahābhāratē bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna
Vyāsēna [1*]
- 4 Sva⁴-dattām=para-dattām=bā(vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhisṭhira mahim=
mahīmatāñ=chhrēṣṭha⁵ dānā-
- 5 ch=chhrēyō=nupālana[m*] [11*] Prāyēna(ṇa) hi narēndrāṇām vidyatē
n=[4*]-śubhā gatiḥ pūya-

¹ From the original plate.

² Read *cha*.

³ Read *dattim lōpayēt=sa pañchabhir*.

⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following four verses.

⁵ Read *mahīmatām śrēṣṭha*.

- 6 - nt[é*] tē tu satatam prayachchhantō vasundharām [11*] Bahubhir-
vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādi-
7 , bhiḥ 'yasya 'yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phaḷa[m*] [11*]
Shashṭi-va[r*]sha-sahasrā-
8 pi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
narakē vasē-
9 [t*] [11*] Sarvva-sasya-samṛiddhān=tu yō harēta vasundharām śva-
vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā
10 pitribhis=saha majjatē [11*] Likhitaṁ¹ samba(mva)tsara-śatē sapta-navaty-
uttarē Aśva-
11 yuja-māsa-divasē vīṣatimē² bhōgika-Phalgu³datt-āmātya-naptrā bhō-
12 gika-Varāhadinna-puttrēṇa mahāsāndhiviggrahika-Manōrathēna [1*]
13 Dūtakaḥ mahāva(ba)lādihikṛita-Śivaguptaḥ [1*] Halir-ākara-kumbha-daṇḍa-
14 pratimē(mō)chan-ātilēkhinē=pi dūtakaḥ uparika-Mākṛi(tri)śiva[h*] [11*]

TRANSLATION.

(The opening part of this inscription, on the first plate,
is not forthcoming.)

"And, according to opportunity, it should be preserved. And the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(Line 2.)—"Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 3.)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata, by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—“O Yudhishtira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*) together with (*his*) ancestors!"

(L. 10.)—(*This charter*) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-seven, on the twentieth day of the month Aśvayuja, by the Mahāsāndhiviggrahika Manōratha, the grandson of the Bhōgika, the Amātya Phalgudatta,⁴ (*and*) the son of the Bhōgika Varāhadinna. The Dūtaka (*is*) the Mahābalādihikṛita Śivagupta. Moreover, the Dūtaka to an additional writer⁵ for the remission of the fines on⁶ and water-pots, (*is*) the Uparika Mātṛīśiva.

¹ Supply śāsanam.

² We should perhaps correct this into vīṣatitāmē, as the base vīṣatima seems to be properly used only when in composition with another numeral, e.g. dvā-vīṣatima, in No. 27 above, line 21, page 123. But vīṣatima, by itself, occurs again in line 18 of the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarma (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365.)

³ Read phalgu; see page 123 above, note 2.

⁴ See page 123 above, note 2.

⁵ See page 100 above, note 3.

⁶ The meaning of halir-ākara is not apparent.

No. 31; PLATE XX.

KHŌH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 214.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 14 and 16, Nos. 6 and 8, where he published a translation of it,¹ with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 8),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh**,² in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghêlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $8\frac{3}{8}$ " by 6", and the second $8\frac{3}{8}$ " by $5\frac{7}{8}$ ". The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing ; and, though the plates are here and there worn quite through by rust, the inscription is in a state of very good preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thin ; and the letters shew through on the backs of them so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good ; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring, with the seal attached to it, is not now forthcoming ; having been abstracted by slitting the plates from the ring-holes to the edges.—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 2 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kāritālāi grant of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jh* in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit ; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 20 to 27, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *utpannaka*, line 9 ; *utpada-mānaka*, lines 9 and 16 ; and *kāritaka*, line 11, the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmaniya*, in *sah-pañchabhir*, line 18 ; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś* and *h*, in *vaṇṣa*, line 16, and *saṁhitā*, line 19 ; and (3) the doubling of *g* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *viggrahika*, line 29, and *puttra*, lines 1 to 5 ; but not in *putra-pautra*, line 12.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha* ; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa**. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year two hundred and fourteen (A.D. 533-34), and the sixth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pausha (December-January). It is apparently a *Vaishnava* inscription ; the object of it being to record the sanction of the

¹ But he wrongly attached No. 30 above, with the date of 197, to the first plate of this grant, and took the second plate of this grant as the continuation of No. 29 above.

² See page 93 above, and note 3.

Mahārāja Śarvanātha to the transfer, among private grantees, of two villages named **Vyāghrapallika** and **Kācharapallika** in the **Maṇināga pēṭha**, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess *Pisṭapurikādevī* at the town of **Mānapura**.

This town of **Mānapura** is possibly the modern **Mānpur**,¹ near the river *Śoṇ*, about forty-seven miles in a south-easterly direction from *Uchaharā*, and thirty-two miles south-east of *Kāṭtalāl*. And, if this identification is accepted, we have here another item of evidence tending to connect the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa* with the part of the country in which their grants are found. But it is obviously not of as much force as the two points to which I have previously drawn attention; *vis.* the existence of the inscription of *Hastin* and *Śarvanātha* on the pillar at *Bhumarā*, No. 24 above, page 110; and the mention of the river *Tamasā*, in *Śarvanātha*'s grant of the year 193, No. 28 above, page 125, in such a way as to shew that he had actual territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on the northern bank of that river. As regards the present passage, it is not so conclusive, because a *Mahārāja* might very well make a grant of land within his territory to a temple outside it. At the same time, that temple would not be far distant from his own domains.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm Svasty=**Uchchakalp[ā*]n**=mahārāj-**Aughadēvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānudhyātō mahādēvyā[ṛ*]
- 2 **Kumāradēvyām**=utpannō mahārāja-**Kumārādēvas**=tasya putt[r*]as=tat-pād-
ānudhyātō
- 3 mahādēvyā[ṛ*] **Jayasvāmīnyām**=utpannō mahārāja-**Jayasvāmī** tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ā-
- 4 nudhyātō mahādēvyām **Rāmadēvyām**=utpannō mahārāja-**Vyāghras**=tasya
putt[r*]as=tat-pād-ānudhyā-
- 5 tō mahādēvyām=**Ajjhitadēvyām**=utpan[n*]ō mahārāja-**Jayanāthas**=tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ānu-
- 6 dhyātō mahādēvyā[ṛ*]² **Muruṇḍasvāmīnyām**=utpannō mahārāja-
Śarvvanāthah kuśalī **Maṇi-**
- 7 **nāga-pēṭhē** **Vyāghrapallika-Kācharapallika**-grāmayō[r*]-brāhmaṇ-ādī(n)-
prativāsinaḥ⁴
- 8 samājñāpayati [i*] **Vidita[ṛ*]** vō=stu yath=aisha(ṭau) grāmau mayā
s-ōdraṅgau s-ōparikarau
- 9 a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyō(śyau) rāj-ābhāvya-sarva-kara-pratyāy-ē(ō)tpannak-ōtpadya-
māṇaka-samō(mē)-
- 10 tau ā-chandr-ārka-samakālikau chōra-ta(da)ṇḍa-varjjitau **Pulinda**³bhaṭasya
pras[ā*]dikṛitau

¹ The 'Manpoor, Manpora, and Mānpur,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 23° 46' N.; Long. 81° 11' E.

² From the original plates.

³ See page 131 above, note 1.

⁴ This *visarga* is imperfect, only the upper part of it having been engraved.

⁵ The stroke at the bottom of this *nda*, which gives it somewhat of the appearance of *ndra*, seems to be due to a slip of the engraver's tool.

- 11 tēn=āpi **Mānapurē** kārītaka-dēvakul[é*] bhagavatyāḥ Pashṭha'purikā-
dēvyāḥ pūjā-ni-
12 mittam¹ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratisaṃskāraṇāya cha Kumārasvāminē putra-
pautr-ānvay-ōpa-
13 bhōjyō(jyau) pratipādītau [I*] may=āpi bhūmichchhidrā(dra)-nyāyēna tāmra-
śāsan[é*]n=ānumōdītau [I*]
14 Tē yūyam=ēv=ōpalabhy=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyā bhūtvā samuchita-bhāgabhōga-
kara-hiraṇy-ā-
15 vāt-āy-[ā*]di-pratyāyān=upanēshyatha [I*]

Second Plate.

- 16 Y[é*] ch=āsmad-vañś-ōtpadyamānaka-rājānas=tair=iyam dattī[r*]-nna vilōpyā
yathā-kāla[m*] sa[m*]varddha-
17 nly=ānumōdanīyā paripālānīyā , cha [*] rāj-ābhāvya-kara-pratyāyā[h*]
sarvvē na grāhyā[h*] [I*]
18 Yaś=ch=aitām dattīm lōpayēt=saḥ=pañchabhir²=mahāpātakair=upapātakaiś=cha
śaṃhyuktō bhūyā-
19 d=Uktañ=cha Mahābhāratē śatasāhasry[ā*]m saṃhitāyām param-arshiṇā
Parāśara-sutēna
20 vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [I*] Pūrvva³-dattām dvijātibhyō yatnād-raksha
Yudhisṭhira mahī[m*] mahi-
21 vatā⁴ śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālānam [II*] Prāyēṇa hi narēndrāṇām
vidyatē n=[ā*]-śubhā
22 gatiḥ pūyattē(ntē) tē tta(tu) satatām prayachchhantō vasu[ndharām*] [II*]
[Bahubhir=vvasu*]dhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhi[h*]
23 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [II*] Shasṭi-
varsha-sahasrāṇi
24 svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē
vaset [II*] Sva-da-
25 ttām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharā[m*] śva-vishṭhāyām
krimir-bhūtvā pitribhis=saha
26 majjati [II*] A-pānlyēshv=aranyēshu śushka-kōṭa[ra*]-vāsinah kṛishṇ-āhayō
hi jā-
27 yantē pūrvva-dāyam haranti yē [II*] Likhitaḥ⁵ sa[m*]vatsara-śata-
dvayē chaturdāś-ōttarē
28 Pausa-māsa-divasē shapṭhē(shṭhē) Phalgudatt-āmātya-pranapt[r*]ā Varāha-
din[n*]a-napt[r*]ā
29 Manōratha-sutēna sāndhiviggrahika-Nāthēna [I*] Dūtako Dhṛiti-
svāmikaḥ [II*]

¹ Read *pishṭa*.² Read *sa pañchabhir*.³ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following five verses.⁴ Read *mahimatām*.⁵ Supply *śāsanam*.

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From **Uchchakalpa**; — (*There was*) the **Mahārāja Ōghadēva**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the **Mahārāja Kumāradēva**, begotten on the **Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the **Mahārāja Jayasvāmin**, begotten on the **Mahādēvi Jayasvāmini**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the **Mahārāja Vyāghra**, begotten on the **Mahādēvi Rāmadēvi**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the **Mahārāja Jayanātha**, begotten on the **Mahādēvi Ajjhitadēvi**.

(Line 6.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the **Mahārāja Śarvanātha**,—begotten on the **Mahādēvi Muruṇḍasvāmini**,¹—being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, at the villages of **Vyāghrapallika** and **Kāchrapallika** in the **Maṇināga pēṭha**:—

(L. 8.)—“Be it known to you that these two villages were bestowed, as a mark of favour, upon **Pulindabhata**,—with the *udraṅgā* and the *uparikara*; (*with the privilege that they were not to be*) entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with whatever had (*by custom*) accrued or might accrue in connection with the tribute of all the taxes which should not belong to the king; to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; (*but*) with the exception of (*the right to*) fines imposed on thieves. And now they are granted by him to **Kumārasvāmin**, to be enjoyed by the succession of (*his*) sons and sons' sons, for the purpose of the worship of the divine goddess **Pisṭhapurikadēvi** at the temple which he has caused to be built at (the town of) **Mānapura**, and for the purpose of repairing whatever may become broken or torn. And, by (*this*) copper-plate charter, they have been assented to by me, according to the rule of *bhāmichchhidra*.²

(L. 14.)—“You yourselves, understanding (*this*), (*and*) being obedient to (*their*) commands, shall render the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, *dvāta*,³ revenue,⁴ &c.

(L. 16.)—“And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) according to opportunity should be increased (*and*) assented to and preserved. And none of the tribute of the taxes which should not belong to the king, should be taken.

(L. 18.)—“And whosoever may confiscate this grant, he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins.

¹ In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called **Muruṇḍadēvi**. In No. 29 above, line 6, page 131, the termination of her name is *svāmini*, as here.

² *bhāmichchhidra*, *lit.* ‘a fissure (furrow) of the soil,’ is a technical fiscal expression of constant occurrence in inscriptions. Dr. Bühler has recently discovered the meaning of it, in **Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayanṭī**, in the *Vaiśyādhyāya*, verse 18, where it is explained by *kṛishya-yōgyā bhāḥ*, ‘land fit to be ploughed or cultivated.’

³ *dvāta* is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not apparent. It is derived either from *vā*, ‘to blow,’ or *vai*, ‘to become dried or withered,’ in composition with the prefix *d-*.—The more usual expression is simply *vāta*; e.g. *sa-vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hiranyādāya*, in line 26 of the **Māliya** grant of **Dharasena II.**, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

⁴ *dya*, *lit.* ‘that which comes in; income,’ is now a technical fiscal term for ‘the customary dues of the hereditary village-officers and servants.’—It is, however, not quite certain that it had this special meaning in the early inscriptions.

(L. 19).—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata, in the *Śatasāhasrī-Samhitā*, by Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, the supreme sage, the son of Parāśara,—“O Yudhishthira; best of king's, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by [many*] kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another,—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*) together with his ancestors! Those who confiscate a previous grant, are born (*again*) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!”

(L. 27).—(*This charter*) has been written in two centuries of years, increased by fourteen, on the sixth day of the month Pausha, by the *Sāmdhivigrahika* Nātha, the great-grandson of the *Amātya* Phalgudatta; the grandson of Varāhadinna; (*and*) the son of Manōratha. The *Dātaka* (*is*) Dhṛitisvāmika.

No. 32; PLATE XXIA.

MEHARAULI POSTHUMOUS IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 494, where Mr. James Prinsep published a lithograph of it (*id.* Plate xxx.), reduced from a facsimile made in 1831 by Lieutenant William Elliot, 27th Regiment N. I. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it does not represent a single letter of the original correctly, and is quite unintelligible from beginning to end.—In 1838, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 629 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published a much improved lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxiii.), reduced from an ink-impression made in the same year by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own reading of the text and a translation of it.¹—And finally, in 1875, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 63 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised version of the text and translation, including the correct reading of the king's name as Chandra, with a lithograph which appears to have been reduced from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī.²

Mēharaulī, or Mēmharaulī,³—an evident corruption of Mihirapuri,—is a village

¹ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 320 f.

² This paper was published in 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.

³ The 'Maharoli, Mahroli, and Muhroulee,' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 31' N.; Long. 77° 14' E.—The pillar has always been known as the "Dehli Pillar;" and I think the name of the village in which it really stands, so important because of its obvious derivation, *vis.* Mihirapuri, 'the city of the sun, or of the Mihiras,' was not put on record, in connection with the inscription, until I noticed it (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 362.)

nine miles almost due south of Dehli, the chief town of the Dehli District in the Pañjāb. The inscription is on the west side of a tapering iron column, sixteen inches in diameter at the base and twelve at the top, and twenty-three feet eight inches high, standing near the well-known Kutb Minār in the ancient fort of Rāy Pithorā within the limits of this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 9½" broad by 10½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout, owing, of course, to the nature of the substance on which it is engraved. The bottom line of the inscription is about 7' 2" above the stone platform round the lower part of the column. The engraving is good; but, in the process of it, the metal closed up over some of the strokes, which gives a few of the letters a rather imperfect appearance in the lithograph; this is especially noticeable in the *sy* of the opening word *yasyō*, and in the *r* of *urasā* in the same line.—The size of the letters varies from ⅛" to ⅓". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i. But, as a distinguishing feature, we have to notice the very marked *mātrās*, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, which we have already observed in the Bilsāḍ pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 above, page 43, and Plate v. — The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *prāṇsu*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *saṭtru*, line 1; and (3) the very unusual omission of the second *t*, which is formative and not due to the preceding *r*, in *mārttyā* for *mārttyā*, and *kīrttyā* for *kīrttyā*, line 3.

The inscription is a posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named Chandra, as to whose lineage no information is given. It is not dated.¹ It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and the object of it is to record the erection of the pillar, which is called a *dhvaja*, or 'standard,' of the god Viṣṇu, on a hill called Viṣṇupada, i.e. " (the hill that is marked with) footprints of Viṣṇu."

As regards this hill named Viṣṇupada, and the question whether it should be identified with that part of the Dehli Ridge on which the column stands,—the actual position of the column is in a slight depression, with rising ground on both sides; a position

¹ Mr. Prinsep allotted this inscription to the third or fourth century A.D.; and Dr. Bhau Daji, to a period later than the time of the Guptas. Mr. Fergusson (*Indian Architecture*, p. 508), drawing special attention to the Persian form of the capital, expressed a conviction that the inscription is of one of the Chandraguptas of the Early Gupta dynasty, and consequently belongs to A.D. 363 or 400.—My own impression at first, on independent grounds, was to allot it to Chandragupta I., the first *Mahārājadhirāja* of the family, of whose time we have as yet no inscriptions; and I should not be surprised to find at any time that it is proved to belong to him. The only objection that I can see, is that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythians, by overthrowing whom the Early Guptas must have established themselves. But, having regard to the name of the village at which the pillar is, it is also possible that the inscription is one of the younger brother of Mihirakula, whose name is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

² Compare *dhvaja-stambha*, 'flag-staff,' as applied to the Éran column in line 9 of No. 19 above. There is another iron column, at Dhār, the ancient Dhārā, now the chief town of the Dhār State in Central India. But there is no ancient inscription on it; unless it is completely hidden under, and destroyed by, a Persian inscription that was engraved on it when the Mussalmāns conquered that part of the country.

which hardly answers to the description of its being on a *giri* or 'hill.' And this, coupled with the tradition that the column was erected, in the early part of the eighth century A.D., by Anangapāla, the founder of the Tōmara dynasty,¹ lays it quite open to argument whether this is the real original position of the column, or whether, like the Aśōka columns at Delhi, and possibly the Aśōka (and Gupta) column at Allahābād, it was brought to where it now stands from some other place. But the fact that the underground supports of the column include several small pieces of metal "like bits of bar-iron,"² is in favour of its being now in its original position; as they would probably have been overlooked, and left behind, in the process of a transfer.

TEXT.³

- 1 Yasy⁴=ōdvarttayataḥ pratīpam=urasā śattrūn=samēty-āgatān=**Vaṅgēshv**-āhava-
varttinō=bhiliḥhitā khadgēna kīrttir=bhujē
- 2 tīrtvā sapta mukhāni yēna samarē **Sindhōr**=jīta **Vāhlikā**⁵ yasy=
ādyāpy-adhivāsyatē (jalanidhir=vvīryy-ānilair-ddakshināḥ [11*])
- 3 **Khinnasy**=ēva visriḥya gām nārapatēr=ggām-āśritasy-ētarām mūrt[t*]yā
karmma-jit-āvanīm gatavataḥ kīrt[t*]yā sthitasya kshitau
- 4 **śāntasy**=ēva mahā-vanē hutabhujō yasya pratāpō mahān=n-ādyāpy=
utsriḥjati prapāśita-rīpōr=vyatnasya śēśhāḥ kshitim [11*]
- 5 Prāptēna sva-bhuj-ārjītafi=cha suchirafr=ch-aiḥādhirāḥyam kshitau **Chandr**-
āhvēna samagra-chandra-sadṛīṣīm vaktra-śriyam bibhratā
- 6 tēn-āyam prāpīdhāya bhūmipatinā (dhāvēna⁶) Viśṇō(shṇau) matim prānsur=
Vviṣṇupadē girau bhagavatō Viśṇōr=dhvajāḥ sthāpitaḥ [11*]

TRANSLATION.

He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the **Vaṅga** countries, he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (him);—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) **Sindhu**, the **Vāhlikas**⁷ were conquered;—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed;—

(Line 3.)—He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned-out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions, (but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame;—

¹ *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 171.² *id.* Vol. IV. p. 28, and Plate v.³ From the original pillar.⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, throughout.

⁵ Prinsep also read vāhlikā; but Bhau Daji, varying in also the first syllable, read vāhlikā.—In the first *akshara*, the *v* is imperfect on the right side, through the closing up of the metal. In the second *akshara*, the *h* is turned in the opposite direction to that in which it is turned in *dhava*, line 1 and *mahāvān* and *mahān*, line 4. But, that the *akshara* is *hli*, not *lhi*, is certain; because *l* can only be formed to the left; whereas, at this period, *h* was formed sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right; and, in the present inscription, it is turned to the right, as here, again in *hutabhujō*, line 4, and *dhāvēna*, line 5.

⁶ See page 142 below, note 2.⁷ See note 5 above.

(L. 5.)—By him, the king,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty¹ in the world, acquired by his own arm and (*enjoyed*) for a very long time; (*and*) who, having the name of **Chandra**, carried a beauty of countenance like (*the beauty of*) the full-moon,—having in faith² fixed his mind upon (the god) Vishṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Vishṇu was set up on the hill (*called*) **Vishṇupada**.

No. 33; PLATE XXI B.

MANDASOR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 253 ff., is another record from **Mandasôr**,³ or more properly **Dasôr**, the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India. With the inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi., it was discovered in 1884, in the search made under my direction, in consequence of my having seen the hand-copy of the next inscription, No. 34, that had been sent by Mr. Arthur Sullivan to General Cunningham in 1879; the present inscription had escaped Mr. Sullivan's notice. Like the next inscription, it is on one of a pair of magnificent monolith columns,⁴ apparently of very close-grained and good sandstone, lying in a field immediately on the south side of a small collection of huts, known by the name of Sôdanî or Sôndanî, but not shewn in the maps as a separate village, between two and three miles to the south-east of Mandasôr.

¹ *aikâdhirâjya*; *lit.* 'the condition of being the sole *Adhirâja*.'—*Adhirâja*, *lit.* 'supreme king,' is a technical feudatory title, probably denoting the same rank as *Mahârâja*. It occurs, for instance, in line 5 of the Byânâ inscription of the *Adhirâja* Vijaya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10). Its derivative, *dhirâjya*, however, is here used in a general and non-technical sense, in accordance with its original etymological meaning.

² In line 6, *dhâvêna*, as read by Prinsep, is what is really engraved; not *bhâvêna*, as read by Bhau Daji. But, as *dhâva*, 'cleansing, washing, making bright, polishing,' appears to be used only in composition, the word seems to be a mistake for *bhâvêna*, which is equivalent to the *bhaktya* of, for instance, line 5 of No. 6 above, page 35; and this is borne out by the position of the word in the text.—The engraving of the rest of the inscription, however, is so very correct, that it is just possible that future researches may even yet shew that *Dhâva* is a proper name here, as it was interpreted by Prinsep. In that case, *Dhâva*, as another name of a king called Chandra, might be compared with *Kâcha*, which I have intimated (page 27 above, note 4) may be a familiar and less formal name of Samudragupta.—In line 5 I have arranged my translation according to the order of the words in the text. But, assuming that the composer's arrangement of them was due to metrical exigencies, we might translate—"(*and*) who, carrying a beauty of countenance like (*the beauty of*) the full-moon, had (*in consequence*) the name of Chandra;" and thus obtain a hint that the king's original name was not Chandra.

³ See page 79 above, and note 1.

⁴ About fifty yards away to the west of these two inscribed columns, in the next field, I turned up the lower part of another large sandstone column. The base is rectangular, about 3' 6" high by 3' 4" square. The shaft, of which only a length of about 2' 0" remains attached to the base, is circular, about 3' 4" in diameter; and, instead of being plain like the two inscribed columns, it is carved all over with cross-lines into diamond-shaped knobs. I had the field excavated all round this column, but could find no traces of the rest of the shaft, or of the other parts of it. From its different pattern, it can have no connection with the two inscribed columns.

The column with the present inscription lies, partially buried, north and south, with the top to the north. The base of it is rectangular, about 3' 4" square by 4' 5" high; and, as there is no socket at the bottom to indicate that it was fitted into any masonry foundation, this part must have been buried when the column stood upright. From this base there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8½" broad where it starts from the base; part of the shaft, about 17' 0" in length, is still connected with the base, making the length of this fragment about 21' 5"; and the present inscription, occupying five of the sixteen faces, is on this fragment, the bottom line being about 2' 2" above the top of the base. Immediately in continuation of this, there lies the remainder of the shaft, about 17' 10" long; at the upper end of this, the faces are each about 7" broad, shewing that the column tapers slightly from bottom to top. The upper end of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews these two fragments make up the entire shaft, the total length of which was thus about 39' 3", or 34' 10" above the base. This column appears to have broken naturally in falling, and not to have been deliberately divided, as the other was, in the manner described below. The next part of this column, the lower part of the capital, lies about forty yards away to the north, close up to the hedge of the hamlet, and is a fluted bell, about 2' 6" high and 3' 2" in diameter, almost identical in design with the corresponding part of a small pillar from an old Gupta temple at Sāñchi, drawn by General Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Plate xxii. No. 1. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. About twenty-five yards south of this, and fifteen yards north of the column, I found a flat stone buried in the ground, just level with the surface; and, on excavating it, it proved to be the next portion, the square upper part of the capital. It measures about 2' 8" high by 3' 10" square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. I could not get at the bottom of it; but there must be there a socket-hole, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came below it. I only exposed one side of it; but this was sufficient to shew that it is a lion-capital, exactly like the capital of the other column, noticed more fully below. On the top surface of it, there is in the centre a circular socket-hole about 11½" in diameter and 4" deep, with eight other rectangular socket-holes round it, one in the centre of each side, and one opposite each corner. The total length of this column, up to the top of the lion-capital, is about 44' 5"; or forty feet above the ground, if it stood with the entire base buried. The square lion-capital must have been surmounted by a statue or statues, of the same kind as that which stands on the summit of the column at Êraṇ¹ which has on it Budhagupta's inscription, No. 19 above, page 88; but I cannot feel sure of having found it. I found, indeed, in the same field, towards the west side, in three pieces, a very well executed sandstone bas-relief slab, 9' 0" high, with a rectangular pedestal 3' 2" broad by 1' 8" deep and 8" high, of a male figure, standing, somewhat larger than life-size, wearing a *kirtita* or high head-dress, with necklace and armlets, and draped from the waist downwards, with a small figure standing by the right leg. And close by this there were, in two pieces, the *kirtita* and the head and shoulders of another figure of the same size, evidently a duplicate of the above. Unless, however, there were some intervening parts that

¹ See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 81, and Plate xxvi.

have been altogether lost, these slabs cannot belong to the columns, since their pedestals have no sockets to fit into the socket-holes on the tops of the lion-capitals.¹

The other column, with the fragmentary duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC., stood, as is shewn by the present position of its base, about twenty yards north of the column that I have just described. When overthrown, it fell east and west, with the top towards the west. The base is rectangular, about 3' 3" square by 3' 11" high. Differing from the first column, the base here is followed by a concave circular part, about 1' 0" high. From this there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8" broad where it starts from the base. But the portion of the shaft that remains attached to the base is only about 1' 1" long; and a row of chisel-marks all round the column here, shews that it was deliberately broken by the insertion of wedges. The next piece of the column,—or rather a remnant of it, as it is broken vertically, and part of it has been lost,—lies about three yards to the north of the base, and parallel with it, but in an inverted position, with the upper end to the east. This piece is about 9' 0" long; and the remnant of the duplicate inscription is here, on two of the faces; the bottom line of it being about 2' 9½" above the square base. The next piece of the shaft is missing altogether, and is supposed to be entirely buried somewhere in this field. The remainder of the shaft, about 6' 9" in length, lies, almost entirely buried, a few yards to the west of the portion including the base and the commencement of the shaft. Each face here is about 7" broad at the top; shewing that this column also tapers slightly from bottom to top. The top of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews that we have here the end of the shaft. Immediately west of this fragment, there lies the fluted bell part of the capital, about 3' 0" high and 3' 3" in diameter, similar in design to the same part of the capital of the other pillar. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. Just to the west of this there lies, upside down and partially buried, the next portion of the capital, the square upper part, measuring about 3' 0" high and 3' 10" square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. The bottom, and one entire side and parts of two others, are exposed; and enough is visible to shew that each side consists of a bas-relief sculpture of two lions, each sitting on its haunches and facing to the corner, where it merges into the corresponding corner lion on the next side;² with the head of a conventional *simha* or mythological lion in the centre, over the backs of the lions. In the bottom of this stone there is a socket-hole, about 10½" in diameter, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came just below it. And I dug under one of the corners of the top enough to find there a rectangular socket-hole, which justifies us in assuming that the top has one circular and eight rectangular socket-holes, just as in the top of the lion-capital of the first column. As in the case of the first column, I cannot feel sure of having found the statue or statues which must have stood on the top of it.

The two inscribed columns were evidently intended as a pair, though the full measure of the second cannot be taken. From the distance between them; from the difference in the detailed measures; and from the analogous instance of the Êraṇ column, as shewing

¹ There are some similar bas-relief slabs set up in a group under some palm-trees in another field, about fifty yards away to the east from where the inscribed columns lie; but these, again, do not appear to belong to the columns.

² Compare the lions on the upper part of the square portion of the capital of the Êraṇ column.

the way in which they must have been finished off at the top,—they can hardly have been connected by a beam, after the fashion of a *tōraṇa* or arched gateway; and there are no traces of any temple to which they can have belonged. They are evidently an actual instance of two *raṇastambhas* or "columns of victory in war," such as the *Kauthēṃ* grant of Vikramāditya V., dated Śaka-Saṃvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9) expired, speaks of as having been set up by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Karkara or Kakka III., and as having then been cut asunder in battle by the Western Chālukya king Taila II.

To return to the inscription on the first column,—the writing, which covers a space of about 3' 2½" broad by 1' 2½" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather; and, owing to the difficulty of obtaining lights and shades, partly in consequence of the letters being rather shallow, and partly because of the natural light colour of the stone, it is rather difficult to read on the original column; but, in the ink-impression and the lithograph, it can easily be read with certainty throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ¼" to ¾". Differing from the Mandasōr inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvārman, No. 18 above, page 79, Plate xi., the characters here belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are a development, in some respects, of the type of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and, in others, of that of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 above, Plate iiiB. They include the rather rare lingual *dh*, in *upagūḍha*, line 4. In *vīrya*, line 4, and *sāmantair-yasya*, line 5, the *r* is formed on the line of writing, with only a single *y* below it; in combination with other consonants, e.g. in *sumērōr-vvighaṭita*, line 1, and *dharmaśya*, line 8, the *r* is formed above the top line of writing, and the consonant is doubled, in the usual way.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the two words at the end, recording the engraver's name, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya* in *sikharinaḥ-paśchimād*, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *aśu*, line 5, and *vaśa*, line 8; and before *s*, in *tējānsi*, line 1, and *pānsu*, line 3; (3) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *akkrānti*, line 4; *chakkra*, line 7; *mātra* and *yatra*, line 3; *anyatra*, line 6; and *ndyitō-ttra*, line 7; but not in *kriyantē*, line 5, and *śatru*, line 1; and (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *addhyāsinī*, line 4.

The inscription is one of a king named Yaśōdharman,² whose dominions are described as including the whole of the northern part of India, from the river Lauhitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himālayas to the mountain

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 18.

² Having regard to the frequency with which, in the period of this inscription, *varman* occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of *dharman*,—there might be some temptation to suggest that Yaśōdharman should be corrected into Yaśōvarman. But the *dh* is very distinct in line 7 here, and in the corresponding place in line 7 of the remnant of the original duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC.; and again in line 8 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of Yaśōdharman and Viśṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.—The form *dharman* is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; e.g. *Kṛitadharman*, *Kṣatradharman*, *Kṣēmadharman*, *Jayadharman*, and *Sudharman*. And it also occurs in ordinary composition; e.g. in *Manu-ḍi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmḍ*, in line 5 of the Māliya grant of the Mahārāja Dharaśēna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxv.; and in *tējōbhīr-ḍḍitya-saṃdāna-dharmḍ*, in line 29 of the Kauthēṃ grant of Vikramāditya V. of Śaka-Saṃvat 930 expired (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22).

- nichais=tên=âpi yasya pranati-bhuja-bal-avarjana-klishta-mûrddhṇa
 ehûḍa-pushp-ôpahârair-Mmihirakula-nripên-ârchchitam pâda-yugmaṁ ||
- 7 [Gā]m=êv=ônmatum=ûrddhvaṁ viganayitum=iva jyôtiṣhām chakkravâlām
 nirddêṣhṭum mârḡgam=uchchair-ddiva iva sukrîṭ-ôpârijjitâyāḥ sva-
 kirttêḥ | tēn=â-kalpânta-kâl-âvadhîr=avanibhujâ sri-Yaśôdharmmaṇ-
 âyaṁ . stambhah stambh-âbhirâma-sthira-bhuja-parighêṇ=ôchchhritim
 nâyitô=ttra ||
- 8 Ś[ī]aghyê janm=âsya vanṣe charitam=^{Si}agha-haraṁ drîṣyatê kântam-
 asmin=dharmmasya=âyaṁ nikêtaṣ=chalati niyamitam n=âmunâ lōka-
 vrittam [1*] ity=utkarshaṁ guṇânām likhitum=iva Yaśôdharmmaṇaṣ-
 chandra-bimbê râgâd=utkshipta uchchair-bhuja iva ruchimân-yah
 prithivyâ vibhâti ||
- 9 Iti¹ tushṭûshayâ tasya nripatêḥ puṇya-karmmaṇah | Vâsulên=ôparachitah
 ślōkah Kakkasya sūnuna || Utkirṇṇâ² Gôvindēna ||

TRANSLATION.

May that very long banner of (the god) Śūlapāni destroy the glory of your enemies;— (that banner) which bears (a representation of) the bull (Nandi), marked by the five fingers (dipped in some dye and then) placed on him by (Pārvati) the daughter of the mountain (Himālaya), who causes the distant regions, in which the demons are driven wild with fear by (his) terrible bellowings, to shake; (and) who makes the glens of (the mountain) Sumēru to have their rocks split open by the blows of his horns!

(Line 2.)—He, to whose arm, as if (to the arm) of (the god) Śārngapāni,—the fore-arm of which is marked with callous parts caused by the hard string of (his) bow, (and) which is steadfast in the successful carrying out of vows for the benefit of mankind,—the earth betook itself (for succour), when it was afflicted by kings of the present age, who manifested pride; who were cruel through want of proper training; who, from delusion, transgressed the path of good conduct; (and) who were destitute of virtuous delights:—

(L. 3.)—He who, in this age which is the ravisher of ^{the more modest} good behaviour, through the action simply of (his good) intentions shone gloriously, not associating with other kings who adopted a reprehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (is beautiful when it is not laid down) in the dust;—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (and so) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Māndhātṛi, the title of "universal sovereign"³ shines more (than in any other), like a resplendent jewel (set) in good gold:—

(L. 4.)—He who, spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries,—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (and) having (their) kings assaulted by (his)

¹ Iti, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

² Supply *prastitih*.

³ sovereign who rules over kings and has performed the *râjasûya*-sacrifice.—For a description of the *râjasûya*, which is a great sacrifice or religious ceremony performed, at the coronation of a supreme sovereign or universal monarch, by the king himself and his tributary princes, see the *Râjasûya-Parva* in the *Sabhâ-Parva* of the *Mahâbhârata*; Protap Chandra Roy's Translation, page 95 ff.

prowess,—which were not enjoyed (*even*) by the lords of the **Guptas**, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (*remainder of the*) earth, (*and*) which the command of the chiefs of the **Hūṇas**, that established itself on the tiaras of (*many*) kings, failed to penetrate:—

(L. 5.)—He before whose feet chieftains,¹ having (*their*) arrogance removed by the strength of (*his*) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) **Lauhitya** up to (the mountain) **Mahēndra**,² the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (*and*) from (**Himālaya**) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) **Gaṅgā**, up to the **Western Ocean**,—by which (*all*) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (*their*) heads:—

(L. 6.)—He by whom (*his*) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) **Sthānu**;—he, through the embraces of whose arms (**Himālaya**) the mountain of snow carries no longer³ the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access;—he to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (*his*) head, by even that (*famous*) king **Mihirakula**, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (*his*) arm in (*the act of compelling*) obeisance:—

(L. 7.)—By him, the king, the glorious **Yaśōdharman**,⁴ the firm beams of whose arms are as charming as pillars, this column, which shall endure to the time of the destruction of the world, has been erected here,—as if to measure out the earth; as if to enumerate on high the multitude of the heavenly lights; (*and*) as if to point out the path of his own fame to the skies above, acquired by good actions;—(this column) which shines refulgent, as if it were a lofty arm of the earth, raised up in joy to write upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the virtues of **Yaśōdharman**, to the effect that—“His birth (*is*) in a lineage that is worthy to be eulogised; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (*and*) the (*good*) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (*in any way*) by him.”

(L. 9.)—From a desire thus to praise this king, of meritorious actions, (*these*) verses have been composed by **Vāsula**, the son of **Kakka**. (*This eulogy*) has been engraved by **Gōvinda**.

¹ *Sāmanta*, *lit.* ‘bordering, neighbouring; a neighbour, a feudatory prince, the chief of a tributary district,’ is a technical official title, denoting a rank next below that of the *Mahāsāmanta*, which title occurs, for instance, in several places in the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja* Samudrasēna, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.—*Sāmanta* is of constant occurrence, in other inscriptions, in its technical sense; but it is here used only in a general way, and is translated accordingly.

² See page 146 above, note 1.

³ *chūḍā* is a single lock or tuft of hair left on the crown of the head after the ceremony of tonsure, which is performed in early childhood.

⁴ To complete the sense, we must apparently supply, in connection with *vahati*, the negative particle *na* from the first *pāda* of the verse.

⁵ See page 145 above, note 2.

No. 34; PLATE XXIC.

MANDASOR DUPLICATE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF YASODHARMAN.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 257 f., is the remnant, mentioned above, of the original duplicate copy of the inscription of Yaśódharman on the second inscribed column, described at page 144 above, at **Mandasôr**,¹ or more properly **Dasôr**, the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions, in the Western Málwa division of Central India. It was discovered by Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who forwarded his hand-copy of it to General Cunningham in 1879. And it was this that led to the search which was made under my direction in 1884, and which resulted in the discovery of the entire copy of this inscription No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxIB, and of the inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvārman of the Málava years 493 and 529, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 1' 1" broad by 1' 2" high, is in some respects in a state of rather better preservation than the entire copy; but nearly three-quarters of the full inscription is lost here, through the column having cracked vertically and part of it being now not forthcoming.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong, as before, to the northern class of alphabets, and were engraved by the same person, Gōvinda, who engraved the entire copy, No. 33 above; and this record appears to have been in all essential details an exact reproduction of the copy that has been preserved entire. We have the lingual *dh* in *upagādha*, line 4. And the two methods of forming *r* in combination with a following consonant, are very well illustrated by *vīrya*, line 4, and *ōpahārair=mmihirakula*, line 6.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1), as before, the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *aṇṣu*, line 5; and before *s*, in *tējāṇsi*, line 1; and (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *yattra*; line 3, and *nāyitō=ttra*, line 7; and also in *sattru*, line 1, where it is not doubled in the entire copy.

This fragmentary inscription preserves the names of **Yaśódharman** and **Mihirakula**. But the passage mentioning the **Guptas** and the **Hūṇas** has been lost; and also that which gives the boundaries of Yaśódharman's dominions.

TEXT.²

- | | | | | |
|---|--|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | [da]tta ³ -pañch-āṅgul-āṅkaṁ | drāghishṭhaḥ | Śūlapāṇēḥ | kshapayatu |
| | bhavatām sattru-tējāṇsi kētuḥ \|\| |  |  |  |
| 2 | jy[ā]-kiṇ-āṅka-prakōshṭham | bāhuṁ | lōk-ōpakāra-vrata-saphala- | |
| | parispanda-dhīraṁ prapaṇṇā \|\| |  |  |  |
| 3 | [Ā]larkka-Māndhātṛi-kalpē | kalyāṇē | hēmni | bhāsvān=maṇir=iva |
| | sutarām bhrājatē yattra śabdaḥ \|\| |  |  |  |
| 4 | [vi]ra-bāh-ōpagādhan=vīry-āvaskanna-rājñāḥ | | sva-griha-parisar-āvajñayā | |
| | yō bhunakti \|\| |  |  |  |

¹ See page 79 above, and note 1.² From the ink-impression.³ Metre, Sragdharā; and in the next seven verses.

- 5 pādayôr=ānamadbhiś=chûḍaratn-āṅsu-rāji-vyatikara-śabalā bhūmi-bhāgāḥ
kriyantē ॥
- 6 [Avar]jjana-kliṣṭa-mûrddhā chûḍā-pushp-ôpahārair-Mmihirakula-
nripēṇ=Archchitam pāda-yugmaṁ ॥
- 7 [śri]-Yasôdharmmaṇ=Āyaṁ stambhaḥ stambh-ābhirāma-sthira-bhuja-
parighēṇ=ôchchhritim nāyitô=ttra ॥
- 8 [Yasôdha]rmmas=chandra-bimbē rāgād=utkshipta uchchair-bhuja
iva ruchimān-yaḥ prithivyā vibhāti ॥
- 9 [Ka]kkasya¹ sūnunā ॥ Utkīrṇa² Gôvindēna ॥

TRANSLATION.

[It is unnecessary to offer a translation of this fragment, as the contents of it are fully explained by the translation of the entire copy, at page 147 above. It is sufficient to note that we have the name of **Yasôdharmmaṇ**,³ complete in line 7, and partially preserved in line 8; the name of **Mihirakula**, very clearly legible, in line 6; and, in line 9, the name of Gôvinda, the engraver of the record.]

No. 35; PLATE XXII.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN AND
VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE MALAVA YEAR 589.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 222 ff., is from a stone-tablet, which, when shewn to me in 1885, was in the possession of Sir Michael Filose, K.C.S.I., at Ujjain, but which had come originally from an old well, somewhere in the lands of **Mandasôr**,⁴ or more properly **Dasôr**, the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India, where it was found, in the course of repairs, built up with the inscribed surface inside. I could obtain no accurate information on the point; but possibly this is a large and ancient well, which immediately attracts attention, just inside the eastern entrance of the Fort.

The stone is a smooth and beautifully engraved tablet, apparently of slate-stone, measuring about 1' 11" broad by 1' 6½" high and 2½" thick. There are no sculptures on it, connected with the inscription. But, on the back, which is divided into two compartments by what seems to be either a spear with a curved handle, or a shepherd's crook, there are engraved in outline, very roughly,—at the upper corners, the sun on the proper right, and the moon on the proper left; and, lower down, on each side, a man on horse-back, facing towards the central dividing sculpture; the horseman on the proper right side carries in his left hand either a *chauri* or fly-flap made from the bushy tail of the Bos Grunniens, or a *sankha* or conch-shell; the other horseman carries something in his right hand, but I could not distinguish the object. These sculptures were engraved, of course, when the tablet was fixed in the position in which it was discovered, with the inscribed

¹ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

³ See page 145 above, note 2.

² Supply *prastāṭiḥ*.

⁴ See page 79 above, and note 1.

surface inwards; and it is owing to this position, that the inscription has remained in so perfect a state of preservation.—The **writing** covers the entire surface of the stone, with a margin of from 1" to 1½"; and is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout, though there are just a few letters from which it was impossible to clear out the hard incrustation of lime, with which the writing was blocked up from beginning to end, sufficiently for them to come out quite perfectly in the ink-impression, and so in the lithograph. At the ends of lines 1, 2, and 3, a few letters have been lost by the edges of the stone being chipped here; and at some other places a few letters have been damaged in the same way. But the only place where the missing letters cannot be supplied, is at the commencement of line 16.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type, being in fact engraved by the same hand, with those of the Mandasôr duplicate pillar inscriptions of Yaśôdharman, No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxiB., and No. 34, page 149, and Plate xxiC. They include the very rare initial *au*, in *aulikara*, line 5; and the lingual *dh*, in *udâdha* and *gâdha*, line 7; *râdha*, line 11; and *âdha*, line 18.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, and the two words at the end recording the name of the engraver, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, lines 6 and 9; *anśu*, line 9; *anśa*, line 11; and *abhrañsin*, line 12; (2) the use of the dental nasal, before *s*, in *bhūyānsi*, line 2, and *yaśānsi*, line 4; though we have the more usual *anusvâra* in *manāmsi*, line 22; (3) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *śattru*, line 4; *kalattrâ*, line 11; and *pāriyâttra*, line 16; and (4), the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y* and *v*, in *addhyāsita*, line 16-17, and *addhvani*, line 18, though not in other places.

The inscription refers itself, in the first instance, to the time of **Yaśôdharman**,¹ here called a **tribal ruler**,² whose name is already on record from his duplicate pillar inscriptions at Mandasôr, No. 33 above, page 142, and No. 34, page 149. It then mentions a king named **Vishṇuvardhana**, who, though he had the titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of **Yaśôdharman**. **Vishṇuvardhana's** family is mentioned as the lineage that had the *aulikara*-crest.⁴ The inscription is dated, in words, when the year five hundred and

¹ See page 145 above, note 2.

² *janendra*; *lit.* 'a lord of a people or tribe.'

³ *narādhipati*; *lit.* 'a chief ruler of men.'

⁴ *aulikara-lāñchhana*.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the word *aulikara*; but it seems to denote either 'the hot-rayed (sun),' or 'the cool-rayed (moon).'—As regards *lāñchhana*, 'a mark, sign, token, spot,' which I render by 'crest,' it is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvajas* or banners. Thus, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum had the *svarna-garuda-dhvaja* or 'banner of a golden Garuḍa,' but the *sindhura-lāñchhana* or 'elephant-crest' (e.g. line 43 of the Têrḍāl inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1045, &c.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 18, and p. 24, note 24). So also the Kādambas of Banawāsi, and also those of Goa, had the *śākṣhācharēndra-dhvaja* or *śāvara-mahādhwaja*, 'the banner of a monkey, or of (Hanumat) the king of monkeys,' but the *siṁha-lāñchhana*, or 'lion-crest,' which latter appears on the seals of their grants and on their coins (e.g. line 28-29 of the Kargudari inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1030, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252; and line 9 of the Golihallī inscription, *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 296; see also, for the seals of their grants, *id.* p. 230, No. 8, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 288; and, for their coins, *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. xxiv.) The Chalukyas, in all their branches, had the *varāha-lāñchhana* or

eighty-nine had expired from the tribal constitution of the Malavas, and, therefore, when the year five hundred and ninety (A.D. 533-34) was current, but no further details of the date are given. The opening invocations are addressed to the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the construction of a large well by a person named Daksha, the younger brother of Dharmadōsha, who was a minister of Vishṇuvardhana, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta, who had formerly held the same office for the tract of country bounded by the Vindhyas and the Pāriyātra mountain, and the (Western) Ocean.

The genealogy of this family of ministers is given; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of Bhānuguptā, the wife of Daksha's grandfather, Ravikṛti. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king Bhānugupta, for whom we have the date of Gupta-Samvat 191 (A.D. 510-11) from the Ēraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gōparāja, No. 20 above, page 91, and Plate xiiB.; and the coincidence of name and time is such, that it is almost impossible not to imagine some family connection between him and her. Bhānuguptā, of course, must have been a Kshatriya; and Bhānugupta's husband, Ravikṛti, was evidently a Brāhman. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kshatriya wives by Brāhman. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscription of Hastibhōja, a minister of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Dēvasēna; it tells us that Hastibhōja's ancestor, the Brāhman Sōma, "in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition" married a Kshatriya wife, through whom Hastibhōja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brāhman caste, whose sons, and their descendants, applied themselves to the study of the Vēdas.¹

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham [I*] Sa³ jayati jagatām patih Pinākl smita-rava-gītishu
yasya danta-kāntih | dyutir-iva taditām mi sphurantī tirayati
cha sphuṭayaty-adaś=cha viśvam || Svayambhūr=bhūtānām sthiti-
laya-[samu]-
- 2 tpatti-vidhishu prayuktō yēn=ājñām vahati bhuvanānām vidhritayē |
pitritvaṁ ch=āntō jagati garimānam gamayatā sa Śambhur=bhūyānsi
pratidiśatu bhadraṇi bhava[tām] || Phaṇa³-maṇi-guru-bhār-[ākk]r[ā]-
- 3 nti-dūr-āvanamraṇ sthagayati rucham=indōr=mmaṇḍalam yasya mūrdhnām [I*]
sa śirasi vinibadhnan=randhriṇm=asthi-mālām srijatu bhava-srijō vah
klēśa-bhaṇam bhujāṅgaḥ || Shashtyā⁶ sahasraiḥ Sagar-ātmajanām
khāta[h]

'boar-crest,' which appears on the seals of all their charters, and on their coins; and the special connection of the lāṅghhana with the śāsana or 'charter,' is shewn by a passage in lines 73 ff. of the Korummelli grant of Rājārāja II., "on whose charter the mighty form, that of the first boar, of (the god) Vishṇu, which lifted up the entire circle of the earth on the tip of (its right-hand) tusk, became in a pleasing way the crest" (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 85).

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 140 and note.

² From the original stone.

³ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.

⁴ Metre, Śikhariṇī.

⁵ Metre, Mālinī.

⁶ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

- kha-tulyām rucham-ādadhānaḥ I asy-ōdapan-adhipatēs-chirāya yaśānsi payāt-
payasām vidhātā II Atha¹ jayati janēndraḥ sri-Yaśōdharmma-
nāmā pramada-variam=iv=antaḥ śatru-sainyam-vigāhya vrapa-
5 kisalaya-bhaṅgair-yyō-nga-bhūṣhām vidhattē taruṇa-taru-latā-vad=vīra-klrttir=
vvināmā II Ājau² jiti vijayatē jagatim-puṇas=cha sri-Vishṇuvarddhana-
narādhipatiḥ sā evā I prakhyāta aulikara-lāñchhana ātma-
6 vaśō yēn-ōdit-ōdita-padām gamitō garīyah II (Prachō: nripān=su-brihataś=
cha bahūn-udichah sāmna yudhā cha vaśa-gān=pravidhāya yena [1*]
? nām-āparam jagati kāntam=adō durāpam (rājadhīra-paramē-
7 śvara ity=uddḍham II Snigdha³-śyām-āmbud-ābhaiḥ sthagita-dinakṛitō
yajvanām-ājya-dhūmair=ambhō-mēghyam Maghōn-āvadhishu vidadhātā
gādha-sampanna-sasyāḥ I samharśhād=vāpintnām kara-rabhasa-hrit-ō-
8 dyāna-chūt-ānkr-āgrā rājanvantō ramantē bhuja-vijita-bhuvā bhūrayō yēna ?
dēśāḥ II Yasy⁴-ōtkētubhir=unmada-dvipa-kara-vyāviddha-lōdhra-drumair=
uddhūtēna van-ādhvani dhvaṇ-nadad-Vindhyādri-randhrair=bbalaiḥ bālē-
9 ya-chchhavi-dhūmarēna rajasā mand-āṅśu samlakshyatē paryāvritta-
śikhāṇḍi-chandraka iva dhyāmam ravēr=mmaṇḍalam II Tasya⁵
prabhōr-vyaṅsa-kṛitām nripānām (pād)āśrayād=viśruta-punya-kirttiḥ I
bhṛityāḥ sva-naibhṛitya-jit-ā- ?
10 ri-shatka āśīd=vasiṣṭhān-kila Shashthidattāḥ II Himavata⁶ iva Gāṅgas=
tuṅga-namrah pravāhaḥ śaśabhṛita iva Rēvā-vāri-rāṣiḥ prathīyān [1*]
param=abhigamanīyah suddhimān=anvavāyō yātā⁷ uditā-gari-
11 mnas-tāyatā Naigamānām II Tasy⁸-ānukūlaḥ kulajāt-kalattrāt=sutaḥ
prasūtō yaśasām prasūtīḥ I Harēr=iv=āṅsām vaśinām var-ārham
Varāhadāsam yam-udāharanti II Sukṛiti⁹-vishayi-tuṅgam rūḍha-mūlam
? 12 dharāyam sthitim-apagata-bhaṅgām sthēyasim=ādadhānam [1*] guru-śikharam=
iv=ādṛēs=tat-kulam sv-ātma-bhūtyā ravir=iva Ravikirttiḥ, su-prakāśam
vyadhatta II Bibhṛatā¹⁰ śubhram=a-bhraṅśi smārttam vartm-ōchitam
satām [1*] na visambvā(va)- was not made a line of text
13 ditā yēna Kalāv=api kulinatā II Dhuta-dhī-didhiti-dhvāntān=havirbhujā
iv=Adhvarān [1*] (Bhānugupta¹¹) tataḥ sādhi tanayāms-trīn=ajjjanat II
Bhagavaddōsha ity=āśīd=prathamah kāryya-vartmasu I āla-
14 mbanam bāndhavanām=Andhakānām=iv=Oddhavaḥ II Bahu¹²-naya-vidhi-Vēdhā
gahvarē=py-artha-mārggē Vidura iva vidūram prēkshayā prēkshamānaḥ I
vachana-rachana-bandhē samskrīta-prākṛitē yah kavibhir=udi-
15 ta-rāgam gīyatē gīr-abhijñāḥ II Praṇidhi-drig-anugantrā yasya bauddhēna
ch-ākshnā na nīsi tanu daviyō v=āsty=a-dṛiṣṭam dharitṛyam [1*]
padam=udayi dadhānō=nantaram tasya ch=ābhūt-sa bhayam=Abhayadattō
nāma

¹ Metre, Mālinī.² Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.³ Metre, Sragdharā.⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁵ Metre, Indravajrā.⁶ Metre, Mālinī.⁷ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.⁸ Metre, Mālinī.⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next two verses.¹⁰ Metre, Mālinī; and in the next verse.

16. chi nva?n=prajñam || **Vindhyasy** ^{svaśānta-kānta} ^{pāṇdu-Rāv-ambu-rāsē-aggolāngūlāi} sa-hēlam ^{pluti-namita-tarō}
Pāriyātrasya ch=ādrēh | a **sindhōr**=antarālam ^{nija-suchi-sachiv-}
 āddhya-
17. sit-ānēka-dēsām **rājasthāniya-vrit**[t*]yā ^{suragurur=iva} yō ^{varṇinām}
 bhūtayē=pāt || **Vihita**²-sakala-varṇ-āsankaram ^{śānta-dīmbam} **Kṛita** iva
 kṛitam=ētaḍ=yēna rājyam nirādhi | sa dhuram=ayam-idānīm
18. Dōshakumbhasya sūnur=guru vahati tad-ūdhām dharminatō **(Dharmmadō**
 shaḥ || **Sva**-sukham=an-ativāchchha(ñchha)n=durggamē=ddhvanī=a-saṅgām
 dhuram=ati-guru-bhārām yō dadhad=bhartur=arthē | vahati nripati-vēsham
 kēvalam lakshma-mātttram
19. valinam=iva vilambam kambalam bāhulēyā || **Upahita**-hita-rakshā-mahdānō
^{ja}tī-ratnair=bhuja iva ^{prithul-āmsas=tasya} **Dakshah** kantyan [1*]
 mahad=idam=udapānam khātayām-āsa bibhra-
20. ch=chhṛuti-hṛidaya-nitānt-ānandi nirddēsha-nāma || **Sukh**³-āsrēya-chchhāyam
 pariṇati-hita-svādu-phala-dam gajēndrēn=ārugnam drumam=iva **Kṛitāntēna**
 balinā | ^{pitṛivya}m prōddīśya priyam=Abhayadattam pri-
21. thu-dhiyā prathiyas=tēn=ēdam kuśalam=iha karm=ōparachitam || **Pañchasu**⁴
 śatēshu śaradām yātēshv=ēkām-na-navati-sahitēshu | **Mālava**-gapa-sthiti-
 vaśāt=kāla-jñānāya likhitēśu || Ya-
22. smin⁵=kālē kala-mṛidu-girām kōkilānām pralāpā bhindant=iva Smara-
 śara-nibhāḥ prōshitānām manāmsi | bhṛing-ālinām dhvanir=anu-vanam
 bhāra-mandraś=cha yasminn=ādhitā-jyam dhanur=iva nadach=chhṛīyatē
 pushpa- ^{angay uttān tūn}
23. kētoḥ || **Priyatama**⁶-kupitānām ^{svatmā} **rāmayan**=baddha-rāgarī ^{kisalayam=iva}
 mugdham mānasam maninām [1*] upanayati **nabhaśvān**=māna-bhaṅgāya
 yasmin=^{kusuma}-samaya-māsē tatra nirmāpitō=yam ||
24. **Yavat**⁷=tuṅgair=udānvān⁸=kirāṇa-samudayam ^{saṅga-kāntam} tarāṅgair=ālingann-
 indu-bimbam gurubhir=iva bhujaḥ samvidhattē subhittām [1*] bibhrat-
 saudh-ānta-lēkhā-valaya-parigatim ^{muṇḍa-mālām}=iv-āyam ^{sat-kūpas-}
 tāvad=ā-
25. stām=amṛita-sama-rasa-svachchha-^{āchchha}vishyandit-āmbuḥ || **Dhīmām**(n)⁹ **Dakshō**
 dakshipaḥ satya-sandhō hrīmāmch=chbhūrō vṛiddha-sēvī kṛitajñāḥ |
 baddh-ōtsāhaḥ svāmi-kāryyēshv=a-khēdī nirddōshō=yam pātu dharmmam
 chirāya || Utkṛiṇṇā¹⁰ Gōvindēna ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) **Pinākin**, the lord of (all) the worlds,—in whose songs, hummed with smiles, the splendour of (his) teeth, like the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelops and brings into full view all this

¹ Metre, Sragdharā.² Metre, Mālinī; and in the next two verses.³ Metre, Śikharinī.⁴ Metre, Āryā.⁵ Metre, Mandākrāntā.⁶ Metre, Mālinī.⁷ Metre, Sragdharā.⁸ Metre, Śālinī.⁹ Supply *prāsastiḥ*.

universe! May he, (the god) Śambhu, confer many auspicious gifts upon you,—employed by whom in the rites of (*effecting the*) continuance and the destruction and the production of (*all*) things that exist, (the god) Svayambhū, is obedient to (*his*) commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (*all*) the worlds; and by whom, leading (*him*) to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father (*of the universe*)! May the serpent of the creator of existence¹ accomplish the allayment of your distress,—(that serpent) the multitude of whose foreheads, bowed down afar by the pressure of the heavy weight of the jewels in (*their*) hoods, obscures the radiance of the moon (*on his master's forehead*); (and) who (*with the folds of his body*) binds securely on (*his master's*) head the chaplet of bones which is full of holes (*for stringing them*)! May the creator of waters,² which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, (and) which possesses a lustre equal to (*that of*) the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of this best of wells!

(Line 4).—Now, victorious is that tribal ruler,³ having the name of the glorious Yaśodharman,⁴ who, having plunged into the army of (*his*) enemies, as if into a grove of thornapple-trees, (and) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender creepers of trees, effects the adornment of (*his*) body with the fragments of young sprouts which are the wounds (*inflicted on him*).

(L. 5).—And, again, victorious over the earth is this same⁵ king of men,⁶ the glorious Vishṇuvardhana, the conqueror in war; by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulikara*-crest,⁷ has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and

¹ *bhava-srij*.—Originally, Brahman was the creator; Vishṇu, the preserver; and Śiva, the destroyer. But of course the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas invested their own special gods with all three attributes. As regards Śiva, we may also refer to line 51 of the Alinā grant of Śīladitya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where, under the name of Paramēśvara, he is again clearly referred to as the creator. While, as regards Vishṇu, in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, book I, chap. ii. (Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, Vol. I, p. 41), he is described as himself becoming Brahman, and so engaging in the creation of the universe.—That *bhava-srij* here denotes Śiva, is shewn by the general purport of the preceding two verses, and especially by the mention of the chaplet of bones in this verse. He is always represented with a necklace of skulls, a serpent hanging round his neck, and the crescent moon on his forehead.

* The ocean. The allusion in this verse is to the legend that the bed of the ocean was excavated by the sons of Sagara in their search for their father's *aśvamēdha*-horse, which was stolen from their custody by the sage Kapila, and was only found by them when they had dug down through the earth into the lower regions. Kapila, in his anger, reduced them to ashes; but subsequently restored the horse on the intercession of Amśumat, the grandson of Sagara. The obsequies, however, of the sons of Sagara remained unperformed, and their transfer to heaven was barred, until Bhagīratha, the grandson of Amśumat, brought the river Ganges down from heaven, and led it over the earth to the chasm made by the sons of Sagara. Flowing down through this, it washed their bones and ashes; by which they were raised to heaven. And, as such of its waters as remained in the chasm constituted the ocean, the latter was called *sāgara* in commemoration of Sagara and his descendants.

² *janēndra*; see page 151 above, note 2.

³ See page 145 above, note 2.

⁴ This expression looks at first sight as if Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana were one and the same person. But the general structure of this verse, as well as the use of the two distinct titles *janēndra* and *nardāhipati* and of the expression *ātma-vanś*, shews that this is not the case. "This same" simply means "this reigning king," in whose time and territory the inscription is written.

⁵ *nardāhipati*; see page 151 above, note 3.

⁷ *aulikara-lāhchhana*; see page 151 above, note 4.

higher. By him, having brought into subjection, with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many (*kings*) of the north, this second name of "supreme king of kings" and supreme lord," pleasing in the world (*but*) difficult of attainment, is carried on high. Through him, having conquered the earth with (*his own*) arm, many countries,—in which the sun is obscured by the smoke, resembling dense dark-blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices; (*and*) which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god) Maghavan pouring cloudfuls of rain upon (*their*) boundaries; (*and*) in which the ends of the fresh sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women,—enjoy the happiness of being possessed of a good king. Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass,—stirred up by his armies, which have (*their*) banners lifted on high; (*and*) which have the *lôdhra*-trees¹ tossed about in all directions by the tusks of (*their*) infuriated elephants; (*and*) which have the crevices of the **Vindhya** mountains made resonant with the noise of (*their*) journeying through the forests,—the orb of the sun appears dark (*and*) dull-rayed, as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed.⁴

(L. 9).—The servant of the kings who founded the family of that lord, was Shashthidatta,—the fame of whose religious merit was known far and wide through the protection of (*their*) feet; who by his resoluteness conquered the six enemies (*of religion*);⁵ (*and*) who was indeed very excellent. As the torrent, flowing high and low, of (the river) *Gangâ* (*spreads abroad*) from (the mountain) *Himavat*, (*and*) the extensive mass of the waters of (the river) *Rêvâ* from the moon,—(*so*) from him, whose dignity was manifested, there spreads a pure race of Naigamas, most worthy to be sought in fellowship.

(L. 11).—Of him, from a wife of good family, there was born a son, resembling him (*in good qualities*), the source of fame,—whom, (*being named*) Varâhadâsa, (*and*) being full of self-control (*and*) of great worth, people speak of as if he were an (*incarnate*) portion of (the god) *Hari*.

(L. 11).—As if it were the sun (*illuminating*) the mighty summit of a mountain, Ravikîrtti with the wealth of his character illumined that family, which was made eminent by men who combined good actions with worldly occupations; which had its foundations well established in the earth; (*and*) which maintained a very firm position of endurance that was free from (*any risk of*) being broken;—(*Ravikîrtti*), by whom, sustaining the pure (*and*) undeviating path of traditional law that is acceptable to good people, nobility of birth was not made a thing of false assertion (*even*) in the *Kali* age. From him, (*his*) chaste wife *Bhânuguptâ* gave birth to three sons, who dispelled the darkness (*of ignorance*) with the rays of (*their*) intellects,—as if (*she had produced three*) sacrifices from a fire.

(L. 13).—The first was Bhagavaddôsha, the prop of his relatives in the paths of religious actions, just as *Uddhava* (*was*) of the *Andhakas*,—who was a very *Vêdhas* in displaying much prudence in the hard-to-be-traversed path of the meaning (*of words*); who, like *Vidura*,⁶ always looked far ahead with deliberation; (*and*) who is with great

¹ *Râjâdhirdja*; see page 35 above, note 7.

⁵ *Paramêśvara*; see page 10 above, note 3.

² *lôdhra*, also *rôdhra*; the tree *Symplocos Racemosa*.

⁴ i.e. "looked at from the wrong side of the feathers."

⁵ The *ari-shatka* or *ari-shad-varga*, 'the aggregate of six hostile things,' viz. desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride, and envy, which impede the practice of religion.

⁶ An epic hero, the younger brother of *Dhṛitarâshṭra* and *Pâṇḍu*, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people.

pleasure sung by poets, in Sanskrit and Prakrit construction of the arrangement of sentences, as well versed in speech.

(L. 15.)—After him there came that (*well-known*) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position on the earth, (*and*) collecting (*in order to dispel it*) the fear of (*his*) subjects (?);—but his eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, (*even*) at night;—(Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions, who like (Bṛhaspati) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (*four recognised*) castes, with the functions of a Rājasthānīya¹ protected the region, containing many countries presided over by his own upright counsellors, which lies between the Vindhya (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) Rēvā, and the mountain Pāriyātra, on which the trees are bent down in (*their*) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, (*and stretches*) up to the (*western*) Ocean.

(L. 17.)—Now he, Dharmadōsha, the son of Dōshakumbha,—by whom this kingdom has been made, as if (*it were still*) in the Kṛita-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, (*and peaceable through*) having hostilities allayed, (*and*) undisturbed by care,—in accordance with justice proudly supports the burden (*of government*) that had (*previously*) been borne by him;²—(Dharmadōsha), who,—not being too eager about his own comfort, (*and*) bearing, for the sake of his lord, in the difficult path (*of administration*), the burden (*of government*), very heavily weighted and not shared by another,—wears royal apparel only as mark of distinction (*and not for his own pleasure*), just as a bull³ carries a wrinkled pendulous dew-lap.

(L. 19.)—His younger brother, Dakṣa,—invested with the decoration of the protection of friends, as if he were (*his*) broad-shouldered (*right*) arm (*decorated*) with choice jewels; (*and*) bearing the name of “*the faultless one*,” which causes great joy to the ear and heart,—caused to be excavated this great well. This great (*and*) skilful work was achieved here by him, who is of great intellect, for the sake of his paternal uncle, the beloved Abhayadatta, who was cut off (*before his time*) by the mighty (god) Kṛitānta, just as if he were a tree, the shade of which is pleasant to resort to (*and*) which yields fruits that are salutary and sweet through ripeness, (*wantonly*) destroyed by a lordly elephant.

¹ Rājasthānīya, lit. ‘one who belongs to a Rājasthāna or king’s abode;’ or perhaps ‘one who occupies the position of a Rāja,’ is a technical official title, the exact grade of which remains to be determined. The explanation of the word in Kshēmendra’s Lōkaprakāśa, iv., as given by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 207) is *prajā-pālan-ārtham = udvahati rakshayati cha sa rājasthānīyah*, ‘he who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them, is called a Rājasthānīya, i.e. ‘a viceroy.’ But, though ‘viceroy’ is a fair enough rendering of the word on etymological grounds, it seems to be in reality too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent. In line 21 of the Māliya grant of the Mahārāja Dharaśēna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv., and in line 9 of the Dēo. Baraṇṣī inscription of Jīvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB. (where Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to render it by ‘political agent, or regent’), the Rājasthānīya is mentioned rather low down in the list of officials; so also in line 33 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 306), and in the passage in connection with which it was explained by Dr. Bühler.

² i.e. Abhayadatta.—Dōshakumbha, the father of Dharmadōsha, must be the younger brother of Abhayadatta, and the third and youngest of the sons of Ravikīrti and Bhānugupta.

³ śūkulīya; this meaning is not given in Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary; and I owe it, and the explanation of one or two other passages in this inscription, to Pandit Durga Prasad, of Jaypur.

(L. 21.)—Five hundred autumns, together with ninety less by one, having elapsed from (*the establishment of*) the supremacy¹ of the tribal constitution of the *Mālavas*, (*and*) being written down in order to determine the (*present*) time;—in the season² in which the songs, resembling the arrows of (the god) Smara, of the *Jackoos*, whose utterances are low and tender, cleave open, as it were, the minds of those who are far away from home; and in which the humming of the flights of bees, sounding low on account of the burden (*that they carry*), is heard through the woods, like the resounding bow of (the god *Kāmadēva*) who has the banner of flowers, when its string is caused to vibrate;—in the season in which there is the month of the coming on of flowers, when the wind, soothing the affectionate (*but*) perverted thoughts of disdainful women who are angry with their lovers, as if they were charming fresh sprouts arrayed in colours, devotes itself to breaking down (*their*) pride,—in that season this (*well*) was caused to be constructed.

(L. 24.)—As long as the ocean, embracing with (*its*) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (*and is more*) lovely (*than ever*) from contact (*with the waters*), maintains friendship (*with it*),—so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a surrounding enclosure of lines at the edge of the masonry-work, as if it were a garland worn round a shaven head, (*and*) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is equal to nectar!

(L. 25.)—May this intelligent *Dakṣha* for a long time protect this act of piety,—(*he who is*) skilful, true to (*his*) promises, modest, brave, attentive to old people, grateful, full of energy, unwearied in the business-matters of (*his*) lord, (*and*) faultless. ³(*This eulogy*) has been engraved by Gōvinda.

No. 36; PLATE XXIII.

ERAN STONE BOAR INSCRIPTION OF TORAMANA.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 631 ff.*, where Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,⁴ accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxx.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—And in 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 20 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from *Ēran*⁵ in the Khurāl Sub-Division of the Sagar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the chest of a colossal red-sandstone statue of a Boar, about eleven feet high, representing the god Vishṇu in his incarnation as such, that stands, facing east, in the portico of a ruined temple at the south end of the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village.⁶

The Boar is covered all over with elaborate sculptures, chiefly of Rishis or saints

¹ *vaśit*; but it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning for this word in this passage.

² *i.e.* the spring.

³ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 249 f.

⁴ See page 18 above, and note 1.

⁵ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. page 82 ff., and Plates xxv. and xxvi.

clinging to its mane and bristles.¹ It has the earth, represented as a woman, hanging on, in accordance with the legend, to its right-hand tusk; and over its shoulders there is a small four-sided shrine, with a sitting figure in each face of it. There are several very serious cracks in the Boar; one of which, right through the centre of it from front to back, shews in the lithograph published herewith. The surface on which the inscription is, is slightly concave.—The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 9" broad by 10½" high, has in one or two places suffered a good deal from the weather; but, except where a few letters have been entirely destroyed through the stone breaking away at the edges of the crack mentioned above, it can be read with certainty throughout. The bottom line is about 6' 0" above the level of the ground.—The average size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are very similar in type to those of the Éran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiiA. The two methods of forming the letter *r*, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by *pariyanta*, line 5, and, on the other, by *ghûrṇṇita*, line 1, *pûrvvāyām*, line 3, and *artha*, line 7.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of the date in line 3, and the rest in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *k*, *t*, and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *kkriyēṇa*, line 6; *maittrāyaṇīya*, line 3; *pauttrasya*, line 4; (but not in *bhrātrā*, line 6); and *mahāddhrah*, line 1. .

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Tōramāṇa. It is dated, in words, in the first year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and on the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Phālguna (February-March). It is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the building of the temple, in which the Boar stands, by Dhanyavishṇu, the younger brother of the deceased Mahārāja Mātrivishṇu.

The mention of Mātrivishṇu in this inscription as deceased, is of importance, as shewing that Tōramāṇa comes, so far as his possession of Eastern Mālwa is concerned, shortly after Budhagupta, in whose time Mātrivishṇu, then alive, in conjunction with Dhanyavishṇu set up the column that bears Budhagupta's inscription of the year 165, No. 19 above, page 88.

TEXT:

- 1 Ōm [II*] Jayati^{hand in wet} dharany-uddharanē ghana-ghōṇ-āghāta-ghûrṇṇita-mahāddhrah
dēvō varāha-mūrttis-trailōkya-mahā-grīha-stambhaḥ [II*] Varshē^{prathamē} prathamē
prithivīm
2 prithu-kṛttau^{prithu-dyutau} mahārājādhīrāja-śrī-Tōramāṇe praśāsati I (II)
Phālguna-divasē^{daśamē} I ity-ēvaṁ rājyavarsha-māsa-dinaiḥ [I*] ētasyām
3 pûrvvāyām I sva-lakṣhaṇair-yukta-pûrvvāyām^{I (II)} Sva-karm-ābhīratasya
kratu-yājīnō-dhīta-svādhyāyasya vīpr-arshēr-Mmaittrāyaṇīya-vṛishabhasy-
Endravishṇōḥ prapauttrasya I

¹ I noticed a similar boar, almost entirely buried, by the roadside, about half way between Sāfichi and Udayagiri; but I had no means of raising it to ascertain whether there is any inscription on it.

² From the original stone.

³ Metre, Āryā.

⁴ This sentence is in prose, though it commences like a verse in the Āryā metre.

⁵ Metre, Āryā.

⁶ Supply *tithau*.

- 4 pitur-guṇ-ānukāriṇō Varuṇavishṇōḥ pauttrasya pitaram-anu-jātasya
 sva-vamśa-vṛddhi-hētōr=Harivishṇōḥ puttrasy-ātyanta-bhagavad-bhaktasya
 Vidhātūr=ichchhayā¹
- 5 svayamvaray-ēva rāja-lakṣmy-ādhiगतasya chatuḥ-samudra-paryanta-prathita-
 yaśasaḥ akṣhīṇa-māna-dhanasy-ānēka-śatru-samara-jishṇōḥ mahār[ā*]ja-
 Mātṛivishṇōḥ
- 6 svar-ggatasya bhrātṛ-ānujēna | tad-anuvīdhāyina tat-prasāda-parigṛhītēna²
 Dhanyavishṇunā tēn=aiva [sa]h=āvibhakta-punya-kkriyēna mātāpitṛōḥ
- 7 puṇy-āpyāyan-ārtham=ēsha bhagavatō varāha-mūrttēr-jagat-parāyaṇasya
 Nārāyaṇasya silā³-prās[ādah] sya-vishay[ē]=sminn=Airikīṇē kārītaḥ I(II)
- 8 Svasty-astu gō-brāhmaṇa-purōḡābhyah sarvva-prajābhyah [i]ti ||

TRANSLATION.

Om! Victorious is the god (Vishṇu), who has the form of a Boar,⁴—who, in the act of lifting up the earth (*out of the waters*), caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of (*his*) hard snout; (*and*) who is the pillar (*for the support*) of the great house which is the three worlds!⁵

(Line 1.)—In the first year; while the *Mahārājādhirdīja*, the glorious *Tōramāṇa*, of great fame (*and*) of great lustre, is governing the earth;—

(L. 2.)—On the tenth day of (the month) Phālguna;—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the regnal year and month and day, (*and*) invested as above with its own characteristics;—

(L. 3.)—By *Dhanyavishṇu*,—the younger brother, obedient to him (*and*) accepted with favour by him, of the *Mahārāja Mātṛivishṇu*, who has gone to heaven; who was excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhātṛi, was approached (*in marriage-choice*) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (*him*) of her own accord (*to be her husband*); whose fame extended up to the borders of the four oceans; who was possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (*and*) who was victorious in battle against many enemies;—who was the son of the son's son of Indravishṇu, who was attentive to his duties; who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (*of the scriptures*); who was a Brāhmaṇ saint; (*and*) who was the most excellent (*of the followers*) of the Maitrāyaṇīya (*sākhā*);—who was the son's son of Varuṇavishṇu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (*his*) father;—(*and*) who was the son of Harivishṇu, who was the counterpart of (*his*) father in meritorious qualities,⁶ (*and*) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—*unmāḥ*.

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² This word is followed by a cross-mark, which indicates that *tēn=aiva [sa]h=āvibhakta-punya-kkriyēna* should have stood here, before *dhanyavishṇunā*.

³ Prinsep read *nārāyaṇasy=āstīrṇa*; and Hall, *nārāyaṇasy=āstīrṇāḥ*. They were led into this by the engraver having run the right stroke of the *l* in *silā* too high up, probably through his tool slipping.

⁴ The allusion is to his incarnation as a boar, when he plunged into the great ocean and rescued the earth, which had been carried off and hidden there by the demon Hiraṇyāksha.

⁵ Compare the similar invocation of Śiva, in Śaiva inscriptions, as "the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city which is the three worlds;" e.g. in line 1 f. of the Aihole inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1091 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 97).

⁶ *pitaram=anu-jātasya*; see page 90 above, note 3.

(L. 6).—(By this **Dhanyavishṇu**), accomplishing, in unison with (*the previously expressed wishes of*) him,¹ a joint deed of religious merit, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents, this stone temple of the divine (god) **Nārāyaṇa**, who has the form of a Boar (*and*) who is entirely devoted to (*the welfare of*) the universe, has been caused to be made in this his own *vishaya* of **Airikīṇa**.

(L. 8).—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmins !

No. 37; PLATE XXIII B.

GWALIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF MIHIRAKULA.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1861, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 267 ff., where Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from an ink-impression taken by General Cunningham, of which, in the following year,—as an accompaniment to Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's paper on "*Vestiges of the kings of Gwalior*," in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.,—a reduced lithograph was published (*id.* Plate i. No. 1).

The inscription is on a broken red-sandstone slab, now measuring about 2' 8½" broad by 5½" high, that was found built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the sun in the fortress at **Gwālīor** (properly **Gwālher**), the capital of the dominions of Scindia in Central India; it is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. When the stone was first found, two or three letters had already been broken away and lost at the beginning of each line; and, since then, it has suffered a still more serious injury, in part of line 7, and the whole of lines 8 and 9, being cut away and destroyed in trimming the stone and fixing it, I suppose, in some other building, after the time when it was first found and before its rescue and transfer to the Museum.

The writing, which covers the entire face of the stone, except for a margin of about an inch at the top and on the right side, is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though differing a little in actual execution, are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of **Tōramāṇa**. The two methods of forming *r*, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by *sauryad*, line 3, and, on the other, by *chakrōrtti-hartā*, line 2, and *abhivarddhamāna*, line 4.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, all that calls for special notice is the use of the *upadhmanīya* once, in *amsubhīḥ=paṃkajāṇām*, line 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Mihirakula**. It is dated, in words, in the fifteenth year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and in the bright fortnight of the month **Kārttika** (October-November), but without any specification of the day of the fortnight or month. It is an inscription of solar worship. And the object of it is to

¹ i.e. the deceased Mātrivishṇu.

² The 'Gwalior' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 51. Lat. 26° 13' N.; Long. 78° 12' E.—For the ancient names of the place. see the next note.

record the building of a temple of the Sun, by a person named **Mâtrichêta**, on the mountain called **Gôpa**, i.e. the hill on which the fortress of Gwâlior stands.¹

TEXT.²

- 1 [Ôm] [II*] [Ja]yati³ jalada-vâla-dhvântam=utsârayan=svaiḥ kiranâ-nivaha-jâlair=vyôma vidyôtayadbhiḥ u[daya-gi]r[i]-tat-âgra[m] maṇḍayan⁴ yas-tura[m*]gaiḥ chakita-gamana-khêda-bhrânta-charṇchat-sat-antaiḥ I(II) Udaya-g[i]r[i]-
- 2 [— —]grasta-chakrê=rtti-harttâ bhuvana-bhavana-dīpaḥ sarvvarī-nâśa-hêtuḥ tapita-kanaka-varṇair=amśubhiḥ=parṁkajân[â*]m=abhinava-ramanīyam yô vidhattê sa vō=vyât⁵ I(II) Śrī⁶-Tôram[âṇa] i]ti yah prathitô
- 3 [bhûcha]kra(?)-paḥ prabhûta-guṇaḥ satya-pradâ(dhâ)na-sauryâd=yêna mahî nyâyata[h*] sâstâ [II*] Tasy=ôdita-kula-klrttêḥ putrô=tula-vikramah patih prithvyâḥ Mihirakul-êti-khyâtô=bhaṅgô yah Pâśupatim[— —] [II*]
- 4 [Tasmin=râ]jani sâsati prithvīm prithu-vimala-lôchanê=rtti-harê⁷ abhivarddhamâna-râjyê parṁchadaś-âbdê nripa-vrīshashya I(II) Śâśi-raśmihâsa-vikasita-kumud-ôtpala-gandha-śītal-âmôdê Kârttika-mâsê prâpt[ê*] gagana-
- 5 [patau(?) ni]rmmalê bhâti I(II). Dvija-gaṇa-mukhyair=abhisaṁstutê cha puṇy-âha-nâda-gtôshêṇa tithi-nakṣatra-muhûrttê samprâptê suprasastadinê I(II) Mâtrītulasya tu pautrah putras=cha tath=aiva Mâtrīdâsasya nâmnâ cha Mâtrichêtaḥ parvva-
- 6 [ta] vâstavyah [II*] Nânâ-dhātu-vichitrê Gôp-âhvaya-nâmnî bhûdharê ramyê kâritavân=sailamayam bhânôḥ prâśâda-vara-mukhyam I(II) Puṇy-âbhivṛddhi-hêtôr=mmâtâpitrôś=tath-âtmanâś=ch=aiva vasatâ[m*] cha giri-varê=smi[n*] rājñah
- 7pâ(?)dêna [II*] Yê kârayanti bhânôś=chandr-âṁśu-san-ā-prabhaṁ griha-pravaram têśhām vâśah svarggê yâvat-kalpa-kshayô bhavati II Bhaktyâ ravêr=vvirachitam sad-dharma-khyâpanam su-klrttimayam nâmnâ cha Kêśav-êti-prathitêna cha I'

¹ Dr. R. Mitra read the name here (line 6) as Giripa; but quite wrongly.—Other forms of the ancient Sanskrit name of the hill, and of the fortress on it, are (1) Gôpagiri; e.g. in line 1 of the Gwâlior inscription of Bhôjadêva of Vikrama-Samvat 933 (*Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 407*); (2) Gôpâchaladurga, e.g. in an inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1497 on the pedestal of a colossal figure of Âdinâtha at Gwâlior (*id. p. 422*); (3) Gôpâdri, and Gopâdridurga; e.g. in lines 4 and 14 of the Gwâlior inscription of Mahîpâla of Vikrama-Samvat 1150 (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. pp. 36, 37*); and (4) Gôpâlikêra; in line 2 of a Gwâlior inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1161 (*id. p. 202*).—Dr. Hultzsch (*id. p. 202, note 5*) has pointed out that the last form, Gôpâlikêra, seems to be the one that is the immediate source of the modern name Gwâlior.

² Lines 1 to 6, and the last part of line 7, from the original stone; and, the lower part of the stone being now broken off and lost, the rest from Gen. Cunningham's lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's paper in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.*

³ Metre, Mâlinî; and in the next verse.

⁴ This n was omitted in its proper place, and was then inserted below the line.

⁵ Metre, Âryâ; and in the next nine verses.

⁶ We require here a verb, supplying the antithesis to (a) *bhaṅgô*, 'without breaking; unbroken.' But the *aksharas* are much damaged by a crack in the stone; and I am unable to supply them.

⁷ This mark of punctuation appears to have been inserted unnecessarily, to fill up the space at the end of the line.

9 [silā(?) - pra]śāda-mukhyô ramê ||

[Om !] May he (the Sun) protect you, who is victorious,—dispelling the darkness of the banks of clouds with the masses of the multitude of his rays that light up the sky ; (and) decorating the top of the side of the mountain of dawn with (his) horses, which have the tossing ends of (their) manes dishevelled through the fatigue (induced) by (their) startled gait ;—(and) who,—having (his) chariot-wheels (?) swallowed (?) the mountain of dawn ; dispelling distress ; (being) the light of the house which is the world ; (and) effecting the destruction of night,—creates the fresh beauty of the water-lilies by (his) rays which are of the colour of molten gold !

(L. 3.)—Of him, the fame of whose family has risen high, the son (*is*) he, of unequalled prowess, the lord of the earth, who is renowned under the name of **Mihirakula**, who, (*himself*) unbroken, [broke the power of^s] **Paśupati**.

(L. 4.)—While [he], the king, the remover of distress, possessed of large and pellucid eyes, is governing the earth; in the augmenting reign, (and) in the fifteenth year, of (him) the best of kings; the month Kārttika, cool and fragrant with the perfume of the red and blue waterlilies that are caused to blossom by the smiles of the rays of the moon, having come; while the spotless moon is shining;⁴ and a very auspicious day,—heralded by the chiefs of the classes of the twice-born⁵ with the noise of the proclamation of a holy day, (and) possessed of the (proper) *tithi* and *nakṣatra* and *muhūrta*,—having arrived;—

(L. 5.)—The son's son of Matrītula, and the son of Matrīdāsa, by name Matrīchēta, an inhabitant of on the hill, has caused to be made, on the delightful mountain which is speckled with various metals and has the appellation of Gōpa,^a a stone-temple, the chief among the best of temples, of the Sun, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself, and of those who, by the of the king, dwell on this best of mountains.

(L. 7.)—Those who cause to be made an excellent house of the Sun, like in lustre to the rays of the moon,—their abode is in heaven, until the destruction of all things!

(L. 7.)—(This) very famous proclamation of the true religion' has been composed through devotion to the Sun, by him who is renowned by the name of Kēśava and by ditya.

(L. 8.)—As long as the moon shines on the thicket that is the knot of the braided hair of (the god) Śarva; and as long as the mountain Mēru continues to have (*its*) slopes

¹ Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita.

• Read *śrīm tāvad*.

¹ See page 162 above, note 6.

* *i.e.* in the bright fortnight of the month.

^b i.e. by the Brāhmanas.

* See page 162 above, note 1.

⁷ *i.e.* this inscription.

No. 38; PLATE XXIV.

MALIYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA DHARASENA II.

THE YEAR 252.

THIS inscription,¹ which was originally brought to notice by me in 1884, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 160 ff., is from some copper-plates that were found at *Māliyā*,² the chief town of the *Māliyā* Mahāl or Sub-Division of the Junāgaḍh State in the Kāthiāwāḍ Peninsula in the Bombay Presidency. The original plates are, I understand, in the possession of the Junāgaḍh Darbār. I obtained them, for examination, through the kindness of the Diwān, Mr. Haridas Viharidas.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about $11\frac{3}{8}$ " by $7\frac{1}{4}$ ". The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; but the letters are deep, and shew through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is well executed; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—The plates are covered with rings, passing through holes in the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second. Both of the rings had already been cut, when the plates were found. One of them is a plain copper ring, roughly circular in shape, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The other is of the same thickness, but of an irregular triangular shape, not customary with the rings of the Valabhi seals. The ends of the rings are secured by a band, the front of which is roughly oval, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, and has in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, a bull, recurring on the reverse side, and a triangle on the Valabhi seal, and below it, a separate form of the lingual *d*, and *Srī-Bhāṭakha*, for *Srī-Bhāṭakha*, the name of the ruler. The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 1 oz., and of the rings and band 123 grs. and 3 lbs. 13½ oz.—The size of the letters varies from 1 to 2 lines. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include, e.g. in *chūḍa*, line 10, *ga*, line 10, and *ḍombhi*, line 24, a separate form of the lingual *d*, as distinct from the dental *d*, borrowed from the northern alphabet. They furnish a very good specimen of

¹ The inscriptions of this family that have already been discovered, are too numerous to be all included in the present volume; and they will, it is hoped, be some day disposed of by themselves in a separate collection. Meanwhile, the family is concerned so closely in the history of the period with which the present volume deals, that my book would be incomplete without a specimen or two of the Valabhi grants, as an accompaniment to the necessary historical chapter. I therefore give two of the inscriptions of this family; the present one, to illustrate the standard form according to which most of the earlier charters were drafted; and the next, partly as an illustration of the form of the later charters, and partly because it is the latest inscription of the family at present known of, and introduces the well-known and important name of Dhṛubhāṭa or Dhruvabhāṭa, as a title of Śīlāditya VII.

² The 'Māliya and Mallia' of maps, &c.; about twenty-three miles south by west of Junāgaḍh. It is also called 'Māliyā-Hāṭṭi,' to distinguish it from another Māliyā, called 'Māliyā-Miāna,' in the north of Kāthiāwāḍ.

The forms of the numerical symbols for 2, 5, 10, 50, and 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya*, once, in *pāddvarttāḥ=pañchadaśa*, line 23; and (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, once, in *ashīdvinsati*, line 25.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Dharasēna II.*, of the family of the Kings of Valabhi; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city of Valabhi, the modern Walā,¹ the chief town of the Walā State in the Gōhildvāḍ Prant or Division of Kāthiāwāḍ. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 571-72); and the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Dharasēna II.*, to a Brāhman, for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites, of some lands at the villages of Antaratrā, Dombhigrāma, and Vajragrāma.

TEXT²

First Plate.

1. Om Svasti Valabhitāḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmītrāṇām Maitrakāṇām=atula-
bala-sa[m*]panna-maṇḍalābhōga-samsakta-samprahāra-śata-labdhā-pratāpaḥ
2. prāṇa-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjav-ōpārjīṭ-ānūrāg-ānūrakta-maulabhṛita-mitra-śreṇī-bal-
āyāpta-rāja-śrīḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati-
3. Bhatārkaḥ [n*] Tasya sutas=tat-pāda-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-śirāḥ śirō-
yama-śatru-śūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-vichchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-dīdhitir=ddī-
4. n-ānātha-kṛipā-jan-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati-
Dharasēnas-Tasy-ānujas=tat-pāda-pranāma-prasastatara-vimala-
5. maṇi-Mmany-ādi-pranā-vihita-iva vihitā-

6. bala-parākramēṇa para-gaja-ghaṭ-ānikānām=ēka-vijayī śaraṇ-aishīṇām
7. śaraṇam-avavōddhā śāstr-ārtha-tatvānām kalpatarur=iva suhṛit-pra-
8. payinām yathābhilashita-kāma-phal-ōpabhōga-daḥ paramabhāgavataḥ śrī-
mahārāja-Dhruvasēnas-Tasy-ānujas=tach-charaṇāravinda-prāpati-pra-
9. vidhaut-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ suvīuddha-bhya(śva)-charit-ōdaka-prakshālita-sakala-
Kali-kalaṅkaḥ prasabha-nirjīṭ-ārāti-paksha-prathita-mahimā
10. paramādityabhaktaḥ śrī-mahārāja-Dharapattas-Tasy-ātmajas=tat-pāda-sāpary-
āyāpta-puṇy-ōdaya[h*] śaiśavāt=prabhṛiti khadga-dvīṭya-bāhur=ē-

¹The 'Vala, Wala, Waleh, and Wulleh,' of maps, &c.; eighteen miles west by north from Bhāvnagar. Lat. 21° 52' N.; Long. 71° 57' E.

²From the original plates.

³The Jhar grant of the same *Mahārāja* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 137 f.), drawn up from the same standard draft, gives here the fuller and better reading of *prasastatara-vimala-mauli-maṇi*.

⁴Read *avavōddhā*.

- 11 va samada-para-gaja-ghat-āspṛhātana-prakāśita-sat[^t]va-mānasa-
pranāt-ārāti-chūḍāratna-prabhā-samsakta-sakhya(vya)-pā-
12 da-nakha-raśmi-samhati[h*] sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-prajā-
hrīdaya-rañjanād-anvartta-rāja-śabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-
13 gāmbhīryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ Smara-śāśāṅk-ārdri(dri)rāj-ōḍadhi-trīḍaśaguru-
Dhanē[śā*]n=atīśayānā(nō)=bhaya-pradāna²-paratayā trīṇa-va-
14 vad=apāst-[ā*]śēsha-sva-kāryya-phalaḥ pādachār-īva sakala-bhuvanamaṇḍal-
ābhōga-pramōḍaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-mahārā-
15 ja-Guhasēnaḥ [11*] Tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-samtāna-nirvṛtta-
Jāhnavi-jal-ō(au)gha-vikshālīt-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-
16 sahasr-ōpajīvyā-bhōga-sampat rūpa-lōbhād=iv-āśrī(śrī)tas=sa-rasam-ābhigāṃkair-
guṇai[h*] sahaja-śakti-śikṣhā-viśēsha-vismā-
17 pit-ākṣhīla-dhanurdharaḥ prathama-narapati-samatīrīṣhṭānām-anupālayitā
dharmmya(rmma)-dāyānam-apākarttā
18 praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām-upaplavānām darśayitā śrī-sarasvatyōr-ēk-ādhivāsasya
samhat-ārāti-

Second Plate.

- 19 paksha-lakshmi-parikshōbha³-dakṣha-vikramah kram-ōpasamprāpta-vimala-
pārthiva-śrīḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ mahārāja-
20 śrī(śrī)-Dharasēnaḥ kuśalī sarvān=ēv-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drāṅgika-
mahattara-chāṭa-bhaṭa-dhruvādhikaraṇika-dāṇḍapāsika-
21 rājasthānīya-kumārāmāty-ādīn=anyāmś=cha yathā-sambadhyamānakan samā-
jñāpayaty=Astu vaḥ samviditam yathā mayā mātā-
22 pitrōh⁴ puny-āpyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aihiḥ-āmushmika-yathābhilashita-phal-āvāptayē
Antaratrayām Śivaka-padrakē Vrasēna-
23 dantika-pratyaya-pādāvarṭta-śataṃ ētasṃmād-āparataḥ pādāvarṭtāḥ-pañchadaś-
tathā apara-simni Skambhasēna-pratyaya-pādāvarṭta-śataṃ vimś-ādhikam⁵
24 pūrva-simni pādāvarṭtā daśa Dombhigrāmē pūrva-simni Vardhaki
pratyaya-pādāvarṭtā navatī[h*] Vajragrāmē para-simni-
-pādāvarṭta-śataṃ
25 VI(?)ki(?)⁶dinna-mahattara-pratyayā ashtāviṃśati-pādāvarṭta-śataṃ vāpi
Bhumbhusa-padrakē kuṭumvi(mbi)-Bōṭaka-pratyayā(ya)-pādāvarṭta-śataṃ
26 vāpi cha | ētat=s-ōdraṅgam s-ōparikaram sa-vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hirany-
ādēyam s-ōtpadyamāna-viśṭī(ṣṭī)kam samasta-rājaklyānām-a-
27 hasta-prakshēpaṇīyam bhōmichehhidra-nyāyēna Unnatānīvāsi(si)-Vāja-
sanēyi(yi)Kapva-Vatsasagōtra-brāhmaṇa-Rudrabhūtayē bali-charu-vaiśva-

¹ This *t* was at first omitted, and was then inserted rather above its proper position.

² The Jhar grant, mentioned above, gives here the better reading of *atīśayānāḥ taranāgat-abhaṇy-pradāna*; so also in No. 39 below, Plate xxv. line 5.

³ The Jhar grant gives here the better reading of *paribhōga*; so also in No. 39 below, line 10.

⁴ This *visarga* was forced rather low down by the size of the *stha* above it.

⁵ These ten *aksharas* are engraved over something else that had been previously engraved.

⁶ The vowels of these two *aksharas* are quite distinct; but the consonants are very doubtful. There seems to be some fault in the copper here, which prevented the engraver from forming the two *aksharas* properly, and he was thus obliged to leave a blank space before *vāpi*, which is the beginning of the next line.

- 28 dēv-agnihōtr-ātithi-pañchamahāyājñikānām kriyānām samutsarppaṇ-ārttham-
 29 ā-chandr-ārk-ārṇava-sarit-kshiti-sthiti-samakālinām putra-pau-
 29 tr-ānvayā-bhōgyam udaka-sarggēṇa nisrīṣṭam [1*] Yatō=sy-ōchitayā
 brahmadēya-sthityā bhūmjataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pradiśato vā
 30 na kaiśchit-pratishēdhē varttitavyam [1*] [Ā*]gāmi-bhadra-nrīpatibhīś=ch-
 āsmad-varṇśa-jair=a-nityāny-aīśvaryaṇy=a-sthiram mānushyam sāmānyam
 cha bhūmi-
 31 dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhīr=ayam=asmad-dāyō=numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś-
 cha [1*] Yaś=ch=ainam=āchchhimdyād=āchchhidymāṇam v=ānu-
 32 mōdēta sa pañchabhīr-mmahāpātakai[h*] II^a s-ōpapātakai[h*] II^a sa[m*]-
 yuktas=syād=ity=Uktam cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna II(I)
 33 Shasṭim^a varsha-sahasraṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhēttā
 ch=ānumantā cha I^a tāny=ēva narakē vasēt II Pūrva-dattām
 34 dvijātibhyō yatnād-raksha Yudhisṭhira II(I) mahi[m*] mahimatām
 śrēṣṭha II^a dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam II Bahubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā
 35 rājabis-Sagar-ādibhiḥ II(I) yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya tadā
 phalam=itih^a I(II) Likhita^a s[Ā*]ndhivigrahika-Skandabhaṭēna II
 36 Sva-hastō mama mahārāja-śrī-Dharasēnasya II Dū^a Chirbbira[h*] II Sam
 200 50 2 Vaiśākha ba 10 5 [II*] .

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city of) **Valabhī**:^a—(There was) the illustrious *Sēndapati*¹⁰ **Bhaṭārka**, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the **Maitrakas**, who had by force bowed down (*their*) enemies;¹¹ (*and*) who

¹ and ² In each case, the engraver seems to have formed the mark of punctuation by mistake for a *visarga*.

³ Metre, Ślōka (Anusṭubh); and in the following two verses.

⁴ and ⁵ In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁶ Read *iti*.

⁷ Supply *sāsanam*.

⁸ i.e. *dātakaḥ*.

⁹ The proper context is "the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Dharasēna, being in good health, issues command," &c., in line 19 ff. The intervening genealogy is by way of a parenthesis.

¹⁰ *Sēndapati*, lit. 'lord or chief of the army; a general,' is a technical military title.—The next grade above this was that of the *Mahāsēndapati*, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bijayagadh inscription of the Yaudhēyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviB.

¹¹ The correct interpretation of this important passage was first conclusively pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, in re-editing the Walā grant of Ślāditya I. of the year 286 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 328 f.) Dr. Bhau Daji, however, evidently had an idea as to the proper meaning; since he wrote (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 244 f.)—"A sentence in the copper-plate, which has hitherto not been translated correctly, shows that they" (the rulers of Valabhī) "triumphed over a sun-worshipping people (Maitrakas)." Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's translation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 14) was—(Bhaṭārka), who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of hands of matchless might, who with main force had subjugated their enemies." Dr. Bühler's (*id.* IV. p. 106) was—"Bhaṭārka, who obtained an empire through the matchless power of his friends humbled his enemies by main force;—who gained glory in a hundred battles fought at close quarters." Mr. V. N. Mandlik, following Dr. Bhau Daji, translated (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, XI. n. 246)—"Bhaṭārka, who had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the

acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (*his*) hereditary servants and friends, who had been brought under subjection by (*his*) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (*to him*) by affection.

(Line 3.)—His son, whose head was purified by being bowed down in the red dust of his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Sēdpati Dharasēna* (I.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—the rays of the lines of the nails of whose feet diffused themselves among the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (*his*) enemies when they bowed down with (*their*) heads (*before him*); (*and*) whose wealth was the sustenance of the poor, the helpless, and the feeble.

(L. 4.)—His younger brother, whose spotless jewel [in the lock of hair on the top of (*his*) head*] was made more lustrous (*than before*) by the performance of obeisance to (*his*) feet, (*was*) the *Mahārāja Drōṇasirṃha*, like unto a lion, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—who had as (*his*) law the rules and ordinances instituted by Manu and other (*sages*); who, like (Yudhisṭhira) the king of justice, adhered to the path of the maintenance of good behaviour; whose installation in the royalty by besprinkling was performed by the paramount master in person, the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole earth; (*and*) the glory of whose royalty was purified by (*his*) great liberality.

(L. 6.)—His younger brother (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* (I.), a most devout worshipper of the Divine One,—who was victorious, by himself alone, through the prowess of his own arm, over the troops of the array of the elephants of (*his*) enemies; who was the asylum of those who sought for protection; who was the teacher of the real meaning of the sacred writings; (*and*) who, like the *kalpa*-tree,¹ granted the enjoyment of fruits which were the desires, in accordance with (*their*) wishes, of (*his*) friends and favourites.

(L. 8.)—His younger brother, whose sins were all washed away by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Dharapatta*, a most devout worshipper of the Sun,—by the water of whose very pure actions all the stains of the Kali age were washed away; (*and*) who forcibly conquered the renowned greatness of the ranks of (*his*) enemies.

(L. 10.)—His son, who acquired an increase of religious merit by doing service to his feet, was the illustrious *Mahārāja Guhasēna*, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—whose sword was verily a second arm (*to him*) from childhood;² the test of whose strength was manifested by clapping (*his*) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (*his*) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (*his*) left foot interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (*his*) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of 'king' was obvious and suit-

wide extent of territories of Maitrakas, who were endowed with incomparable courage, and who had forcibly reduced their enemies to submission." My own original translation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 303) was—"In the lineage) of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them, there was Bhaṭārka, who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought within the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength."

¹ *kalpa*-tree; one of the trees in Indra's paradise, which granted all desires.

² Or, perhaps, "who even from childhood carried a sword with his second arm;" i.e. "who could wield a sword with both arms at the same time."

able, because he pleased the hearts of (*his*) subjects by properly preserving the path prescribed by all the tradictionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (*respectively*) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himalaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Brihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanēśa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear [to those who came for protection²], was indifferent to all the (*other*) results of his actions, as if they were (*of as little value as*) straw; (*and*) who was, as it were, the personified¹ happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(L. 15.)—His son, whose sins have been all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) *Jāhnavī* that was constituted by the diffusion of the rays of the nails of his feet,—whose wealth and riches are the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who is with appreciation, as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty, resorted to by (*all*) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind;³ who astonishes all archers by the speciality of (*his*) innate strength and (*skill acquired by*) practice; who is the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averts calamities that would afflict (*his*) subjects; who is the exponent of (*the condition of being*) the one (*joint*) habitation of wealth and learning; whose prowess is skilful in causing annoyance to⁴ the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (*his*) enemies; (*and*) who possesses a spotless princely glory, acquired by inheritance,—(*is*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Dharasēna* (II.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, who, being in good health, issues a command to all the *Āyuktakas*,⁵ *Viniyuktakas*,⁶ *Drāṅgikas*,⁶ *Mahattaras*,⁷ irregular and regular troops, *Dhruvoddhika*—

¹ *pāda-chārin*, *lit.* 'moving on feet or legs'; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's translation of line 7 of the grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 326 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 14.)

² The *abhiḡmikhā guṇāḥ* are explained by Kāmandaka in the *Nītisāra*, iv. vv. 6 to 8 (Calcutta edition, p. 78), as quoted by V. N. Mandlik in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 348, note; they are—good birth, steadfastness in misfortune and prosperity, youth, a good disposition, civility, absence of dilatoriness, speech that is not contradictory, truthfulness, reverence for the aged, gratitude, the state of being favoured by destiny, wisdom, being independent of trifles, capability of subduing hostile neighbouring chiefs, firmness in attachment, far-sightedness, energy, purity, having great aims, modesty, and firm devotion to religion and justice.

³ *parikṣhāḥ*; other grants, drafted from the same form, and also No. 39 below, line 10, give *paribhāga*, 'skilful in) enjoyment (of)'; which is a better reading.

⁴ This, and the following, are technical official terms, for which suitable translations have not yet been fixed.—With the present term, *Āyuktaka*, we may compare the expression *āyukta-purusha* in line 26 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1, page 8 above.

⁵ *Viniyuktaka*; compare the use of *niyuj*, 'to appoint; to commission,' in line 9 of the Junāgaḍh rock inscription, No. 14 above, page 59; also compare *tan-niyukṭa* in line 76 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.

⁶ *Drāṅgika*; other forms are *drāṅgika* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 205, line 14; where, however, it may be a mistake for *drāṅgika*), and *drāṅgin* (*id.* Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15). The present form, *drāṅgika*, occurs again in *id.* Vol. IV. p. 175, line 6; and, in line 10 of the same grant, we have *drāṅga*, which is the origin of these terms, in Maṇḍaldrāṅga. Dr. Bühler, in the places quoted, proposed to render *drāṅga* by 'township,' and *drāṅgika*, &c., by 'heads of towns'; and Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *drāṅga* as meaning 'a town, a city.'

⁷ *Mahattara* is the comparative formation of *mahat*, 'great,' and is given by Monier Williams in the special sense of 'the head or oldest man of a village.'—In other inscriptions we have the superlative formation, *Mahattama*, used in the same technical way.

raṇikas,¹ *Dāṇḍapāsikas*,² *Rājasthāntyas*, *Kumdrāmdtyas*, and others, according as they are concerned ;—

(L. 21.)—"Be it known to you, that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents, and in order that I myself may obtain the reward that is wished for both in this world and in the next, there is given by me, with libations of wafer, in accordance with the rule of *bhāmichchhidra*, to the Brāhmaṇ Rudrabhūti, an inhabitant of *Unnata*, (a student) of the Vājasaneyi-Kapva (*śakha*), and a member of the Vatsa *gōtra*,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra*, and *atithi*; to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of (his) sons and sons' sons,—at (the village of) *Antaratrā*, in the common-land³ called *Śivakapadraka*, one hundred pādāvartas⁴ (of land), (known as) the holding⁵ of *Vrasēnadantika*; (and) fifteen pādāvartas on the west of this; also, in the western boundary, one hundred pādāvartas, increased by the twentieth,⁶ (known as) the holding of *Skambhasēna*, (and) ten pādāvartas in the eastern boundary;—in the village of *Dombhigrāma*, in the eastern boundary, ninety pādāvartas, (known as) the holding of *Vardhaki*;—in the village of *Vajragrāma*, in the western boundary, one hundred pādāvartas in the highest part⁷ of the village, (and) an irrigation-well with an area of twenty-eight pādāvartas, (known as) the holding of the *Mahattara* *Vikidinna*;⁸ (and) in the common-land called *Bhummbhusapadraka*, one hundred pādāvartas, (known as) the holding of the cultivator *Bōtaka*, and an irrigation-well;—(the whole of) this (being given) together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; with the *vāta*,⁹ *bhūta*, grain, gold, and *dhēya*; with (the right to) forced labour as the occasion for

¹ *Dhruvādihikarāṇika*; 'one who has the superintendence of the *Dhruvas*.'—*Dhruva* has been explained by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 205) as being still used in *Kāthiāwāḍ* and *Kachh* to denote "a person who, on the part of a *Rāja*, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue."

² *Dāṇḍapāsika*, or *dandapāsika*, is explained by Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* as meaning 'one who holds the fetters or noose of punishment; a policeman.'

³ *padraka* seems to be a fuller form of *pādra*, which is given in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary* as meaning 'a village; the entrance into a village; the earth; a particular district.' Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 337) has explained it as being the modern *pādr*, 'a grazing-place.' I do not know what authority he has for this meaning. But, in H. H. Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*, *pādar* (i.e. *pādr*) is explained by 'common-land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated.' And this seems more likely to be the correct meaning.

⁴ *pādāvarta*, *lit.* 'the turning round of a foot,' is given by Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* as meaning 'a square foot.' But it seems more likely that such an expression as 'a hundred pādāvartas' means 'a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet square each way, i.e. ten thousand square feet,' rather than only 'one hundred square feet,' which would measure only ten feet each way, and would be rather a small area for a grant; to say nothing of the still smaller areas mentioned further on.

⁵ *pratyaya*; in other passages, the form *pratyāya* occurs.

⁶ i.e. "one hundred and twenty pādāvartas."

⁷ *śikhara*; *lit.* 'peak, top, summit.'

⁸ See page 166 above, note 6.

⁹ The meaning of *vāta*, *bhūta*, and *dhēya*, is not apparent.—*vāta* is derived either from *vā*, 'to blow,' or from *vai*, 'to become dried or withered,' compare *avāta* in line 14 f. of No. 31 above, page 137.—*bhūta* is the past participle of *bhū*, 'to be, to become,' but no suitable meaning suggests itself.—*dhēya* seems to mean either 'that which is to be given,' from *dh* in composition with *dā*, 'to give;' or 'that which is to be cut, reaped, or mown,' from *d* with *dh*. But it is possible that, instead of the prefix *dh*, we have the negative particle *a*, and that the word means 'that which is not to be given,'

it occurs; (and with the privilege that it is) not to be (even) pointed at with the hand (of *Indue appropriation*) by any of the king's people.¹

(L. 29.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (*it*) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brāhman, (and) cultivating (*it*), (or) causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it to another*).

(L. 30.)—"And this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, born of Our lineage, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (*both to him who makes it and to him who continues it*). And he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins, together with the minor sins, who may confiscate this (*grant*), or assent to its confiscation."

(L. 32.)—And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O Yudhishtīra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)!

(L. 35.)—(*This charter*) has been written by the *Sāmdhivigrahika* Skandabhāṭa. (*This is*) the sign-manual² of me, the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Dharasēna. The *Dātaka* (*is*) Chirbira.³ The year 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 2; (the month) Vaiśākha; the dark fortnight; (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

No. 39; PLATE XXV.

ALINA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SILADITYA VII.

THE YEAR 447.

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr. Hariyallabh, Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, Kaira and Broach; and was first brought to notice in 1878, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., where Dr. Bühler published his reading of the text, with remarks. It is on some copper-plates that were found either at, or in the neighbourhood of, Alinā or Alinā, a village about fourteen miles north-east of Nadiād,³ the chief town of the Nadiād Talukā or Sub-Division of the Kaira (Khēḍā) District in Gujarāt in the Bombay Presidency.

cut, reaped, or mowed.'—Instead of *vāta-bhūta*, we sometimes have *bhūta-vāta*, in reversed order; e.g. in line 67 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.

¹ *samasta-rājakyānām-a-hasta-prakṣhēpaṇīya*. This is the customary expression in the Valabhi grants. From the south, we have (1) the almost identical expression *rājakyānām-an-anguli-prakṣhāṇīya*, e.g. in line 45 of the Goa grant of Shashtādēva II. of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4348, (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 291); and (2) the variant *rāja-rājapurushair-apy-an-anguli-nirdēśya*, in line 61 of the Paithan grant of Rāmachandra of Śaka-Saṁvat 1193 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 317).

² *sva-hasta*; *lit.* 'the own hand.'—Occasionally an actual representation of a sign-manual is given; e.g. at the end of the grant of Śīlāditya VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv., and at the end of the Baroda grant of Dhruva II. of Śaka-Saṁvat 757 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 198 f. and Plate).

³ The 'Nadiād, Nariad, and Neriad' of maps, &c.

When they first came to light, they had been lying for some time in a merchant's shop at Allnā. They are now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, to which they were presented by Dr. Bühler.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 1' $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by 1' $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", and the second, which is rather irregular in shape, about 1' $3\frac{1}{8}$ " by 1' $0\frac{1}{2}$ ". The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surfaces; with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. The surfaces of the plates, however, have suffered very much from corrosion; and in some places the letters, though not destroyed, are so choked up with a hard deposit of rust, which I found it impossible to remove, that they fail to appear in the lithograph. But the inscription is for the most part legible enough on the original plates; the only part that has really suffered being at the top, especially towards the right corner, of the second plate. The plates are thick, and very substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them. The engraving, as displayed where the plates have not suffered much injury, is fairly well executed; but the interiors of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—There are holes for two rings, in the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second; but the rings, with the seal on one of them, are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 17 lbs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are a later development of the type of those of the preceding grant of the *Ma. Pradja* Dharasēna II. of the year 252, No. 38 above, page 164, and Plate xxiv., and illustrate what may be called the Saurāshtra or Kāthiawād alphabet of the eighth century A.D. They include, from northern sources, a separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *ḍ*, e.g. in *chāḍḍa*, line 4; also the rather rare lingual *ḍh* in *uḍḍa*, line 11, and *samupōḍha*, line 56. They also include, in line 78, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 7, 40, and 400.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for four stanzas in lines 58 to 63, and for some of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 72 to 75, the inscription is in prose throughout. As is the case with all the later grants of this family, the inscription was engrossed with great carelessness and inaccuracy; and there are a few passages, the proper reading of which can hardly yet be determined with certainty.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ṣ*, in *vaṇṣa*, lines 45 and 62, and *nistrinṣa*, line 51; (2) the use of *śingha* for *śimha*, in line 56; (3) the use, once, of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *s*, in *ansa*, line 11; (4) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *vikkrama*, line 11; and once in conjunction with a following *r*, a very exceptional occurrence, in *prakkṛiti*, line 26-27; and (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, lines 10, 14, 19, 23, 50, 53, 54-55, and 58.

The inscription is one of Śīlāditya VII., who also had the title of Dhṛvabhata, i.e. Dhruvabhata,¹ of the family of the Kings of Valabhi; and the charter recorded

¹ As pointed out by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 80), Dhruvabhata is the full and correct form of the name; and the first two syllables have been contracted in this inscription, partly because the metre required one long syllable, not two short ones, and partly because *Dhrv* was no doubt at that time, just as now, the vernacular Gujarātī form of *Dhruva*, especially in its meaning, in Kāthiawād and Kachh (*id.* Vol. V. p. 205), as a technical official title denoting "persons who, on the part of the *Rāja*, Superintend the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue; their duty is to see that he" (the *Rāja*, or a farmer) "does not collect more than his proper share."

in it is issued from his camp at the town of Ānandapura. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year four hundred and forty-seven (A.D. 466-67), on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēṣṭha (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Śīlāditya VII. himself, to a Brāhman, for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and other rites, of the village of Mahilabali or Mahilābali in the Uppalahēṭa pathaka¹ in the Khēṭaka dhāra.²

Of the places mentioned in this grant, Khēṭaka is of course the modern Khēḍā or Kaira³ itself. Uppalahēṭa is evidently the modern Uplēt or Uplētā, in the Ṭhāsra Ṭalukā, about thirty-five miles almost due east of Kaira. And Ānandapura must be the modern Ānand, the chief town of the Ānand Ṭalukā, about twenty-one miles south-east of Kaira.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Om Svasti Śrīmad-Ānandapura, sam[ā*]vāsita-jayaskandhāvare⁴ prasabha-
prapat-āmitrāpām Maitrakāṇām atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍalābhō[ga-
samsa]kta-samprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpa-
2 t-pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjhit-ānuraḡad⁵=anuraktā⁶-maulabhṛitah⁷-śrēṇi-
bal-āvāpta-rājya-śriyah paramamāhēśvarah⁸-śrī-Bhātārkkād=a(a)vyava-
chchhinna-vamśān-mā-
3 tāpitri-charaṇāravinda-praṇati-pravivikt-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ śaiśavāt-prabhṛiti
khaḍga-dvityah⁹-bāhur-ēva samada-para-gaja-gaḥ-āsp[ō]ṭana-prakāśita-
[sattva-ni]kassāṇ tat-p[r*]a-
(S. 38)
4 [bhā]va-praṇat-ārāti-chūḍāra[t*]na-prabhā-sa[m*]sakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-samhatih
sakala-smṛiti-praṇīti(ta)-mārgga¹⁰-samyak¹¹-kriyā-pālanah¹²-prajā-hridaya-
ramjanā[d=a*]nvarttha-rāja-śab[d]ō rūpa-kā-
(nat)
5 nti-sthai[r*]yya-gāmbhīrya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ Smara-śas[ā]ṅk-ādirāj-
ōdā(da)dhi-triā(tri)daśagusa(ru)-Dhanēśān-atisayānah¹³ śaraṇagat-ābhaya-
pradānah¹⁴-paratayā tripa-vad=vapast¹⁵-ā[śēsha-sva]-viryya-
(K. 10)
6 phalah prārthan-ādihik-ārttha-prad[ān-ā]nandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-hridaya[h*]
pādachār-iva sakala-bhuvanamaṇḍal-ābhōga-pram[ō*]da[h] parama-
(nat)

¹ *pathaka* is a technical territorial term, a suitable translation for which has not yet been determined. It is evidently connected with *pathin*, *patha*, 'a path, a road.'

² *dhāra* is another technical territorial term, a suitable rendering of which has not yet been determined.—In line 25 f. of the Allā grant of Dharasēna II. of the year 270 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 72), we have the expression *Khēṭak-dhāra-vishayē*; which seems to shew that the term *dhāra* is synonymous with *vishaya*.—There is another term, *dharaṇī*, which is evidently a synonym of *dhāra*, since the Hastavapra *dharaṇī* is mentioned in line 21 of the Walā grant of Dharasēna II. of the year 269 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 12); while the Hastavapra *dhāra* is spoken of in a grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 326 (*id.* Vol. I. p. 45).

³ Lat. 22° 44' N.; Long. 72° 44' E.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Read *skandhāvart*.—In *ndhā*, the engraver first formed *dhd*, and then corrected it into *ndhā*.

⁶ Read *anurag-anurakta*.

⁷ Read *bhṛita*.

⁸ Read *māhēśvara*.

⁹ Read *dvitya*.

¹⁰ Read *mārgga*.

¹¹ Read *pālan*.

¹² Read *pradāna*.

¹³ Read *apast*.

- 7 mähēśvaraḥ śrī-Guhasēnaḥ [11*] Tasya sutah tat-pāda-nakha-[mayōkha*]-
saṁtāna-visrīja(ta)-[āhnavi-jal-augha-prakshālita-śēśha-kalmashah] prapayi-
sata-sa-^(mātrā)
- 8 hasr-ōpajīvyamāṅga-sampad-rūpa-lōbhād-i[v-a]śrī(śrī)taḥ sarabha(bha)sam-ābhi-
gāṁkaiḥ guṇaiḥ sahaja-śakti¹-śikṣā-viśēśha-vismāpita-labdha²-dhanur-
ddharah · prathama-[na]-. innate
- 9 rapati-samatisrīṣṭānām-anupālayitā³ dharmma[dāyā]nām-api(pā)karttā praj-
ōpaghāta-kāriṇām upaplavānām samayitā⁴ śrī-sarasvatī⁵or-ek-ādhivāsasya
sahōpapatī⁶-pa-^(sādhya)
- 10 ksha-lakshmi-paribhōga-daksha-vikkramah vikram-ōpama-samp[r]āpta⁷-vimala-
pārthiva-śrīḥ paramamähēśvaraḥ śrī-Dharasēnaḥ [11*] Tasya sutah
tat-pād-ānuddhyātah sakala-jagad-ānandan-ātyā(tya)dbhu-
ta-guṇa-samudra⁸-sthagita-samagra-digmaṇḍalah samara-śata-vijaya-śōbhā-
sanātha-maṇḍalāgra-dy[u*]ti-bhāsur-ānsa-pīth-ōvyū(dō)ḍha-guru-manōrātha-
mahābhāva(ra)ḥ sarvva-vidyā-pāra-parama-^(sukh)
- 12 bhāg-ādhigama-vimala-matir-api sarvataḥ subhāshita-lavēn-āpi sv⁹.
ōpapādanīya-par[i*]tōshah samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hrīdayō-pi
savva(chcha)rit-ātīśaya-suvyakta-parama-<sup>(em-
nant)</sup>
- 13 kalyāṇa-svabhāvaḥ kh[i*]lībhūta-Kṛitayuga-nripati-patha-viśōdhan-ādhigat-ōdagra-
klrttiḥ dharmm-ānugā(rō)dh-ā(ō)jj[v*]alatarikṛit-ārthā-sukha-sa[m]pad-u[pa*]-
sēvā-nirahadha¹⁰-Varjmāditya¹¹-tvi(dvi)tīya-nāmā
- 14 pā(pa)ramam[ā*]h[ē*]śvaraḥ grī(śrī)-Gī(śī)lādityah¹² [11*] Tasya sutah¹³ tat-
pād-ānuddhyātah svayav(m)=Upēndra-gurūṇ-ēpa(va) gūruḥ¹⁴ gurūṇ-
ātyādaravatā samabhilashanīyām¹⁵=api rāja-lakshmi[m*]
- 15 skandh-āsakt[ām] parama-bhadrānām¹⁶ dhu[r*]yyas-tad-ā[i*]tā-sa[m]padan-
ē(ai)ka-rasatay-ōdvāhana¹⁷ khēda-sukharatibhyām¹⁸ ānāvāsita[sattva*]-
sāmpatti[h*] prabhāva-sā(sa)mpad-vā(va)śikṛita-nripati-śata-sirō-
6 ratnā(tna)-vnā(chchā)y-ōpaghā(dha)-pādapīthō-pi param-āvajñ¹⁹-ābhimāna-
sahas²⁰-ānāli[mg*]itā-manōvrittīḥ prapatrōka²¹ paritayajya prakhyāta-
paurush-ābhimānair-ā(a)py-ā(a)rātibhir-anāsā[di]-
ta-prakṛitay²²-ōpāyah kṛita-nikh[i*]la-bhuvan-āmā(mō)da-vimala-guṇa-sa[m]hatīḥ
prasabha-vighatīta-sakala-Kali-vilas[i*]ta-gatir-mattra²³-jan-ābhidrō(rō)hibhir-
āsashaiḥ²⁴ dōshair-anāmṛi-

¹ Read śakti.² Read vismāpita-sarvva, or vismāpit-ākhila.³ Here, and after samayitā in this line, and in other places, there follows a mark which may perhaps be intended for a mark of punctuation. It is the same as the anuvāda (except that it is not in the proper place for the anuvāda), or half a visarga.⁴ Read darśayitā.⁵ Read samhat-ārditi.⁶ Read ōpasamprāpta, or ōpakrama-samprāpta.⁷ Read samudaya.⁸ Read sukh.⁹ Read nirdāha.¹⁰ Read dharmmāditya.¹¹ This visarga is imperfect, only the lower part being engraved.¹² Read tasy-ānujah; on the authority of line 15-16 of the next grant of certain date after this generation; that of Dhruvasēna II. of the year 310 (Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 14); and of later grants also (e. g. Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 149, line 17, and Vol. VII. p. 74, line 18.)¹³ Omit this word.¹⁴ Read samabhilashanīyām.¹⁵ Read paramabhadra iva.¹⁶ Read ōdvāhana.¹⁷ Read par-āvajñ.¹⁸ Read ras.¹⁹ Read pranatim-śkām.²⁰ Read pratikriy.²¹ Read nntcha.²² Read āśashaiḥ.

- 18 [sht-ā*]tyunnata-hridaya[h*] prakhyāta-paurushaḥ śāstra-kōṭal¹-ātiśay[ō*]
guṇa² - gapatitha - vipaksha - kshitipati - lakshmi - svayamsvayam³grāhē(ha) -
prakāśita-praviā(vi)ra-purusha-prathamah⁴-[sarkhy-ā]-
- 19 dhigamāh⁵ ya(pa)ramam[ā*]hēśvarah śrī-Kharagrahaḥ [II*] Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pād-[ā*]nuddhyātaḥ sa[r*]vva-v[i*]dy-Adhigamāh-pahita⁶-nikhila-vidvaj-
jana-manah-paritōshit⁷-ātisha(śa)ya[h*] sat[t*]ya-
- 20 sa[m*]pat-tyāgaiḥ śauryyēna cha vigat-ānusa[m*]dhāna-samāhit-ārāti-
paksha-manōratha-rathāksha-bhaṅgaḥ samyag-upalakshit-āṇeka-śāstra-kalā-
lōkacharita-gahvara-vi-
- 21 bhāgō-pi parama-bhadra-prā(pra)kritir-akṛitri(tri)ma-praśrayō=pi vibha(na)ya-
śōbhā-vibhōsanah⁸ samara-śata-jayapatāk-āharaṇa-pratyay-ōdagra-bāhu-daṇḍa-
vidhvamsita-pra[tipa]ksha-
- 22 darpp-ōdayah⁹ sva-dhanu[h*]-prā(pra)bhāva-[pari*]bhūt-āstrakausal-ābhimāna-
sakala-nripati-maṇḍa[ī-ā*]bhinandita-śāsanā(na)h para[mamā]hēśvarah
grī(śrī)-Dharasā(sē)nah [II*] Tasy=ānujah ta[t]-p[ād-ānu]-
- 23 ddhyātaḥ sachcharit-[ā*]turu(śa)yita-sakala-pū[r*]vva-narapatih dus-
sādhana[nā*]m=api prasādhayitā vishay[ā*]nām mū[r]tt[i]m[ā*]n=iva
puruṣakaraḥ¹⁰ parividdha-gu[n-ā]nūrāga-[nir]bhā-
- 24 ra-chitta-vṛtti[bhi*]h Manur-iva svā(sva)yam-ābhyupapannaḥ prakṛitibhir-
avi(dhi)gata-kalā-kalāpa[h*] kānti-tiraskṛita-salāchhanaḥ¹¹-kumudā(da)-
nātha[h*] prājya-pratāpa-sthagita-diga[n]tarāla[h]
- 25 pradhvamsita-dhvānta-rāsih¹² satat-ōdita-savitā prakṛtibhya[h*] para[m*]pra-
tyayam=artthavāntam=atipa(ba)hutitha-prayōjan-ānubandhamam¹³= [ā*]gama-
paribhū(pū)ṛṇa[m*] vidadhāma(na)h sandhi-vigraha-
- 26 samāsa-nischaya-nipuna[h*] sthānam=anupadēśam dadantam¹⁴ guṇa-vṛddhi-
rājadinita¹⁵-sa[m*]sk[ā*]ra-sādhunām rājya-Śālātu[r]iṣya-tantrayōr-ubhayōr=api
nishpātaḥ prakkri-
- 27 ti-vikramō=pi karuṇā-mṛidu-hridayah śrutavān=apy=i(a)-garvv[i*]taḥ kāntō=pi
praśami(mi) śi(śhi)ra-sauh[ā*]rddō=pi nirasitā dōśhadōśha¹⁶vatām-
udaya-samupajan[i]-
- 28 ta-jan-ānūrāga-parivṛi[m*]hita-bhūvāna-samarthhita-pratāpa-Bhāḍityi(tya)-dvitīya-
nām[ā*] paramamāhagvāna¹⁷ grī(śrī)-Dharasanaḥ¹⁸ [II*] Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pādaradēla¹⁹-prajā-
- 29 ma-dharani-kashapa-di(ja)nita-kiṇa-lāmcchana-lalāta-chandra-śa(śa)kala[h*] śiśu-
bhāva ēva śravaṇa-nihita-māktik-ālamkāra-vibhram-āmala-śruta-viśō(śē)-
sha[h*] pradāna-sa-

¹ Read *kautal*.² Omit this word.³ Omit this second *svayam*.⁴ Read *prathama*.⁵ This *visarga* is imperfect, only the upper part being engraved.⁶ Read *adhigama-vihita*.⁷ Read *paritōsh*.⁸ Read *vibhōśanaḥ*.⁹ Read *salāchhana*.¹⁰ Read *ānubandham*.¹¹ Read *śikhā-ānūrāgam=ddiam dadantam*.¹² Read *vidhāna-janita*.¹³ Omit this second *dōśha*.¹⁴ Read *māhēśvara*.¹⁵ Read *dharmasnaḥ*, on the authority of line 9-10 of his own grant of the year 310 (*Ind. Ant.* VI. p. 13), and of subsequent inscriptions.¹⁶ Read *pādukamala*.

- 30 lila-kshālit-āgrahastāravindah Vyāsa¹ iva mṛidu-kara-grahāṇād-amandīkrit-
ānanda-vidhiḥ vasu[m*]dharāyāḥ rā(ka)rmmurā(ka)-dhanurv[é*]da iva
sabhāvināśapra²-lakshya-kalāpa[h*] pra-
- 31 ṇata - samasta - sāmanta - maṇḍal - āpamōnirbhṛta - chūḍāmaṇiyamāna³ - śāṣanaḥ
parama[māhē*]śvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahār[ā*]jādhirāja-param[é*]śvara-
chakravartti-śrī⁴-Dha-
- 32 rasēnaḥ [II*] Tat-pitāmaha-bhrātri-śrī-Śilādityasya Vā(śā)rṅgapāpēr-iv-
āgrajanmanō⁵ bhakti-bandhur-āvayava-[kalpita-pranatē]r-ati-dhavalayā tat-
pādāravinda-prāpri(vri)ttayā charaṇa-nakha-mapi-
- 33 [ru]chā Maṇḍākiny-ēva nityā(tya)m-amalit-ōttamāmva(ga)dēśasy-Āva(ga)-
styasy=[é*]va rājakchō(rshē)ḥ d[ā*]kshinyam-ānatavānasya⁶ prabala-
dhavalivnō(mnā) yaga(śa)sām valay[é*]na ma-
- 34 [ṇḍita]-kakubhā navayātharalitāśēpiḥkhaḍgaparivama⁷-maṇḍalasya payē(yō)da-
śyāma-śikhara-chūchura-kachi-sama-vinyasta-stana⁸-yugāyāḥ kshit[é]ḥ
paty[u]ḥ śrī-[Dērabha]ṭa-
- 35 sy-āgrajaḥ⁹ kshiti[pa*]-sa[m]hatēḥ charu vibhāgasya¹⁰ gu(śu)chir-yyagō-
ṅguka¹¹-bhṛtaḥ svayamvar-ābhilāshītm-iva rāj[y]a-śriyam-arpayantyaḥ
krita-par[ī*]graha[h] śauryyam-apratihā-
- 36 ta-pratāp-ānamita¹²-prachanḍa-ripu-maṇḍalam maṇḍalāgram-apālampadhuānaḥ¹³
śaradi prasabham-[ā*]kriṣṭa-silimukha-pā(bā)ṇasan-āpādita-prasādha[nānām]
37 para-bhuvām vidhivad-ācharita-kara-grahanaḥ pūrvvam=[é*]va vividha-varṇ(rṇ)-
ōj[ī*]valēna gru(śru)t-ātīśay[é*]n-ō[dbhā]sita-śravaṇa-yugalaḥ puna[h]-punar-
uktēn-ēva ratn-ā]-
- 38 [la]ṇ[k]Arēṇ-ālanakṛita-grōtrā¹⁴ parisphurat-kā(ka)ṭaka-vikaṭa-kṛta-paksha-ratna-
kīraṇam-ipachchhinna¹⁵-pradāna-salila-nivahānavasē[ka¹⁶-vilasan-ava-śaival-ām]-
- 39 kuram-ap¹⁷-āgrapāpim-udvaha[n*] dhṛita-viś[ā*]la-ratna-pa(va)laya-jaladhi-vēl[ā*]-
tatāyam[ā*]na-bhuja-parishvakta-viśvam[bha]rah paramam[ā*]hēśvaraḥ śrī-
Dhruvasēnaś-Tasy-Āgra=

¹ Read *kanyādyā*.² Read *sambhūvit-dīśha*.³ Read *maṇḍal-ōttamāṅga-dhṛita-chūḍāmaṇiyamāna*.⁴ In line 39 of the grant of Dharasēna IV. himself, of the year 326, Āshādha śukla 10, the reading is *chakravartti śrī-ajjaka-pād-ānudhyātāḥ śrī* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 16); also in his grant of the same year, Māgha bahula 5, of which we have only the translation of the second plate (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 45).—In all the subsequent grants, the epithet *śrī-ajjaka-pād-ānudhyātāḥ* was, for some reason or other, omitted, as here; even in his own grants of the year 330 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 75, line 41, and Vol. XV. p. 340, line 40).⁵ Read *ānaganmanō*, in accordance with line 29 of the next available grant of the generation after this, that of Kharagraha II. of the year 337 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 78).⁶ Read *ānatavānasya*.⁷ Read *nabhāsi yāminīpatēr-vivirachit-ākhaṇḍa-parivēśha*.⁸ Read *chūchuka-ruchira-sahya-vindhya-stana*.⁹ Read *ānagajah*, on the authority of line 32 of the grant of Kharagraha II., quoted above, note 5; and of most of the subsequent grants.¹⁰ Read *samhatēr-anurāginyah*.¹¹ Read *yaśō-ātuka*.¹² Read *apratihata-vyāpḍram-ānamitā*.¹³ Read *iv-ālabamānaḥ*.¹⁴ Read *śrōtrah*.¹⁵ Read *avichchhinna*.¹⁶ Read *nivah-āvasēka*.¹⁷ Read *iv*.

Second Plate.

- 40 [jô'-para]-ma[hpa]ti-sparddha(rsa)-dôsha-nâga(śa)na-dh[i]y=[ê]va ^{lakshmya}
svayam-atispashta-chêshṭam-aśliṣṭ-āṅgayash [tir-atiruchirātara-charita-garima-
parikalita-sakala-na]rapa[t]ir-ati-
41 prakriṣṭ - ānuraḡa - [sa*]rabhaṣa - vaśikṛita - prapata - sāmāśia - sāmanta - chakra -
chôḍāmaṇi-mayûkha-[khachita-charanakamala-yugalāh] prôddām-[ôḍara]-
dô[rddanḍa]-dalita-dvishad-va-
42 rgga-darppah ^{prasarppat-paṭlyah}pratâpa-plôshit-âśêsha-satru-va[m*]śah prapayi-
paksha-ni[kshipta-lakshmi]kah prêrita-gad-ôtksh[i]pta-su[darśana-chakra]h
parihrita-
43 [bala-kri]dô-anadhahkṛita-dvijâtir-êka-vikrama-prasâdhita-dharitritâlô=^{namgikṛita}
jalaśayy[ô-pûrvva-purushôṭta]mah [sâkshâd-dharmma iva samyag-
vya]vasthâ-
44 pita-varṇn-âśram-âchârah pûrvvair-apy=urvvi(rvvi)patibhih trishṇâ-lava-lubdhaih
yâny-apahritâ[ni dēva-brahma]-d[ê]yâ[ni tē]shâm=apy=[atisarala]-manah-
pra-
45 [sa]ra-mut-sa[nka]la[n-ânu]môḍanâbhyâm parimudita-tri(tri)bhuvaṇ-abhinandit-
ôchchhrit-ôtkriṣṭa-dhavaḷa-dha[rmma]-dh[vaja]h [prakâśita-ni]ja-vanśah
d[ê]va-dviija-gurû[n=prati]pôjya yathârha[m=anavarata]-
46 pravarttita-mah-ôḍraṅg-[â]di-dâna-vyavasan-ânapajâta²-samtôsh-ôpât-ôḍara-
kîrtti³-[param]parâ-[danturita-ni]kh[i]la-dikchakravâlāh [spasṭam=êva
ya]th-ârttha[m] Dharmmâdityi(tya)-
47 [dvi]tiya-nâmâ para[ma*]mahêśvarah śrî-Kharagrahaḥ [ii*] Tasy-âgra-
janmanah⁴ kumuda-shaṇḍa-śrî-[vikâsinyâ kalâvataś-chandrikay=êva kîrttyâ
dhavalita-sa]kala-digmaṇḍa-
48 lasya khamḍit-âguru-[vi]lêpana-vidâ⁵-śyâmalâ-Vindhya-[śai]la-vipula-payôdharâyāh
kshi[tēh patyu]h śrî-Śilâdityasya sūnu[r=nava-prâlêy]akiraṇa i]va
49 pratidina-samvarddhamâna-hṛidaya⁶-kalâ-chandra(kra)vâlāh [kêsar]indira-[ś]iṣur=iva
râja-lakshmi⁷ sakalâ⁸-vanâ[sthalim=i]v=âlamkurvvāṇah [śikha]ṇḍikêṭana
iva ruchi[mach-chôḍâ]-ma[ṇḍanah]
50 prachanḍa-śakti-prabhâvaś=cha śarad-âgama iva⁹ dvishatām parama-

¹ It is rather peculiar that the elder brother should be mentioned after the younger. The reading, *agrajâ*, however, is the same in line 37 of Kharagraha's own grant of the year 337 (*Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 78*), which seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt; and the same reading is repeated in all the later grants without exception.—See also note 4 below.

² Read *vyavasthân-ôpajâta*, or *vyavasy-ôpajâta*.

³ Read *kîrtti*.

⁴ Here we have another instance of the elder brother being mentioned after the younger (see note 1 above). But, except that *agrajah* is written by mistake for *agrajanmanah*, the reading is the same in line 47 of the next grant after this generation, that of Śilâditya III. of the year 352, the son of Śilâditya II. who is now under notice (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 308*); and this seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt. Also, the same reading that we have here, *agrajanmanah*, is repeated in all the later grants.

⁵ Read *piṇḍa*.

⁶ Omit this word *hṛidaya*.

⁷ Read *lakshmi=achala*.

⁸ A considerable amount of matter is omitted here. The full passage should run — *śarad-âgama iva pratipadân-ullâsat-padmaḥ samyag-vidalayann=ambhōdharân=iva para-gajân=udaya-âḍipana-bâldâpa iva samgrâmtshu mushann=abhimukhândm=âjûmshu dvishatām*.

- māhēśvaraḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa¹-pād-
 ānuddhyātaḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-[mahārāja]- 3
- 51 jādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ ³ śrī-Śīlādityadēvaḥ² Tasya sutāḥ pāramaiśvaryya[h*]
 kōp-ākriṣṭa-nīstri(śrī)ṇṣa-pāta-vidalit-ārāti-kari-kumbhasthal-ōllasat³ pra[srita-
 ma]ha-pratāp-ānalāḥ prā[kāra]-
- 52 [parigata*]-jaganmaṇḍala-labdha-sthitih vikāṭa-nija-dōrddand-āvalambinā sakala-
 bhuvan-ābhōga-bhāja manth-āspālana-vidhu[ta-dugdhasi]ndhu-phē[na-piṇḍa-
 pā]ṇḍura-yaśō-vitā[nēna]
- 53 vihit-ātapatrah parama[māhē*]śvaraḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
 paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
 pa[rāmēśva]ra-[śrī]-Śīlāditya[dēvaḥ] [II*]⁴ [Tat-putrah]
- 54 pratāp-ānurāga-pranāta-samasta-sāmanta-chūḍāmāri-nakha-mayūkha⁵-⁶ nīchita-
 rañ[ji]ta-pādāravindah parama[mā*]hēśvaraḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārāja-
 dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-[bappa]-pād-a-
- 55 nuddhyātaḥ⁵ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Śīlāditya-
 dēva[h] [II*]⁵ Tasy-ātmajāḥ prasamita-ri(?)pu(?)bala-darppaḥ vipula-jaya-
 māṅgal-āśrayaḥ śrī-samāli[ga]na-lāli]ta-
- 56 vakṣā[h*] sam[u*]pōdha-nārasingha-vigrah-ōrjijit-ō[d*]dhura-śaktih samuddhā-
 (ddha)ta-vipaksha-bhūbhrit-kṛita-nikhila-gōmaṇḍala-rakṣaḥ puruṣ-ōttama[h*]
 prapātanābhūta⁶-pārthiva-kīrti-
- 57 [mā]ṇikyā - [ma]sripitā⁷ charaṇa-nakha-mayūkha-ramjit-⁸ āgējā⁸-digvadhū-mukhaḥ
 paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-
 pā-
- 58 [d-ā]nuddhyātaḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārāladhirāja⁹-paramēśvara-śrī-Śīlāditya-
 dēvaḥ⁹ paramamāhēśvaraḥ⁹ [II*]⁹ Tasy⁹-ātmajāḥ prathita-dussaha-vīryya-
 chakrō lakshmy-ālay[ō]
- 59 [nara]ka-nāśa-kṛita-prayatnaḥ prithvi-samuddharaṇa-kāryya-kṛit-aika-niṣṭhaḥ
 sampūrṇa-chandra-kara-ni[r*]mmala-jāta-kīrttiḥ [II*]⁹ jñāta-[tra]y[ī]-[g]uṇa-
 mayō jita-vai[r]i-pakṣaḥ sampā[nna]-
- 60 [-]ma(?)sukhaḥ sukha-daḥ sad-aiva jñān-ālaya[h*] sakala-vandita-lōkapālō
 vidyādharaṇa-anugataḥ prathitaḥ pri(pri)thivyām [II*]⁹ Ratn-ōj[j*]valō
 vara-tanu-

¹ Read *bāva*, in accordance with line 46 of the grant of the next generation after this, that of Śīlāditya IV. of the year 372 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99); with lines 45 and 46 of the two grants of Śīlāditya V. of the year 403 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 343; and *Indian Inscriptions*, Nos. 15 and 16); and with the explanation that I give below, on the translation of this passage.—In line 51 of the grant of Śīlāditya VI. of the year 441 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 20), the reading is *bappa*, as here, wrongly.—In line 51 of the grant of Śīlāditya III. himself of the year 352 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 309), the whole passage between *paramamāhēśvaraḥ* and *śrī-Śīlādityadēvaḥ*, including both the reference to *bāva* and his own regal titles, is omitted.

² Several words are omitted before this. The full reading is *tasya sūtō-para-prithvī-nirmāṇa-vyavasthā-dādita-pāramaiśvaryyaḥ*.

³ Read *chūḍāmāri-mayūkha*.

⁴ Read *pranāta-prabhūta*.

⁵ Read *diśka*.

⁶ Read *paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*.

⁷ This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in the preceding line.

⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the following three verses.

- 61 [r-ggu]ṇa-ratna-rāsiḥ aiśvaryya-vikrama-guṇaiḥ paramair-upētaḥ sat[¹*]v-
 ōpakāra-karaṇē satataṁ pravṛttaḥ s[ā²*]kshāj=[³*]anārdana(na) iv-
 ārdita-dushta-darppaḥ [11*]
- 62 • Yuddhā⁴ sakrid-gā(ga)ja-ghaṭā-ghaṭan-aika-dakṣaḥ puny-ālayō jagati gīta-
 mahā-pratāpaḥ rājādhirāja-param[ē⁵*]śvara-vaṁśa-janmā śrī-Dhrūbhatō
 jayati jā-
- 63 ta-mahā-pramōdām⁶ [11*] [Sa cha⁷*] paramēśvaraḥ⁸ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājā-
 dhirāja-paramēśvara⁹-śrī-pa(ba)ppa-pāp(d)-ānuddhyātaḥ para(rā)mabhāṭṭāra-
 na(ka)-mahārājā-
- 64 dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Śilādityadēvaḥ¹⁰ sarvān=ēva samājñāpayaty=Asṭu
 vaḥ sarṇvidita[m¹¹*] yathā mayā m[ā¹²*]tāpitṛrō-ātmanāś=cha puṇya-yaśō-
 bhivṛi-
- 65 ddhayē aihik-āmushmika-phal-āvaty-artham śrīmadĀnandapuravāstavya-
 tachchāturvīdyasāmānya-Ś[ā¹³*]rkkarākshisagōśra(tra)-bahuvrichasabrahmachāri-
 66 bhāṭṭ-Ākhaṇḍalamitrāyē(ya) bhāṭṭa-Vishṇu-putrāya bali-charu-vaiśva-dēv-
 āgnihoṭra-kratu-kri(kri)y-ādy-utsarppaṇ-ātthē¹⁴ grī(śrī)-Khētak-āhārē
 Uppalahēta-
- 67 pathakē Mahila(Plā)bali-n[ā¹⁵*]ma-grāmaḥ s-ōdraṅga[h¹⁶*] s-[ō¹⁷*]parikā(ka)rah
 s-ōtpadyā(dya)māna-viśṭikah sa-bhūta-pā(vā)ta-pratyādōyah¹⁸ s-daś-
 āparādhah sa-
- 68 bhōga-bhāgaḥ sa-dhānya-hirany-ād[ē¹⁹*]yah sarvva-rājakiyānaḥ a-hasta-
 prakṣhōpaśtyah²⁰ pūrvva-pradatta-dōpadāya-prahmadāya-varjā²¹ bhūā(bhū)mi-
 chchhidra-nyāy[ē²²*]n-ā-cha[n[dr]-ā[r²³*]kk-ā-
- 69 rṇava-kṣhiti-parvata-samakālinah putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgya uday(k)-
 ātisarggēṇa brahmadāyatvēna pratipāditaḥ [1*] yatō=bhy(sy)=ōchitayā
 brahmadā[ya-sthi]-
- 70 tyā bhūnjataḥ kṛishataḥ karshāpayataḥ pratidiśatō vā na kaiśchid=
 vyāśēdhē vartitavya[m²⁴*] ॥ Āgāmi-bhadra-nrī(nrī)patibhiḥ a-
- 71 smad-vaṁśa-jair-anyair-vv-ā-nityānityāny²⁵-aiśvaryāny=a-sthira[m²⁶*] mānujya-
 (shya)kaṁ sāmānyam cha bhūmi-dānam²⁷-phalam avagachchhadbhiḥ
 ayam=a-
- 72 smad-dāyō-numantavyaḥ pālayitavyaś=cha [11*] Uktañ=cha pē(vē)da-
 vyāśō(sē)na Vyā²⁸sēna [1*] Bahubhi[r²⁹*]=vvāsura dhā³⁰ bhuktā rājabhiḥ
 Sagar-ādibhiḥ

¹ Read *yuddhē*.² Read *pramōdah*.³ Read *paramamāhēśvaraḥ*.⁴ Read *paramēśvara*.⁵ Read *śrītham*.⁶ Read *pratyāyah*.⁷ Read *rājakiyānām=a-hasta-prakṣhēpaśtyah*.⁸ Read *dīvādāya-brahmadāya-varjām*.⁹ Read *vv=d-nityāny*.¹⁰ Read *dāna*.¹¹ The engraver first formed apparently *gyā*, and then corrected it into *vyā*.¹² Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).¹³ Read *vasudhā*.

- 73 *yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phala[m*] I(II) Yān¹-lha*
dattāni purā nna(na)rēndraiḥ dhanāni dharmmayatanākriātāni²
nirmālya-vāntaḥ³.
- 74 *prati[mā]ni tāni kē(kō) nāma [sā*]dhu[h*] pratir-ādādītaḥ⁴ [II*]*
Shasīṭi⁵-varva(rsha)-sahasrāni sva[r]gg[ē*] tishṭhati bhu(bhū)mi-daḥ⁶*
a(ā)chchhētā ch-ānumant[ā] chcha(cha) tāny-ēva nara-*
- 75 *[kē va]sēt II Bhushv-ātavishv⁷=a-tē(tō)yāsu sushu⁸-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ krishṇ-*
[ā]hayō hi jāyantō(ntē) bhūmi-d[ā*]yam haranti y[ē*] II Dutakē⁹-tra*
mahāpratīhā-
- 76 *[ra]...¹⁰ h[ā*]kshapaṭalika-tra-rājakula¹⁰-śrī-Siddhasēna[h*] gri(śrī)-Śarvvaṭa-*
sutaḥ [I] tava(thā) tanniyukta-pratinartaka-kulaputr-āsā(mā)-*
- 77 *tya-G[u]hēna Hembāṭa-putrēna likhitam¹¹=iti II Samva[t]sara-śata-*
chatuṣṭayē sapta-chatvāriṇśad-adhikē Dyēpṭha¹²-suddha-paṁchamyām
ānka-
- 78 *ta[h*] sava¹³ 400 40 7 Śrē(jyē)shṭha gu(śu) 5 [II*] Sva-hastō*
mama¹⁴ [II]*

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From the victorious camp located at the famous town of **Ānanda-pura**:¹⁵—In unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Bhaṭārka**,—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the **Maitrakas**, who had by force bowed down (*their*) enemies; (*and*) who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (*his*) hereditary servants, who had been brought under subjection by (*his*) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (*to him*) by affection,—(*there was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Guhasēna**,—whose sins were all removed by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were the feet of (*his*) parents; whose sword was verily a second arm (*to him*) from childhood;¹⁶ the test

¹ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

² Read *āyatanīkriātāni*.

³ Read *vānta*.

⁴ Read *punar-ādādīta*.

⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anusṭubh); and in the following verse.

⁶ Read *vindhy-ātavishv*.

⁷ Read *sushka*.

⁸ Read *dūtakō*.

⁹ Two very doubtful *aksharas*, or perhaps three, are engraved here. Dr. Bühler read them as *śrī-dēṭa*, giving the proper name of Dēṭaha. But we ought to have simply the *ma* of *mahāksha-paṭalika*.

¹⁰ Read *paṭalika-rājakula*. The *tra* is meaningless; and it is not easy to see how it came to be introduced.

¹¹ Supply *śāsanam*.

¹² Read *jyēshṭha*.

¹³ Read *samvat*.

¹⁴ In the original, these two words, with a representation of the sign-manual underneath them, stand in an enclosure at the end of lines 70-78.

¹⁵ The proper context is in line 64,—“The glorious Śrīādityadēva (VII.) issues a command to all people.”

¹⁶ See page 168 above, note 2.

of whose strength was manifested by clapping (*his*) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (*his*) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (*his*) feet interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (*his*) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of 'king' was obvious and suitable, because he pleased the hearts of (*his*) subjects by preserving the proper rites of the path prescribed by all the traditionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (*respectively*) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himālaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Bṛihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanēśa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear to those who came for protection, was indifferent to all the (*other*) results of his vigour, as if they were (*of as little value as*) straw; who delighted the hearts of learned people and (*his*) friends and favourites, by giving (*them*) wealth greater (*even*) than their requests; (*and*) who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(Line 7).—His son, whose sins were all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhnavī spread out by the diffusion [of the rays*] of the nails of his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Dharasēna (II.)**,—whose riches were the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who was with eagerness, as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty, resorted to by (*all*) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind; who astonished all archers by the speciality of (*his*) innate strength and (*skill acquired by*) practice; who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averted calamities that would have afflicted (*his*) subjects; who was the exponent of (*the condition of being*) the one (*joint*) habitation of wealth and learning; whose prowess was skilful in enjoying¹ the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (*his*) enemies; (*and*) who possessed a spotless princely glory, acquired by (*his*) prowess.

(L. 10).—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Śilāditya (I.)**, who acquired the second name of **Dharmāditya** by the pursuit of wealth, happiness, and riches, illumined by conformity with religion,—who pervaded all the regions with the excess of (*his*) wonderful good qualities that gladdened all mankind; who supported the great burden of weighty desires on a cushion that was (*his*) shoulder, radiant with the lustre of (*his*) scimeter that was possessed of the brilliance of victory in a hundred battles; who, though (*his*) intellect was pure through mastering the endmost divisions of the limits of all the sciences, was easily to be gratified with even a small amount of good conversation; who, though (*his*) heart possessed a profundity that could be fathomed by no people, yet had a most agreeable disposition that was displayed by the excess of (*his*) good actions; (*and*) who acquired an eminent reputation by clearing out the blocked-up path (*of the good behaviour*) of the kings of the Kṛita age.

(L. 14).—His younger brother,² who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Kharagraha (I.)**,—who possessed a wealth [of vigour*] that was not worn out, either with fatigue or with pleasurable enjoyment, when, bearing the yoke as if he were a most choice bullock, he was carrying on (*his*) shoulders, with the sole object of fulfilling his commands,³ the goddess of sovereignty, even while she was still an object to be longed for by (*his*) elder (*brother*) who, excessively full

¹ See page 169 above, note 3.

² See page 177 above, note 1.

³ i.e. the commands of Śilāditya I.

of respect (*for him*), (*behaved*) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (*brother*) of Upendra;¹ who, though (*his*) footstool was covered over with the lustre of the jewels on the heads of a hundred kings subdued by (*his*) wealth of power, had a disposition that was not imbued with the sentiment of haughtiness (*induced*) by contempt for other people; by (*whose*) enemies, even though renowned for manliness and pride, no remedy, except the performance of obeisance alone, could be successfully employed; the collection of whose pure virtues effected the happiness of the whole world; who forcibly destroyed all the specious procedure of (*this wicked*) Kali age; whose very noble heart was not tainted by any of the faults that assert an ascendancy over inferior people; who was renowned for manliness; who excelled in knowledge of the sacred writings; (*and*) who manifested (*his*) attainment of being accounted the first among heroes, by being spontaneously chosen (*as her lord and husband*) by the goddess of the fortunes of the assembled hostile kings.

(L. 19.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Dharasēna (III.)**,—who, by mastering all the sciences, produced an excess of joy in the minds of all learned people; who, with (*his*) goodness and wealth and liberality, and with (*his*) heroism, broke the chariot-axes that were the thoughts of (*his*) enemies who, occupied in intense reflection (*upon his might*), lost the power of acting in concert (*against him*); who, though thoroughly well conversant with the devious divisions of the many sacred writings and the arts and sciences and the proceedings of mankind, still had a nature that was of the most gracious kind; who, though possessed of innate affability, was (*still further*) decorated with the grace of modesty; who destroyed the display of pride of (*his*) opponents by the staff of (*his*) arm that was uplifted in the act of capturing banners of victory in a hundred battles; (*and*) whose commands were hailed with joy by the whole array of kings whose pride, induced by (*their*) skill in the use of weapons, was subdued by the power of his own bow.

(L. 22.)—His younger brother, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Dhruvasēna (II.)**,² whose famous second name of **Bālāditya** was established as one of appropriate meaning, through the (*whole*) world being pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by (*his*) rising;³—who surpassed all previous kings in excellent achievements; who was the accomplisher of objects, even such as were hard to be attained;⁴ who was, as it were, the very personification of manhood; who, as if he were Manu, was spontaneously resorted to by (*his*) subjects, the action of whose thoughts excelled in affection for (*his*) great good qualities; who mastered all the arts and sciences; who, in beauty, put to shame the moon, which (*lustrous as it is, still*) is marked with spots; who pervaded with (*his*) great brilliance all the intermediate spaces between the points of the compass; who destroyed

¹ Upendra, the younger brother of Indra, is Vishṇu. The allusion seems to be to the contest between Vishṇu (in his incarnation as Kṛishṇa) and Indra concerning the tree of Indra's paradise, in which Vishṇu was victorious and had homage done to him by Indra (see the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, book V. chap. xxx.; Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, Vol. V. p. 97. ff.)—On this analogy, it would seem that the two brothers, Śīlāditya I. and Kharagraha I., had some dispute about the leadership of their family; and that eventually Śīlāditya I. conceded the question to his younger brother.

² See page 175 above, note 15.

³ The play on words is on the meaning of *bālāditya*, 'the young sun, the rising sun.'

⁴ Or "who was the conqueror of territories, even such as were hard to be subdued."

the mass of darkness; who, being a sun that was always risen, was (*ever*) conferring upon (*his*) subjects confidence of the highest kind, that was fully justified, (*and*) was the result of the-very various objects with which he busied himself (*for their welfare*), (*and*) was filled out with (*constant*) augmentation; who, being clever (*on the one side*) in determining peace and war and reconciliation (*and on the other*) in settling the euphonic joining of letters and the analysis of words and composition, was thoroughly well versed even in both the rituals of sovereignty and of Śālāturiya,¹ (*the text-books on the one side*) of those who give commands suitable to the rank (*of their subordinates*) (*and on the other side*) of those who apply substituted grammatical forms suitable to the places (*that they are to fill*), (*and on the one side*) of those who are eminent in refinement effected by the employment of an increase of virtue, (*and on the other side*) of those who excel in the perfection of language effected by the employment of the *guṇa*² and *vṛiddhi*³ changes of vowels; who, though naturally valorous, possessed a heart that was tender through compassion; who, though well acquainted with sacred learning, was free from pride; who, though beautiful, was full of tranquillity; (*and*) who, though firm in friendship, repudiated people pervaded with faults.

(L. 28.)—His son, whose forehead, resembling a portion of the moon, had on it a spot that was the mark caused by rubbing against the earth in performing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraṇa*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Chakravartin*,⁴ the glorious *Dharasēna* (IV.),—who, in very childhood, had a speciality of sacred learning that was as pure as the beauty of the pearl-ornaments worn in (*his*) ears; who had the waterlilies that were (*his*) fingers besprinkled with the stream of (*constant*) liberality; who intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes, as if he were intensifying the happiness of a maiden by tenderly taking (*her*) hand (*in marriage*); who, as if he were (*the very personification of*) the science of archery of bowmen, perceived at once all objects that should be aimed at; (*and*) whose commands were like the jewels in the locks of hair worn on the heads of all the chieftains who bowed down before (*him*).

(L. 32.)—Of the son⁵ of the illustrious Śīlāditya (I.),⁶ who was the (*elder*) brother of his father's father⁷ (*Kharagraha* I.), (*and*) who was, as it were, (the god) Śāringa-

¹ The grammarian Pāṇini, as having been born in the town of Śālātura. The play on words here rests on the ordinary and grammatical meanings of *sam̐dhi*, *vigraha*, and the other terms employed.

² The formative change of *i*, and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, *ri* and *rī*, and *lri*, into *ē*, *ō*, *ar* or *ra* and *al*.

³ The formative change of *a*, *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, *ri* and *lri*, into *ā*, *ai*, *au*, *ār* or *rā*, and *āl*.

⁴ *Chakravartin* is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as meaning "a ruler, the wheels (*chakra*) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction;" or "the ruler of a *chakra* or country described as extending from sea to sea." Another explanation is given in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, book I. chap. xiii. verse 46 (see Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. I. p. 183, and note 1), *vis*. "a discus (*chakra*), the sign of (the god) Vishṇu, (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all *Chakravartins*; (and such a ruler is one) whose prowess cannot be withstood even by the gods."—The word *Chakravartin* denotes 'an universal ruler;' and is one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty, though it is not of such frequent occurrence as the others are (see page 10 above, note 3).—This *Dharasēna*'s own grant of the year 326, inserts, after *Chakravartin*, the epithet "who meditated on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather" (see page 176 above, note 4).

⁵ See page 176 above, note 5.

⁶ Mentioned in line 14 above.

⁷ i.e. of the father's father of the last-mentioned king, *Dharasēna* IV.

pāpi,—(*viz.*) of the illustrious **Dērabhaṭa**, who performed obeisance with (*his*) limbs bowed down through attachment; whose head was always rendered pure, as if by (the river) **Mandākinī**, by the very dazzling lustre, proceeding from the waterlilies that were his feet,¹ of the jewels that were the nails of (*his*) feet; who, as if **Agastya**, was a royal saint, displaying courtesy on all sides; who with the amazingly white circle of (*his*) fame, that adorned the points of the compass, formed an entire halo round the moon in the sky; (*and*) who was the lord of the earth which has (the mountains) **Sahya** and **Vindhya** for (*its*) lovely breasts,² the nipples of which are (*their*) summits that are made of a dark-blue colour by the clouds (*resting upon them*),—the son³ (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) **Mahēśvara**, the illustrious **Dhruvasēna** (III.),—who accepted in marriage the goddess of royalty, just as if she were longing to choose (*him*) of her own accord, from the assemblage of kings, full of affection (*for him*) (*and*) wearing fine garments that were (*their*) resplendent reputations, which offered (*her to him*); who relied upon (*his*) heroism, which was never exerted in vain, as if upon a scimitar which bowed down the array of (*his*) fierce enemies; who, in the autumn season,⁴ according to proper custom levied taxes from (*his*) enemies' lands, the quiet state of which was upset by (*his*) bow, the arrows of which were forcibly drawn out to the full; who, having (*his*) ears already decorated with an excess of sacred learnings, radiant with a variety of topics, had them (*still further*) adorned with the embellishment of jewels, as if it were (*with that sacred learning*) repeated again and again; who,—holding up a fore-arm which, (*covered*) with gleaming bracelets and beautiful insects and rays of jewels, was as it were a fresh sprout of a *śaivala*-plant⁵ looking charming in the waters that were (*his*) ceaseless gifts,—embraced the (*whole*) earth with (*his*) arms which, wearing great jewelled bands, behaved as if they were the banks of the shores of the ocean.

(L. 39).—His elder⁶ brother (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) **Mahēśvara**, the illustrious **Kharagraha** (II.), who, in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of **Dharmāditya**—whose slender body was embraced in a very public fashion by the goddess of fortune herself, who was minded, as it were, to destroy the pollution of the touches of other kings; who surpassed all (*other*) kings by the greatness of (*his*) exceedingly brilliant achievements; who had the waterlilies that were (*his*) feet studded with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (*their*) heads of the whole assemblage of chieftains who bowed down when they had been subdued by the violence of (*his*) excessive affection (*for him*); who broke the pride of the multitude of (*his*) enemies with the large and lofty staff of (*his*) arm; who scorched the whole race of (*his*) foes with (*his*) very hot brilliance that spread itself abroad; who delivered over (*all his*) wealth to the ranks of (*his*) favourites;⁷ who had a mace that he hurled, and a nice-looking discus that he threw; who discarded childish sports; who never treated the twice-born with contempt; who ac-

¹ *i.e.* the feet of **Dhruvasēna** IV.

² See page 86 above, note 2.

³ See page 176 above, note 9.

⁴ As being suitable for campaigns, and also for marriages, as indicated by the meaning of this sentence, in which *para-bhuvām* means "his enemies' daughters."

⁵ The aquatic plant, *Vallisneria Octandra*.

⁶ See page 177 above, note 1.

⁷ In this and some of the following sentences, he is, through their secondary meanings, compared and contrasted with the god **Vishṇu**.

quired the (*whole*) surface of the earth by (*his*) prowess alone; who approved not of making his couch among stupid people; who was one of the best of men of a kind that was unprecedented; who, as if he were the personification of religion, properly regulated the practices of the different castes and stages of life; whose lofty and excellent white banner of religion was hailed by the three worlds that were gladdened by (*his*) collecting together, in the joy of (*his*) very upright disposition, and then assenting to (*the continuance of the enjoyment of*), even those grants to gods and Brāhmanas that had been confiscated by previous kings, who were made avaricious by a little greed; who glorified his own lineage; (*and*) who, having done worship to the gods and Brāhmanas and spiritual preceptors, filled all the circuit of the regions with the continuity of (*his*) excellent reputation acquired by (*their*) satisfaction produced by (*his*) settlement of liberal grants of the *udraṅga*¹ and other (*rights*) which were ceaselessly made (*by him*) according to the merits (*of the recipients*).)

(L. 47.)—Of his elder brother,² the illustrious Śīlāditya (II.),³—who made all the regions white with (*his*) fame, as if with the light of the full-moon that makes the beauty of the waterlilies to develop itself; (*and*) who was the lord of the earth, the bulky breasts of which are the Vindhya mountains of a dark-blue colour like cakes of ointment made of pounded aloe-bark,—the son (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Śīlādityadēva (III.),—who day by day increased (*his*) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold-rayed (moon) day by day increasing (*its*) digits; who adorned the goddess of sovereignty, like a young lordly lion adorning a forest on a mountain; who, like (the god Kārttikēya) who has the banner of a peacock, was adorned with a beautiful lock of hair on the top of the head, and was possessed of excessively great energy and majesty; who was [full of glory (*and*) possessed ample treasures*],⁴ like the approach of autumn, [which is full of warmth (*and*) causes the waterlilies to bloom *]; [who used to part asunder in battle the elephants of (*his*) enemies, just as the young sun, hot (*even*) in (*its*) rising, parts asunder the clouds*]; [who used to steal in war the lives*] of (*his*) enemies; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (*and*) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (*his*) glorious uncle.⁵

(L. 51.)—His son (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Śīlādityadēva (IV.),—[who achieved*] supreme lordship⁶ [by engaging in the creation of another world]; the diffused fire of whose great prowess played about on the temples of (*his*) enemies' elephants, which were split open by the blows of (*his*) sword that was drawn in anger; who acquired a firm position on the earth by encircling it about

¹ See page 97 above, note 6.

² See page 177 above, note 4.

³ In Dr. Bühler's genealogical table (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 208; and *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 26), this Śīlāditya, because he did not actually reign, is passed over without being numbered; with the result that the last of the family, the maker of the present grant, is called Śīlāditya VI., instead of Śīlāditya VII. But this arrangement, if endorsed, would place us under the inconvenience of having to refer to him in a very roundabout way, by specifying his father, son, or brother, in any discussion of the history of the family. He belongs to the direct line of descent; and all considerations of expediency require that he should be duly numbered, quite as much as his grandfather and descendants of the same name.

⁴ See page 177 above, note 8.

⁵ *Iḍva*.—See page 178 above, note 1, and page 186 below, note 1.

⁶ See page 178 above, note 2.—In this passage, Śīlāditya IV. is likened to the god Śiva, under the name of *Paramēśvara* or 'the supreme lord,' and as the creator (see page 155 above, note 1.)

with a rampart; whose umbrella was constituted by the canopy of (*his*) fame, white as the clusters of foam of the ocean of milk when it was stirred about by the shaking of the churning-stick, which hung out from a mighty staff that was his own arm; (*and*) which enveloped the whole circumference of the earth; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahāśvara; (*and*) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (*his*) glorious father.¹

¹ *bappa*.—This word has already occurred in line 50 above, where, however, it is a mistake for *bāva*, 'uncle.'—The word *bāva*, qualified by the paramount titles, in the epithet *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-īśi-bāva-pād-ānudyāta*, actually occurs (1) only in respect of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* Śīlāditya III., a most devout worshipper of the god Mahāśvara (Śiva), in line 46 of the grant of his son Śīlāditya IV. of the year 372 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99), and in lines 45 and 46 respectively of the two grants of Śīlāditya V. of the year 403 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 343). No other instance of the use of *bāva* is known to me.—The word *bappa* is of far more frequent use. In the Valabhi grants it occurs, qualified by the same paramount titles, in *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-īśi-bappa-pād-ānudyāta*, an epithet that is applied (2) here and in lines 54-55, 57-58, and 63 below, and in other grants as far as they go, to Śīlāditya IV. V. VI. and VII., each of whom came in direct succession after his father, and each of whom had the paramount titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, and was also a most devout worshipper of the god Mahāśvara. Among the inscriptions of other families, the same expression, *bappa-pād-ānudyāta*, without any qualifying titles of *bappa*, is used as an epithet (3) of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja* Śivadēva I. of Nēpāl (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 1-2); (4) of the *Mahāsāmanta* Amśuvarman of Nēpāl, who was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, i.e. Śiva (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 169, No. 8, line 2, and p. 170, No. 7, line 4-5); (5) of Jishnugupta of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 171, No. 9, line 4, and p. 173, No. 10, line 6-7); and (6) of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* Śivadēva II. of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, and was a most devout worshipper of the god Mahāśvara (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 174, No. 12, line 2, and p. 176, No. 13, line 2).—The same expression *bappa-pād-ānudyāta*, with the feudatory titles of *Mahārāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* qualifying *bappa*, occurs in *paramādāivata-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-īśi-pād-ānudyāta*, an epithet (7) of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja* Vasantaseṇa of Nēpāl (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3, line 1-2).—And finally, a compound of almost identical import, viz. *bappa-pāda-bhakta*, "devoted to the feet of *bappa*," occurs, with the title *Bhaṭṭāraka* qualifying *bappa*, in the epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakta*, which is applied (8) to the *Pallava Mahārāja* Sindhavarman II., who was a most devout worshipper of *Bhagavat*, i.e. the Divine One, or Viṣṇu (*id.* Vol. V. p. 155, line 13); (9) to the *Veṅgi Mahārāja* Vijayanandivarman, also a most devout worshipper of *Bhagavat* (*id.* Vol. V. p. 176, line 1); and (10) to the *Pallava Mahārāja* Nandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of *Bhagavat* (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 168, line 14-15); and, with the further qualifying title of *Mahārāja*, in the epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-pāda-bhakta*, which is applied (11) to the *Pallava Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugopavarman, again a most devout worshipper of *Bhagavat* (*id.* Vol. V. p. 51, line 14).—In publishing the two grants of Śīlāditya V. of the year 403, Mr. V. N. Mandlik (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 355, note) treated the words *bappa* and *bāva*, quite unnecessarily, as identical, and considered that they denoted "some great teacher of the Śaiva faith, or some remarkable great king of that name; but more probably the former, from the adjectives used;" or, again, some "sage, venerated equally in all parts of Hindustān." So, also, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 167, note 17) has recorded his opinion that *bappa* is "a general title used by chief priests." And I myself (*id.* Vol. X. p. 57 f., note 4), have suggested that the name is that of "some king or pontiff of very early times, whose authority was recognised universally in his own day, and was afterwards preserved in the tradition of several distinct regal families."—These suggested explanations, however, cannot be upheld.—In the first place, the epithet in which *bappa* occurs belongs undoubtedly to persons of the Śaiva faith in instances 1 to 6 above. But Nos. 8 to 11 shew that it was applicable just as much to followers of the *Vaiṣṇava* faith.—In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler (*id.* Vol. V. p. 208 f.) the feudatory title *Mahārāja* which qualifies *bappa* in Nos. 7 and 11 above, and still more, the paramount sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, which qualify it in the instances grouped under No. 2, shew that the word must refer to some one of noble or regal birth, and cannot denote a priest, no matter how high

(L. 53.)—[His son] (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭarakṣa*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Śīlādityadēva* (V.),—the waterlilies of whose feet were tinted by being covered over with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all the chieftains, who did obeisance through the affection (*produced*) by (*his*)

his rank in the hierarchy might be.—As regards the question of *bappa* being a proper name, the word does occur in this way, as the name of an official, the *Balādhikṛita* and *Bhōgika* Bappa (*id.* Vol. V. p. 212, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99, line 59); as the name of someone after whom was named the *Bappa-pādīya-vihāra*, or "Buddhist monastery of the feet of Bappa," at Valabhi (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 12, line 19); in *Bappasyāmin*, one of the grantees in the Kṛhḥ grant of the Parivṛājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the year 163 (No. 22 above, p. 103, line 11); in *Bappārya*, one of the grantees in line 53 of the Chammak grant of the Vākātaka *Mahārāja* Pravaraśeṇa II. (No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv. line 53); and in *Bappabhaṭṭi*, a Jain teacher, allotted to Vikrama-Saṃvat 800 to 895 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 253). The same word is probably a component of *Bappūra*, the name of the family to which, as recorded in an unpublished inscription of Maṅgalīśa (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 19, 22), Durlabhādēvī, the wife of the Early Chalukya king Pulikēśin I., belonged. A similar word *bāppa*, probably derived from it, occurs in *Bappaḍēva*, the name of a *Sēnāpati* in the Siwanī grant of Pravaraśeṇa II. (No. 56 below, Plate xxxv. line 35). And, finally, *Bappa* has been preserved by tradition, in 'Mewar,' as the more familiar appellation of an early Gōhila chief, who is said to have established the power of that tribe on the overthrow of the Bhīllas or Bhīls (see Tod's *Annals of Rājasthān*, chapter II., Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 238 ff.; also pp. 121, 253, 258 f.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 275, note 26).—But the idea that, in the technical expression under discussion, *bappa* denotes some particular priest, whether of the Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava faith, whose memory had been preserved in different parts of India from very early times, has been disposed of above. And, this being so, it remains difficult, on the supposition that the word is a proper name, to imagine how it should have cropped up again from time to time, under precisely similar circumstances, in such different parts of the country, and such varying periods, as are indicated by instances 2 to 11 above.—The true explanation of the word first occurred to me from noticing the way in which the titles that qualify *bappa* vary in accordance with the titles of the persons to whom the epithet *bappa-pad-ānudhyāta* is applied; and it is fully borne out by the epithet *īrti-ajjaka-pād-ānudhyāta*, which is applied only to Dharasēna IV. in his complete grant of the year 326 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79, line 38; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 16), and in his grant of the same year of which only the translation of the second plate has been published (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 45). This expression, which, if it had not been so completely overlooked, would probably have made the matter clear long ago, dropped out in all the subsequent Valabhi grants, even in those of Dharasēna IV. himself of the year 330; probably on account of something in the official relations between Śīlāditya I. and Kharagraha I. which remains to be cleared up. But it occurs in these two instances; and, in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's rendering (*id.* Vol. I. p. 16), it undoubtedly means "meditating on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather." *Ajja* in Kanarese, and *ajā* and *djā* in Marāṭhi, are the ordinary words for 'a grandfather' in the present day. And it is evident that *ajjaka* is the older Prakṛit word, from which these have been derived.—On this analogy, *bappa* suggests itself at once as the old Prakṛit form of the modern *bāp*, 'a father.' And now it becomes clear why the word is qualified by the paramount titles in its connection with the paramount sovereign Śīlāditya IV. and his successors, the reason being that the father of each of them was himself a paramount sovereign; and, on the other hand, why, in its connection with feudatories, it has either no qualificatory title at all, or only the feudatory titles *Mahārāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, as in the case of Vasantasēna, Simhavarman, Vijayanandivarman, Nandivarman, and Viṣṇugōpavarman. The rule thus disclosed also shews why, in the case of Śivadēva II., himself a paramount sovereign, *bappa* has no qualifying term; for, the way in which he is introduced in lines 11-12 of the Nēpāl inscription No. 15 (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 178; see also Vol. XIV. p. 348) shews that he brought in a new branch of the Thākuri family, and that his father Narēndradēva, even if he held the rank of *Mahārāja*, was at least not a paramount sovereign. And the same rule explains why, in connection with the paramount sovereign Dharasēna IV., *ajjaka* is qualified by nothing more than the ordinary title *īrti*; for, he himself was the first paramount sovereign in the family; and his grandfather, Kharagraha I., was at the best only a *Mahārāja*.—The analogy of *ajjaka* and *bappa* now suffices fully to clear up the meaning of the word *bāva*. It suggests at once that it is nothing but the older Prakṛit word from which have been derived, with somewhat differing significations, in Marāṭhi, *bābā*, 'a term of respect-

splendour; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (his) glorious [father].

(L. 55).—His son (was) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Śilādityadēva* (VI.),—who allayed the pride of the strength of (his) enemies; who was the auspicious asylum of great victory; whose breast dallied with the embraces of the goddess of fortune; whose unrestrained energy exceeded (even) that of (the god Viṣṇu) who assumed the form of the man-lion;¹ who effected the protection of the whole earth by eradicating the hostile kings; who was the best of men; who tinted the faces of all the women that are the distant regions with the rays of the nails of (his) feet shining with the rubies in the tiaras of the powerful princes who bowed down before (him); who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (his) glorious father.

ful mention for a father or an elderly person; *bāva*, 'a term of respectful mention for a Gōsavi, Guru, father, or elderly person,' and *bhāva*, 'a husband's brother, especially an elder brother;' and in Kanarese, *bāva*, 'the son of a mother's brother, or father's sister, a man or woman's brother-in-law (in every case, if older than one's self),' and *bhāva*, 'a husband or wife's elder brother, a maternal uncle's son (similarly, in every case, if older than one's self).' Looking for its application in connection with Śilāditya III., we note, in the first place, that the grants shew very clearly that his father Śilāditya II. did not reign at all, which explains why the epithet *bappa-pād-ānudyāta* is not used in respect of him; and, in the second place, that the only paramount sovereign before him was his father's distant cousin Dharasēna IV., who, so far as paramount sovereignty is concerned, was his immediate predecessor. This shews us that *bāva* was used, here at least, to denote 'a male relative, of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle;' and explains why *bāva* is qualified here with the paramount titles. And the fact that, after the first adoption of this technical expression, the Valabhi succession was in each instance direct from father to son, explains why the expression *bāva-pād-ānudyāta* does not occur again.—In Kanarese, *bappa* appears in the form of *boppa* (marked in Sanderson's edition of Reeve's Kanarese Dictionary as a word common to most Hindu languages), in *boppa-na-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' an epithet applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Lakshmidēva II., the son and successor of Kārtavīrya IV. (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 113, line 63-64). In confirmation of this I may quote, with the analogous introduction of terms of relationship, *ayyana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' a title of the Śilāhāra chieftain Gaṇḍarāditya of Kōlāpur (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 3, line 21), and also of his son Vijayāditya (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 105); *māvana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father-in-law,' applied to the *Daṇḍandiyaka* Kēśavādityadēva (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 106, line 17-18); *annana-gandharāna*, 'the choice elephant of (his) elder brother,' applied to the *Daṇḍandiyaka* Sōmēśvarabhaṭṭa in the same inscription (*id.* line 11-12); *annan-ankakāya* 'the warrior or champion of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Sinda chieftain Āchugi II. (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 247, line 5); and *bhāvan-ankakāya*, 'the warrior or champion of (his) uncle or other relation of the same generation with his father,' applied to a Śilāhāra chieftain named Gonkidēva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 16, line 46). Other similar titles, which help to explain the preceding, through the introduction of proper names instead of words of relationship, are *Sēnana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Sēna,' applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavīrya II., the son and successor of Sēna I. (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 213, line 7); *Tailana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Taila,' applied to the Kādamba chieftain Kīrtivarman II. of Banawāsi, the son and successor of Taila I. (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 85); *Tailaman-ankakāya*, 'the warrior or champion of Tailama,' applied to Kāmadēva of the same family, the son and successor of Tailama (*id.* p. 86); and *Gonkan-ankakāya*, 'the warrior or champion of Gonka,' and *Gūhēyana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Gūhēya,' applied to the Śilāhāra chieftain Mārasimha, the son and successor of Gonka, and the nephew of Gūhala or Gūvala I. (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 103, line 28.)

¹ When he became incarnate, in a form that was half that of a man, and half that of a lion, in order to destroy the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, who had obtained a boon from Brahman that he should not be destroyed by either god or man or animal.

(L. 58.)—Victorious is his son, the glorious **Dhrūbhata**,¹ born in a lineage of supreme kings of kings and supreme lords, (and) possessed of great happiness,—who is renowned for an abundance of heroism that is hard to be resisted; who is the abode of the goddess of fortune; who has striven to destroy hell; who has made it (*his*) sole resolve to save the earth; whose fame is as pure as the rays of the full-moon;—who is full of virtue through his knowledge of the three (Vēdas); who has conquered the ranks of (*his*) enemies; who is possessed of happiness; who always confers happiness; who is the abode of knowledge; who is a protector of the world whom all people applaud; who is attended by learned men; who is praised far and wide on the earth;—who is resplendent with jewels; who has a beautiful person; who is a very pile of jewels that are virtuous qualities; who is endowed with the choicest virtues of lordship and prowess; who is always employed in conferring benefits on living creatures; who, as if he were (the god) Janārdana incarnate, humbles the pride of wicked people;—who is always most skilful in disposing the array of elephants in war; who is the abode of religious merit; (and) whose great prowess is sung over the (*whole*) earth.

(L. 63.)—[And he*], the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious **Śīlādityadēva** (VII.), who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (*his*) glorious father, issues a command to all people:—

(L. 64.)—“Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) parents and of myself, (and) in order to obtain a reward both in this world and in the next, the village named **Mahilabali**,² in the **Uppalahēta** *pathaka* in the famous **Khēṭaka dhāra**,—with the *udraṅga* (and) the *uparikara*; with (*the right to*) forced labour as the occasion arises; with the revenue of the *bhūta* and *vāta*;³ with (*the fines for*) the ten offences;⁴ with (*its*) enjoyments and shares; with the grain, and gold, and *ādēya*;

¹ See page 172 above, note 1.

² Or perhaps Mahilābali, with the long vowel *ā* in the third syllable.

³ See page 170 above, note 9.

⁴ *sa-datṭapardāha*.—This is a technical fiscal expression, of constant use in charters, for which I have not been able to obtain any absolutely certain explanation. But Mr. S. Ch. Chitnis has brought to my notice that, in the *Dharmasindhusāra* of Kāśnāthopādhyāya, chapter ii. verse 19 ff., we have—*Adattānām upādānam himśa ch=aiva ā-vidhanataḥ* || *Para-dār-ōpasvā cha kāyikam tri-vidham smṛitam* | *pārushyam=anṛitam ch=aiva paśūnyam ch=āpi sarvasaḥ* || *Asambaddha-pralāpa=cha vānmayam syāch=chatur-vidham* | *paradravyēshu=abhidhyānam manas=ānishṭa-chintanam* || *Vitath-abhinivṛṣat=cha mānasam tri-vidham smṛitam* | *ētāni daśa pāpāni hara tvam mama Jāhnavī* || *Daśapāpa-harā yasmāt=tasmād=Daśaharā smṛitā*,—“the appropriation (theft) of things that are not given, and killing in a manner that is not in accordance with precept, and the pursuit of the wives of other men, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the body; harshness of language, and untruthfulness, and slandering in all directions, and incoherent conversation, are the four (sins) of speech; coveting the property of others, (and) thinking with the mind about things which are wrong, and tenacity of that which is not true, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the mind; do thou, O Jāhnavī (Gaṅgā), take away these my ten sins; because thou takest away (these) ten sins, therefore art thou called “Daśaharā.”—These verses occur in connection with the Daśaharā (popularly Dasarā or Dusrah) a festival in honour of the river Ganges, held on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēsthā.—So, also, in the *Aṣṭāṅgahridaya* of Vāgbhaṭa, *Sūtrasthāna*, chapter i. verse 21 f. (Bombay edition of 1880, p. 38) we have, in only slightly different language,—*Himśa-stēya-ānyathākāmaṁ paśūnyam parush-anṛitē* | *sambhinndlāpa-vyāpādām=abhidhyā driguiparyayam* || *Pāpam karm=ēti daśadhā kāya-vān-mānasais=tyajēt*; which shews that the classification was a well-established and well-known one.—These ten sins are probably the

(with the privilege that it is) not to be (even) pointed at with the hand (of undue appropriation) by any of the king's people; (and) with the exception of previously-given grants to gods and Brāhman, —is given by me, with copious libations of water, on the terms of a grant to a Brāhman, in accordance with the rule of *bhāmichohhidra*, —to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, and the mountains; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons, —to the *Bhaṭṭa* Akhaṇḍalamitra, the son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Vishnu, an inhabitant of the famous town of *Ānandapura*, belonging to the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that (place), a member of the *Śarkarākshigōtra*, and a student of the *Bahvricha* (*śākhā*), —for the maintenance of the rites of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra*, and *atithi* sacrifices, and other (ceremonies).

(L. 69.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (it) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brāhman (and) cultivating (it), (or) causing it to be cultivated, or assigning (it to another).

(L. 70.)—" (And) this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, whether born of Our lineage or others, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it)."

(L. 72.)—And it has been said by Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it) ! These chattels, made into altars of religion, which have been formerly given here (on earth) by (previous) kings, (are) like the remains of offerings to gods, and like food that is vomited up; verily, what good man would take them back again? The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the hollows of dried-up trees in the Vindhya mountains, destitute of water!

(L. 75.)—The *Dūtaka* in this matter (is) the *Mahāpratihāra*,¹ the *Mahākshapaṭalika*,² a member of the king's household, the illustrious *Siddhasēna*, the son of the illustrious *Śarvaṭa*; and (this charter) has been written by his deputy, the *Pratinartaka*,³ the high-born *Amḍitya Guha*, the son of *Hembaṭa*, who was deputed by him (to write it).

daśa aparādhaḥ, or 'ten offences,' referred to in the text. And the full technical expression evidently conveyed, to the grantee of a village, the right to the proceeds of fines imposed for the commission of these, or similar, wrongful actions in the limits of his village.

¹ *Mahāpratihāra*, *lit.* 'the great *Pratihāra*,' is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the *Pratihāras* or 'door-keepers.'

² *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *lit.* 'the great *Ākshapaṭalika*,' is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the *Ākshapaṭalikas* or 'keepers of the records.'—The title *Ākshapaṭalika* occurs for instance, in an abbreviated form, in line 34 of the Kaṭṭ grant of *Bhīmadēva* II. of *Vikrama-Samvat* 1283 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 200). It is derived from *akshapaṭala*, which *Monier Williams* gives in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* as meaning 'a court of law; a depository of legal documents,' and which occurs in the title *Akshapaṭalādāhikṛita*, synonymous with *Ākshapaṭalika*, in line 15 of No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.—Another title, *Ākshasālika*, which is perhaps synonymous with *Ākshapaṭalika*, occurs in line 25 of the 'Chicacole' grant of *Indravarman* of the year 146 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 123).

³ *Pratinartaka* appears to be an official or family title. *Westergaard*, in his *Radices*, does not give *nṛti* in composition with *prati*. *Monier Williams*, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, gives it in the sense of 'to dance before, in token of contempt.' But it more probably has some connection with *nartaka* in the sense of 'a bard, a herald.'

(L. 77).—In four centuries of years, increased by forty-seven; on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Jyēshṭha; (or) in figures, the year 400 (and) 40 (and) 7; (the month) Jyēshṭha; the bright fortnight; (the lunar day) 5. (This is) my sign-manual.¹

No. 40; PLATE XXVI.

ARANG COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA MAHA-JAYARAJA.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff. and Plates xxiv. and xxv.; and is now published in full for the first time,—is on some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield, and were found at **Ārang**,² a village about twenty miles almost due east of Rāypur,³ the chief town of the Rāypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur.

The **plates**, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. A few of the letters have been damaged by rust; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good, but shews here and there, as usual, in the interiors of the letters, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, and 3" in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The **seal**, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter; and, like the seal of the Rāypur grant of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41, below, Plate xxvii., it has a strong yellow glint in it, which gives it the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has, in relief, on a countersunk and slightly concave surface,—across the centre, a **legend**, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below;—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lakshmi facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up to pour water over her head; in the proper right corner, an expanded waterlily on its stalk; and in the proper left corner, a *śaṅkha* or conch-shell;—and in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device. The seal has, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, but not enough to do any very serious damage to the legend and devices on it.—The **weight** of the three plates is about 1 lb. 3 oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 1 oz.; total 2 lbs. 4 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ "

¹ *sva-hasta*.—In the original these words have some wavy lines under them, which are intended for an actual representation of the sign-manual. See also page 171 above, note 2.

² The 'Airing and Arang' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 12' N.; Long. 82° 1' E.—Gen. Cunningham was first informed (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55) that the plates were found at Ārvī (see page 192 below, and note 4); then (*id.* p. 59), that they were actually obtained at Rāypur, but were most probably found at Ārang; and finally (*id.* Preface, p. iii.), that they were found at Ārang.

³ The 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor,' of maps.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another very good specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They include, however, in *chūḍā*, line 1, the separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*. The superscript long vowel *ī* is denoted in rather a peculiar way, by a mark just like an *anusvāra* inside the circle which, by itself, represents the superscript short *i*; see, for instance, *śimamṭtī*, line 2, and *rāshṭrīya*, line 4; the burr of the copper, raised in the process of engraving, gives in a few places, in the ink-impression and consequently in the lithograph, a faint mark, very similar to this, inside the short *i* proper, e.g. in *bhāṇipān*, line 13; but the difference can, of course, be detected at once in the original plates. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 5 and 20.—The **language** is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 23, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmanīya*, in *yah-kāñchanam*, line 18; and *pradaḥ h-parama*, line 3, and *dhiyaḥ-pravadamnti*, line 14; (2) a constant use of the *anusvāra*, instead of the dental *n*, and the doubling of *t* after it, e.g. in *śamamṭta*, line 1; *udḍharamṭti*, line 17; and *bhavamṭti*, line 18; (3) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra*, in *samvatsara*, line 24; (4) the insertion of a superfluous *anusvāra*, in *prasamṇa*, line a of the seal; *ammbubhīr*, line 1-2; *kutumbbinah*, line 5; and *pravadamnti*, line 14; (5) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkram-akkrāmṭta*, line a of the seal, and *vikkrama*, line 1; (6) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 4; (7) the introduction of a superfluous sibilant, in *pradaḥ h-parama*, line 3; *anuddhyātaḥ ś-śrī*, line 4; and *kutumbbinah s-samajñāpayati*, line 5; and (8) the use of *śingha* for *śimha*, line 24, and of *tāmbra* for *tāmra*, line 11.

The inscription is one of the *Rāja Jayarāja* or *Mahā-Jayarāja*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the town of *Śarabhapura*. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year five of increasing victory, and the twenty-fifth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Mārgaśīra* (November-December). No era is referred to; and, as we have a similar small date of the year ten in the next inscription of *Mahā-Sudēvarāja*, the fifth year must be simply that of the power or government of *Jayarāja*. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the grant, by *Jayarāja* himself, to a *Brāhmaṇ*, of the village of *Pamvā* in the *Pūrvarāshṭra* or *Eastern Country*.¹

As regards the town of *Śarabhapura*, whence the charter was issued, General Cunningham² has suggested—in the first place, that, by elision of the initial *ś*, it may, through the forms of 'Arabhpura' and 'Arbhi,' be represented by the modern *Ārvī*,³ the chief town of the *Ārvī Tahsil* or Sub-Division of the *Wardhā District* in the *Central Provinces*;—and in the second place, that it may be represented by the modern 'Sambal-

¹ So called, perhaps, from 'ts lying on the east of the range of mountains, identified by Gen. Cunningham with the *Mēkala* mountains, which commences near 'Amarkantak,' runs to the south, passing about half-way between *Nāgpur* and *Rāypur*, and then, near 'Wairagarh,' takes a sharp turn to the east, and comes to an end about sixty miles south-east of *Rājim*.

² *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 57 f.

³ The 'Arooe, Arvi, and Arwee,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 20° 59' N.; Long. 78° 16' E.—It is thirty miles north-west of *Wardhā*, and about two hundred and thirty miles west by south from *Rāypur*.

pur' or 'Sambhalpur,' the chief town of the 'Sambalpur' District in the Central Provinces, where, or in which neighbourhood, another copper-plate inscription of Mahā-Sudēvarāja was obtained.¹ But neither of these proposed derivations can be upheld. And, if Śarabhapura is represented by any place now existing, we have to look in the maps for some such name as Sarbhôr or Sābhôr.

TEXT.

The Seal.

- a Prasamṇna⁴-h[rida]jasya-aiva vikkram-ākkra[m]tta-
vidvisha[h]
b śrīmatô **Jayarājasya** śāsa[nam] ripu-śāsanam [11*]

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti **Śarabhapurāt** d=vikkram⁵-ōpanata-sāmarṇtta-chūḍāman[i]-prabhā-prasēk-
āṁ-
2 mbubhir⁶-dhô(dhau)ta-pāda-yugalô ripu-vilāsinī-simarṇtt-ōddharapa-hētu-
3 r=vasu-vasudhā-gô-pradaḥ ḥ=parama⁷bhāgavatô mātāpitri-pā-
4 d-ānuddhyātāḥ ś=śrī⁸-**Mahā-Jayarājah** **Pūrvvarāshṭriya-Pamvām**⁹-prati-
5 vāsi-kuṭumbi¹⁰naḥ s=sam¹¹ājñāpayati | Vīditam=astu vō yath=ā-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 smābhir-ayam⁶ grāma- | s¹²=tridaśapati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭh-ākārô yāva-
7 d=ravi-śāsi-tārā-kirāṇa-pratihata-ghôr-andhakāram jaga[d=a*]vatishṭhatê
8 tāvad = upabhōgyas = sa - nidhis = s - ōpanidhir = a - chāṭa - bhaṭa - prāvēśyas = sa -
9 rvva-kara-visarjītaḥ Vāji(ja)sanēya-Kauṇḍīyasagôtraḥ Brahma¹³dēva-
10 svāminê 11(1)¹⁴ mātāpitrôr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ē(ā)bhivri[d*]dhayê 11(1) udaka-
pūrvva[m*]

¹ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 106. Lat. 21° 27' N.; Long. 84° 1' E.—It is about one hundred and forty-five miles almost due east of Rāypur.

² It has been published by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in 1866, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. p. 195 ff. But the original plates, which were presented to the Society by the finder of them, Col. G. Bowie, are not now forthcoming; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefore, not been able to include this inscription in the present volume.

³ From the original plates.—Read *prasanna*.

⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anusṭubh).

⁵ Read *purād=vikkram*.—The *t* of *purāt* is so small and shallow, that it plainly was only inserted as an afterthought. It is quite superfluous; since its representative by *samdhī*, viz. *d*, had already been duly engraved in conjunction with the following *vī*.

⁶ Read *āmbubhir*, or *āmbubhir*.

⁷ Read *pradaḥ=parama*, or *pradaḥ parama*.

⁸ Read *ānuddhyātāḥ=śrī*, or *ānuddhyātāḥ śrī*.

⁹ From a comparison of the corresponding passage in line 4-5 of No. 41, page 198 below, the reading that was intended is probably *pamvāyām prativāsi*.

¹⁰ Read *kuṭumbi*, or *kuṭumbi*.

¹¹ Read *grāmas*, expunging the mark of punctuation.

¹² Read *nas=sam*, or *naḥ sam*.

¹³ Read *sagôtra=brahma*.

¹⁴ This mark of punctuation is exactly like the *visarga*, as the latter is written in this inscription. But, that the sign may be interpreted as either a mark of punctuation or the *visarga*, is shewn by the regularity with which it occurs where a mark of punctuation is appropriate, and a *visarga* is not; and also by the occurrence of the half mark of punctuation, formed in the same way, and impossible to be mistaken for anything else, in lines 5 and 6 above, and 22 below, and in lines 5, 15, 16, and 17, of No. 41, page 198 below.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 tām̐bra(mra)-śāsanēn=ātisra(sṛi)shtaḥ [II*] Tē yūyam=ēvam=upalabhy-āsy-ājñā-
śravaṇa-
12 vi(vi)dhēyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitaṁ bhōga-bhāgam-upanayamttā(ttah) sukhaṁ
prativa[t*]sya-
13 tha II Bhavishyataś=cha bhūmipān=anudarśayati II(I) Dāpād¹=viśiṣṭam=a-
14 nupālana-jam purāṇē(ṇā) II(I) dharmmēshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ-pravadamnti²
dharmmaṁ II(I)
15 tasmād=[d*]vijāya³, suviśuddha-kula-śrutāya II(I) dattā[m*] bhuvan bhavatu
vō ma[ti*]r=ē-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 16 va gōpt[u*]m II Tad=bhavadbhir=apy-ēshā dattir=anupālayitavyā II 'Vyāsa-
gītāmś=ch=ātra
17 ślōkān=udāharamtti II(I) Agnēr²=apatyam prathamam suvarṇṇa[m*] bhūr-
Vvaishṇavi sū-
18 ryya-sut[a*]ś=cha gāvaḥ [I*] dattās=trayas=tēna bhavamtti lōkāḥ yah-
kāñchanam gā[m*]
19 cha mahi[m*] cha dadyā[t*] II Shashṭhim⁴ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē
vasati bhūmi-daḥ [I*]
20 āchchhettā ch=ānuma[m*]ttā⁵ cha tāny=ēva narakē * vasē[t*] II Sva-
dattā[m*] para-dattā[m*] vā ya-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 21 tnā[d=ra]ksha Yudhisṭhira II(I) mahīt(m)=mahimatām chchhrēshṭha⁶ dānāch-
chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ [II*]
22 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabbhis=Sagar-ādibhi[h*] I yasya [yasya*] yadā
bhūmis=ta-
23 sya tasya tadā phalam⁶=iti [II*] Sva-mukh-ājñāyā ukṭi(kt)ṇam⁷
Acha-
24 lasiṅghēna pravarddhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara 5 Mārgasīra 20 5 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of the illustrious **Jayarāja**,—who verily has a gracious heart; (and) who has overcome (his) enemies by (his) prowess,—(is) a charter for (the observance of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Hail! From the town of **Śarabhapura**, the illustrious **Mahā-Jayarāja**,—whose two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the chieftains, (*bowing down before*

¹ Metre, Vasantatilaka.² Read *pravadanti*, or *pravadamti*.³ Metre, Indravajrā.⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following two verses.⁵ Read *śrēshṭha*.⁶ Read *phalam*.⁷ Supply *śāsanam*.

him), who have been subjugated by (*his*) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing out of the parted hair of the women of (*his*) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village of) **Pamvā** in the **Eastern Country**:—

(Line 5).—“Be it known to you, that this village, the source (*by this grant of it*) of (*Our*) ensuring the happiness of (*attaining*) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods, is by (*this*) copper-charter conveyed by Us, with libations of water, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, to **Brahmadēvasvāmin**, of the **Vājasaneyā** (*śākhā*) and the **Kauṇḍinya gōtra**,—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; (*and*) exempted from all taxes.

(L. 11).—“Being aware of this, you should be obedient to his commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (*his*) share of the enjoyment.”

(L. 13).—And he enjoins upon future kings,—“The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (*of a grant*) is greater than (*that which arises from*) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a **Brāhmaṇ** of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.”

(L. 16).—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by **Vyāsa**:—Gold (*is*) the first offspring of fire;¹ the earth² belongs to (the god) **Vishṇu**;³ and cows (*are*) the daughters of the sun;⁴ therefore the three worlds⁵ are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O **Yudhishtira**, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with **Sagara**; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)!

(L. 23).—At the command of (**Mahā-Jayarāja**’s) own mouth, (*this charter*) has been engraved by **Achalasingha**, (*in*) the year 5 of increasing victory, (*in*) (the month) **Mārgasira**, (*on the day*) 20 (*and*) 5.

¹ Dr. Hultsch (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 203, note 46) has explained this, by saying that, “according to the *Naiyāyikas*” or followers of the *Nyāya* philosophy, “gold consists of fire (*tējas*).”

² This is the customary reading.—In line 39 of the **Khārēpāṇ** grant of the **Śilāhāra** chieftain **Raṭṭarāja** of **Śaka-Samvat** 930 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 218) the reading is *dyauḥ*, ‘the sky,’ instead of *bhūḥ*, ‘the earth;’ but I know of no other instance of this variation.

³ Or, perhaps, “the earth (*is*) **Vaiṣṇavi** (the personification of the *śakti* or female energy of **Vishṇu**).”

⁴ This seems to be explained by the *Rig-Vēda*, vii. 101, 6, in which the sun is described as “the bull that impregnates all the cows” (*Muir’s Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. IV. p. 112 f.)

⁵ The three worlds are sometimes reckoned as heaven, earth, and the lower region; sometimes as the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth. The latter arrangement seems to be the one referred to in this verse; the sky being represented by cows, as the daughters of the Sun or the god **Sūrya**, the lord of the sky; and the atmosphere by gold, as the offspring of fire or the god **Agni**, who is the lord of the **Pitris** or spirits of deceased ancestors, whose abode is in the region of the air.

No. 41; PLATE XXVII.

RAYPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA
MAHA-SUDEVARAJA.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff., and Plates xxvi. and xxvii.; and is now published in full for the first time,—is from some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield at Rāypur,¹ the chief town of the Rāypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur.

The **plates**, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 6" by 3½" at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a **ring** to connect them. The ring is circular, about ¼" thick and 3½" in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about 3½" in diameter; and, like the seal of the Ârang grant of Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi., it has the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has plainly, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, which, with the effects of wear and tear, has almost completely destroyed the upper surface of it. But there are visible, in relief on a slightly countersunk and concave surface, faint traces of—across the centre, a **legend**, in two lines, of which, as restored, the text and translation are given below;—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lakshmi, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant, standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up over her head, to pour water over her; in the proper right corner, an expanded waterlily, on its stalk; and, in the proper left corner, a *śankha* or conch-shell;—and, in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device.—The **weight** of the three plates is about 1 lb. 5½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 7½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They are of almost exactly the same type as those of the preceding inscription of Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi. The most noticeable difference is in the formation of the superscript long vowel *ī*; the stroke, similar to an *anusvāra*, which distinguishes it from the short *i*, being placed, not in the centre of the circle, but on the right side of it, as part of the down stroke of the circle; see, for instance, *vīdsintī*, line 2, and *vdshīrīya*, line 4. The separate sign for the lingual *d*, as distinct from the dental *d*, occurs in *chadda*, line 1.

¹ The 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 15' N.; Long. 81° 41' E.

We have the very rare initial *au*, in *aupamanyava*, line 10. And forms of the numerical symbols¹ for 9 and 10 occur in line 27.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *atisiṣṭaka*, line 11-12, the affix *ka* that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1), the use of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya*, in *yah-kāñchanam*, line 20; *visarjītaḥ-kōṇḍīya*, line 9; *pradaḥ-parama*, line 3; and *dhiyaḥ-pravadamnti*, line 16; (2) the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvāra*, in *samvatsara*, line 24; (3) the insertion of a superfluous *anusvāra*, once only, in *pravadamnti*, line 16; (4) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkrama*, line 1; (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 4; and (6) the use of *siṅgha* for *sinha*, line 28, and of *tāmbra* for *tāmra*, line 11.

The inscription is one of the *Rāja Sudēvarāja* or *Mahā-Sudēvarāja*; and the charter recorded in it is issued, as in the case of the preceding inscription of *Mahā-Jayarāja*, from the town of *Śarabhapura*. The occasion of its issue was the *uttarayana*, or the sun's commencement of his progress to the north. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year ten of increasing victory, and the ninth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Māgha* (January-February). No era is referred to; and the tenth year must be simply that of the power or government of *Sudēvarāja*. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the assent of *Sudēvarāja* to the grant, to two *Brāhmaṇs*, of the village of *Śrīśāhikā*, in the *Pūrvarāshtra* or Eastern Country.

TEXT.²

The Seal.³

a Prasanna⁴-hridayasya=aiva vikkram-ākkrānta-vidvishah

b śrīmat-Sudēva⁵rājasya śāsanam ripu-śāsanam [11*]

First Plate.

1 Ōm Svasti Śarabhapurād=vikkram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makūṭa-chōḍā-maṇi-
2 prabhā-prasēk-āmbu-dhō(dhau)ta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsini-simant-ōddha-
3 raṇa-hētur-vvasu-vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ⁶=paramabhāgavatō mātāpitri-

¹ The symbol for the day might perhaps be interpreted as 30. But it seems, on the whole, to be a transitional form of the symbol for 9, from which the modern *Dēvanāgarī* decimal figure 9 was developed.—Gen. Cunningham read the symbol for the year as 80, not 10; but I do not think this can be upheld. It is evidently a square and upright variety of the second form of 10 given in col. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 44 f.

² From the original plates.

³ With the exception of the word *prasanna* at the beginning of the first line, the legend is almost entirely obliterated. But there are faint indications here and there, which, with the help of the legend on the seal of No. 40, page 193 above, and Plate xxvi., enable us to restore it as above.

⁴ Metre, *Ślōka* (Anushtubh).

⁵ The lithograph in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. Plate xxvi. shews *śrī-Mahā-Sudēva*. But this reading is not legible on the seal; and, as it does not suit the metre, it cannot have been so engraved.

⁶ Here, and in line 16 below, the *jihvāmūliya*, instead of being clearly formed as in lines 3 and 14 of No. 40, Plate xxvi., is indicated, hardly perceptibly, by little more than a vertical division of the square top of the *pa*.

- 4 pād-ānuddhyātaś=śrī-Mahā-Sudēvarājah Pūrvvarāśhṭriya-Śrīśāhi-
 5 kāyām prativāsi-kutumbinas=samājñāpayati I Vīditam=astu vō
 6 yath=āsmābhīr=ayam grāmas=tri(tri)daśapati-sadana-sukha-prātishṭh-aka-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 rō yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirāṇa-pratihata-ghōr-āndhakāram jagad=ava-
 8 tiśṭhatē tāvad=upabhōgyas=sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhir=a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-prāvēśya[h*]
 9 sarvva - kara - visarjitaḥ = Kō(kau)ṇḍinyasagōtra - Vājasanēya - Savit[rī*] -
 10 svāmīna [ā*]tmīya-kanyā-pradānē[na*] Aupamanyava-[Va*]tsasagōtra yā'mā-
 11 trō[h*] Nāgavatsasvāmi-Bandhuvatsasvāminōs=tāmra(mra)-śāsanēn=āti-
 12 stri(sri)śhṭakō bhūtv=āsmābhīr=apy=uttarāyaṇā matāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 13 puṇy-ē(ā)bhivṛiddhayē=numōditaḥ¹ [II*] Tē yūyam=ēvam=upalabhy=āsy-ājñā⁴-śra-
 14 vaṇa-vidhēyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitaṁ bhōga-bhāgam=upamupanayantas⁵=su-
 15 kham prativatsyatha [II*] Bhavishyataś=cha bhūmipā[n-a*]nudarsayati I
 Dānād⁶=viśiṣṭa-
 16 m=anupālana-jam purāṇē(nā) ddha(dha)rmamēshu nischita-dhiyaḥ=pravadamnti⁷
 dharmam I tasmā-
 17 d=[d*]vijāya su⁸=viśuddha-kula-śrutāya dattam bhuvam bhavatu vō matir-
 ēva gōptum [II*] Ta-
 18 d=bhavadbhir=apy=ēśhā dattir=anupālayitavyā [II*] Vyāsa-gītā[m*]ś=ch=ātra
 ślōkān=udāharanti [I*]

Third Plate; First Side.

- 19 Agnēr⁹=apatyam prathamam suvarṇa[m*] bhūr-vvaishṇavi sūryya-
 sutāś=cha gāva[h*] dattā-
 20 s=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkā yaḥ-kāñchanam gāñ=cha mahīñ=cha
 dadyāt [II*] Shashṭi¹⁰-va-
 21 rsha-sahasraṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhētā ch=ānumantā
 cha tāny=ē-
 22 va na[ra*]kē vasēt [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhi[h*] Sagar-
 ādibhiḥ yasya
 23 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [II*] Sva-dattā[m*] para-
 dattā[m] [vā*] ya-
 24 tnād=raksha Yudhishtīra mahi¹¹ mahimatā[m*] śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō-
 nupāla¹².

¹ Before | this word, *yāmātrō*, there is a cross, to indicate that this is not the place to which it properly belongs. It is plain that the reading intended in lines 9 to 11 was *Savitrisvāmīna dīmīya-kanyā-pradānēna yāmātrōr=Aupamanyava-Vatsasagōtra-Nāgavatsasvāmi* &c.

² Before this *trō*, *mi* was engraved, and then cancelled; and *ba* seems to have been engraved and cancelled in the place where the *trō* stands.

³ Over this *visarga*, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; *vis*. the passage commencing with *asminn=ēva grāmē*, in lines 25 and 26 below.

⁴ Read *upalabhy=aitayōr=ājñā*.

⁵ Read *bhāgam=upanayantas*.

⁶ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁷ Read *pravadanti*, or *pravadamti*.

⁸ First *si* was engraved, and then *u* was added, without the *i* being sufficiently cancelled.

⁹ Metre, Indravajrā. ¹⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

¹¹ Read *mahīm*.

¹² The proper context is *lanam=īti*, in line 27.

Third Plate; Second Side.

25 Asmin[n*]=ēva grāmē pūrvva-tatākasya paryyatta(ṇṭa)-bhūmi-vapra-baddhā Śrī-
26 vāpikā . panthānam yāvaj-jā(jyē)shṭha iti kṛtvā Nāga[va*]tsasvāminē grām-
ārdhhaṣy-ādhi²kā dattā
27 lanam³=iti || Sva-mukh-ājñayā pravarddhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara 10
Māgha⁴ 9
28 ukti(tkt)ṛṇṇa[m*]⁵ Drōṇasiṅghā(ṅghē)na [11*]

TRANSLATION.

*The Seal.*⁵

A charter of the illustrious **Sudēvarāja**,
—who verily has a gracious heart; (*and*)
who has overcome (*his*) enemies by (*his*)
prowess,—(*is*) a charter for (*the observance*
of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Om! Hail! From the town of Śarabhapura, the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja,—whose two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance of the jewels in the locks of hair (*wound*) in the tiaras of the chieftains, (*bowing down before him*), who have been subjugated by (*his*) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing out of the parted hair of the women of (*his*) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village of) Śrīśāhikā in the Eastern Country:—

(Line 5).—"Be it known to you, that this village, the source (*by this grant of it*) of (*Our*) ensuring the happiness of (*attaining*) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,—which has been conveyed by a copper-charter to Nāgavatsasvāmin and Bandhuvatsasvāmin, of the Aupamanyava (*śakha*) and the Vatsa *gōtra*, who, by the gift in marriage of his daughters, are the sons-in-law of Savitrīsvāmin of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and the Vājasaneyā (*śakha*); to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; (*and*) exempted from all taxes,—has, at the time of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north,

¹Before this *va*, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here, or, more properly, before the *śrī*; viz. *grām-ārdhhasy=ādhikā*, from the end of the line.—The reading intended in these two lines was—*Asminn=śva grāme pūrva-taḷākasya paryyanta-bhūmi-vapra-baddhā grām-ārdhhasy=ādhikā Śrīvṛpikā panthānām yāvaj=īyēśhṭha iti kṛtvā Nāga-vatsasvāmīnā dattā*. And this passage should properly have been inserted after *anumōditā*, in line 13 (see page 198 above, note 3).

² Over this *dhi* there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; *vis.* the syllables *ka datta*, which are placed between the lines, below *min*.

^a This is the proper context of *nupā*, at the end of line 24.

* Supply *Asanam*.

^b As restored, with the help of the few letters that remain, on the analogy of the legend on the seal of the Āraṅ grant of Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 194.

been assented to by Us indeed, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves.

(L. 13.)—"Being aware of this, you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (*their*) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 15.)—"And he enjoins upon future kings,—“The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (*of a grant*) is greater than (*that which arises from*) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brāhmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.”

(L. 18.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Vishṇu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! O Yudhiṣṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant!

(L. 25.)—In this same village, the irrigation-well called Śrīvāpikā, constructed within the mound on the land that skirts the eastern tank, (*and*) extending up to the road, is given to Nāgavatsasvāmin, in excess of (*his exact*) half of the village, because he is the elder.

(L. 27.)—At the command of (Mahā-Sudēvarāja's) own mouth, (*in*) the year 10 of increasing victory, (*in*) (the month) Māgha, (*on the day*) 9, (*this charter*) has been engraved by Drōṇasiṅha.

No. 42; PLATE XXVIII.

APHSAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

THIS inscription was discovered by Major Markham Kittoe, some time anterior to 1850; but the first notice of it, that I have been able to trace, is General Cunningham's mention of it in 1863, in his report for the year 1861-62, which was issued as a supplement to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXII. p. iii ff., and was in 1871 reprinted in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., where this inscription is referred to on page 40.—In 1866, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. p. 267 ff., Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from a transcript of the original, in modern Dēvanāgarī characters, which Major Kittoe had given to General Cunningham in 1850.—In 1882, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 11, General Cunningham supplemented this translation, by notifying, from his own examination of a rubbing of the original inscription made by Major Kittoe, which had meanwhile been discovered by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar in a box of inscriptions in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, that the name of the second king was Harshagupta; not Hashkagupta, as read by Major Kittoe.—And in 1883, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. p. 79, he further notified that Dr. Bhagwanlāl Indrajī, apparently in a letter to him, had indicated that

the name of *Īśānavarman* should be substituted, in line 7, for the *Śāntavarman* of Major Kittoe's transcript.

Aphsaḍ or **Aphsaḍ**,¹ also called **Jāfarpur**, is a village near the right bank of the *Sakarī* river, about fifteen miles towards the north-east of *Nawāḍā*,² the chief town of the *Nawāḍā* Sub-Division of the *Gayā* District in the *Bengal Presidency*. The inscription is on a stone-slab, that was found here, and was afterwards removed by Major Kittoe, in order "to re-examine it, and to restore it as much as possible, before having it fixed in a pedestal near the *Varāha*" in *Aphsaḍ*. According to the local statement, Major Kittoe removed the stone to *Nawāḍā*; but General *Gunningham* failed to find it, or to hear anything more of it, either there, or at *Gayā* and *Benares*. The loss of the original stone, however, is as well compensated for as is possible by the existence, in the Library of the *Bengal Asiatic Society* at *Calcutta*, of an exceptionally good red-chalk rubbing, made by Major Kittoe himself, from which I now edit the inscription, and from which my lithograph has been prepared.

The writing, with its margin, covers the entire front of the stone; and is apparently on a slightly countersunk surface about 2' 9" broad by 1' 5½" high, with a corresponding rim from ¾" to 1" broad. It has suffered a great deal from the effects of the weather, about the centre of the stone; but, even here, nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost, except perhaps, in line 15, a completion of the hint as to the relations between *Mādhavagupta* and *Harshadēva*, i.e. *Harshavardhana* of *Kanauj*. The rest of the inscription is very legible. The impression indicates that the stone has been broken at the lower proper right corner; but, as shewn in the note to line 25 of the Text, the stone seems to have been originally imperfect here; and not so much of the writing has been lost, as would be expected at first sight.—The size of the letters varies from about ⅙" to ⅙". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and present a very marked development as contrasted with the preceding plates of this volume. They belong to a particular type, to which the special name of *Kuṭiḷa* has come to be attached, in consequence of the upright strokes having at the bottom a small tail which is 'crooked, curved, or bent' (*kuṭiḷa*) to the right. The term *Kuṭiḷa* actually occurs in the 'Dewal' inscription³ of (*Vikrama*)-*Samvat* 1049; in the last line of which it is recorded that "this (eulogy) has been written by the scribe *Takshāditya*, —(a native of) the (country of) *Gauḍa*; and the son of *Vishṇuhari*,—who is well acquainted with the curved letters." The term used here for "curved letters" is *kuṭiḷ-dksharāṇi*. It does not seem to be employed with the specific object of recording a standing name of this style of writing; any more than the expression *vikaṭ-dksharā*, "(an eulogy) in beautiful letters," is used in that way in line 27 of the present inscription; and *ruchir-dkshara-paṅktibhiḥ*, "(this eulogy has been engraved) in lines of pleasing letters," in line 27 of an inscription in the Provincial Museum at *Nāgpur*; and *sad-varṇā*, "(an eulogy) in excellent letters," in line 41 of the *Sāsbaḥū* temple inscription of *Mahīpāla*.⁴ But the term *Kuṭiḷa* fits this type of letters so well, that, as the name has been

¹ The 'Aphsar, Ufsund, and Ufsund-Jafurpoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 4' N.; Long. 85° 44' E.

² The 'Nawāḍā, Newadeeh, Nowada, and Nowāḍā,' of maps, &c.

³ *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 355, Pl. li.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 41.

applied to the alphabet for so long a time, there seems no objection to continuing it. The alphabet of the present inscription might be called the Kuṭila variety of the Magadha alphabet of the seventh century A.D. It really differs but little from the modern Dēvanāgarī. The form of the lingual *ḍh*, which occurs in *gḍḍha*, line 1, and *drīḍha*, line 2, is almost quite identical with the modern Dēvanāgarī form. The form of the lingual *ḍ*, which occurs in *chḍḍa*, lines 3 and 16, in *khḍga*, line 18, and *jadḍ*, line 21, is still rather transitional, differing but little from the form of the dental *ḍ*. And the most antique remnant in the whole inscription is the form of *r*, in conjunction with a following consonant, e.g. in *harsha*, lines 2 and 15, *dhanur-bhīma*, line 2, *sindhur-lakshmi*, line 7, and *artha*, line 12; following the custom noted at several places above, but practised in the earlier inscriptions in respect only of *r* in combination with a following *y*, it is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it; and in the *rya* of *saurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before, e.g. in *kuryāt* in line 12 of the Majhgawān plates of the *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout. It offers about the earliest instance of the hyperbolical expressions and mythological allusions with which the later inscriptions abound, distinguishing them so completely from the artistic, concise, dignified, and frequently really poetical, style of the more ancient records.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *atapattra*, line 21; where, however, it may possibly be due to a mistaken idea as to the etymology of the word; and (2) the use throughout of *v* for *b*, e.g. in *vivuddha*, lines 9 and 11; *valinō*, line 14-15; *vabhāva*, line 15; and *vibhratī*, line 17.

The inscription is one of **Ādityasēna**, of the family of the **Guptas of Magadha**. It is not dated. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; the principal object of it being to record the building, by **Ādityasēna**, of a temple of the god Vishṇu. But it also records the building of a religious college or monastery by his mother **Śrīmatī**, and the excavation of a tank by his wife **Kōṇadēvi**.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm [i²] Asl³=danti-sahasra-gaḍha-katakō yidvādhār-ādhyāsitaḥ sad-
yamsaḥ sthira unnatō girir-iva śrī-Kṛishṇaguptō nripaḥ | dṛipt-
ārāti-madāndha-vāraṇa-ghaṭa-kumbhasthallaḥ kshundatā yasy-Asankhya-
ripu-pratāpa-jayina dōshnā mṛigēndrayitam || Sakalā⁴ kalaṅka-rahitaḥ
- 2 kshata-timiras-tōyadhēn saśāṅka iva | tasmād-udapādi autō dēvān śrī-
Harshagupta iti || Yō⁵ yōgy-akāla-hēl-āvanata-dṛiḍha-dhanur-bhīma-
vāṇ-augha-pātī mūrti⁶[i²]aiḥ sva-svāmi-lakshmi-vasatī-vimukhitair-lkshitaḥ
s-āsrupātām | ghōrāṇām-ā-
- 3 havānām likhitam-iva jayam ślāghyam-āvirdadhaṇō vakshasy-uddāma-
śāstra-vaṇa-kāṭhina-kiṇa-granthi-lēkhā-chchhalēna || Śrī-⁷Uvita⁸guptō-bhū-
t-kshitiśa-chūḍāmaṇiḥ sutas-tasya | yō dṛipta-vairi-nārī-mukhanalina-van-
aika-sēsēra⁹-karaḥ ||

¹ From Major Kittoe's impression; so, also, the lithograph.

² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

³ Metre, Āryā.

⁴ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁵ Metre, Āryā.

⁶ Read *śīṭira*.

- 4 Muktāukta¹-payah-pravāha-sīśirās-uttunga-tālīvana-bhrāmyad-danti-kar-āvalūna-
kadāl-kāṇḍāsu vēlās-api | śchyōtat-sphāra-tushāra-nirjhara-payah-sītē=pi
śailē śthitān=yasy=ōchchair-dvishatō mumōcha
- 5 na mahā-ghōrah pratāpa-jvarah || Yasy²=ātimānusham karmma drīsyatē
vismayāj-jan-aughēna | adyāpi Kōsavarddhana-tatāt=plutam Pavanajasy=
ēva || Prakhyāta-śaktim=ājishu purahsaram śrī-Kumā- *a leader in*
- 6 raguptam=iti | ajanayad=ēkam sa nripō Hara iva śikhivāhanam
tanayam || Utsarppad³-vāta-hēlā-chalita-kadalikā-vichi-mālā-vitānah prōdyad-
dhōlt-jalaugha-bhramita-guru-mahā-matta-
- 7 mātanga-sailah | bhīmah śrī-śānavarmma-kshitipātisaśinah sainya-
dugdhōda-sindhur-llakshmi-samprāpti-hētuh sapadi vimathitō Mandari-
bhūya yēna || Śaurya⁴-satyavrata-dharō yah Prayāga-gatō dha- *R*
- 8 nē | ambhas-iva karish-āgnau magnah sa pushpa-pūjitah || Śrī-
Dāmōdaraguptō-bhūt-tanayas-tasya bhūpatēh | yēna Dāmōdarēn=ēva
Daityā iva hatā dvishah || Yō⁵ Maukharēh samitish=ūddha-
- 9 ta-Hūpa-sainyā valgad-ghatā vighatayann=uru-varānām | samāmurchchitah
sura-vadhu(dhū)r=varayam(n) mam=ēti tat-pāp[ī]pankaja-sukha-sparsād⁶=
vivu(bu)ddhah || Guṇavad⁷-[d*]vija-kanyānā[m*] nān-ālamkāra-yauvana-
- 10 vatīnām | paripāyitavan=sa nripah śatam nisriṣṭ-āgrahārānām || Śrī⁸-
Mahāśānaguptō-bhūt=tasmād=vir-āgrān[ī]h* sutah | sarvva-vira-samājēshu
lēbhē. yō dhuri viratā[m ||] Śrī[ī]mat⁹ Susthitavarmma-yuddha-vijaya-
- 11 ślāghā-pad-ānakam muhur-yasy=ādya¹⁰pi vivu(bu)ddha-kunda-kumuda-kshuṇṇ(?)
āchchha-hāra[ū]ta[m*] | Lohityasya tat[ē]shu ś[ī]tala-tal[ē]sh=ūtp[ū]l[ī]a-
nāgadr[u]ma-chchhāyā-supta-vivu(bu)ddha-s[ī]ddha-m[ī]thun[ai]h *R* sph[ī]tam
yaśō gīyatē || Vasudēva- *R*
- 12 d¹¹=iva tasmāch=Chhri-s(ē)vanā-śō(?)bh-śōlita-charana-yugah | śrī-Mādhava-
guptō-bhūn-Mādhava *R* iva vikram-aika-rasa[h ||] [- - -] anusm[ī]tō
dhuri ran[ē] ślāghāvatām=agran[ī]h sō(sau)janyasya nidhānam=
artha-nidha(cha)-
- 13 ya-tyāg-ō[d*]dhurānām dha(?)va)ra[h] | lakshm[ī]-sa[ī]tya-sa[rasvati-kulagriha[m]
dharmasya sētur-driḍah pū(?)jyō(?) n=ās[t]i sa bh[ū]tal[ē] [ūūū
- - -]l[-] sadgun[ai]h || Chakra[m] pāni-talēna sō=py=udavahat=
tasy=āpi śārngā[m] dhanu- *M he su...*
- 14 r-nāśāy=āsuhrīdā[m] sukhāya suhrīdām tasy=āpy=asir=nandakāh | prāptē
vidvishatām vadhē pratihat[-] tēn=āpa[- - -] - - -
- - - dha(?)ri(?)ma(?)[- -]nyāh prañēmur=ijanāh || Ājau¹² mayā
vinihatā va(ba)-

¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. ² Metre, Āryā; and in the following verse. ³ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁴ The lower part of the *l* and *ll* except the extreme end of the *r*, either were left unfinished or have been broken away. But the *gh* remains to shew clearly what the *akshara* really is.

⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the next verse.

⁶ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁷ The metre is faulty here; instead of two long syllables, we ought to have two short and one long.

⁸ Metre, Āryā.

⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹¹ Metre, Āryā.

¹² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and in the next verse.

¹³ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

- 15 linò ^{dvishan[ah]} kritya[m] na m[é*]=sty-aparam-ity-avadhārya vīrah [I]
 P ^{śrī-Harshadēva}-nija-sa[m]gama-vāñchhayā cha(?) [- - - - -] [II] Ś[r]lmān=va(ba)bhūva dalit-āri-karīndrā-kumbha-muktā-
 rajah-
- 16 pātala-pāmsula-maṇḍalāgrah I ^{Ādityasēna} iti tat-tanayah kshittīsa-
 chūḍāmaṇ[i]r=dda[- - - - -] [II] [- - - - -] m-
 āgatam=ari-dhvams-ōttham=āptam yaśah ślāghyam
 17 sarva-dhanushmatām pura iti ślāgham parām ^{vi(bi)bhrati} I āśīrvāda-
 paramparā chi(?)ra-sakri(?)d[- - - - -] [- - - - -]
 yāmāsama(?) II Ājau⁸ svēda-chchhalēna dhva-
- 18 ja-pāta-sikhayā mārjyātō dāna-pañkam ^{khaḍgam} kshupṇēna muktā-śakala-
 sikatīl[i(?)kri(?)tya(?) [- - - - -] [- - - - -]
 -]mat[t]ja-māta[m]ga-ghātām tad-gandh-ākriṣṭa-sarppad-va(ba)-
- 19 hala-parimala-bhrāta(ṇta)-matt-āli-jālaṁ II Āva(ba)ddha⁸-bhīma-vikāṭa-bhrukuṭi-
 kāṭhōra-sa[m]g[r]āma[- - - - -] [- - - - -] va-
 vallabha-bhṛitya-vargga-gōshṭhishu pēṣa-
- 20 latayā parihāsa-śilāḥ II Satya⁸-bhartṛi-vratā yasya mukh-ōpadh[ā]na-
 tāpaśi I par[i]hās[- - - - -] [II] [- - - - -]
 -]jñāḥ sakala-ripu-va(ba)la-dhvamsa-hētur-ggarī-
- 21 yān=^{nistrims}-ōtkhāta-ghāta-śrama-janita-jadō=py-ūrjita-sva-pratāpah I yuddhē
 matt-ēbha-kumbhastha[la - - - - -] [- - - - -]]śv[ē]t-
 P ^{ātapattra}-sthagita-vasumati-maṇḍalō lō-
- 22 kapālāḥ II Ājau⁸ matta-gajēndra-kumbhā-dalana-sphīta-sphurad-dōr-yugō
 dhvast-ānē(?)ka(?)ripu-prabhāva-v[- - - - -] yaśō-maṇḍalāḥ I nyast-
 P ^{āśēsha}-narēndra-mauli-charana-sphāra-pratāp-āna-
- 23 lō lakshmi⁸van=samar-ābhimāna-vimala-prakhyāta-kīrttir=nrīpah II Yēn-ēyam
 śarad-indu-vimva-dhavalā prakhyāta-bhūmaṇḍalā ^{lakshmi}-saṁgama-
 kāmksayā su-mahatī kīrttiś=chiram kōpitā I yātā sā-
- 24 gara-pāram=adbhutatamā, sāpatnya-vairād-āhō ^{tēn-ēdam} bhavan-ōttamam
 P kshītibhuja⁸ Viṣṇōḥ kṛitē kārītam II ^{Taj}-jananyā mahādēvyā
^{Śrīmatyā} kārītō mathāḥ I dhārmikēbhya svayam-dattah sura-lō-
- 25 ka⁸-grih-ōpamaḥ II ^{Samkh}⁸-ēndu-sphaṭika-prabhā-pratisama-sphāra-sphurach-
 chhikaram nakra-krānti-chalat-taraṅga-vilasat-pakshi-pranṛityat-timi I rājñyā
 khānitam=adbhutam su-tapaśā pēplyamānam
- 26 janais=tasya=aiva ^{priya}-bhāryayā ^{narapatēh} ^{śrī-Kōnadēvyā} saraḥ II
 P Yāvach=^{chandra}-kalā ^{Harasya} śīrasi ^{Śrī} ^{Sārginō} vakshasi
 P ^{Vra}(bra)hm-āsyē cha Sarasvatī kṛita-

¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛḍita.⁵ Metre, Sragdharā.³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁶ Metre, Sragdharā.⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛḍita; and in the next verse.⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁸ The stone appears to be broken away at this corner. But there seems also to have been some fault here when the inscription was engraved; since,—the *gh* nine *akṣaras* are entirely lost, and two more are partly destroyed, at the beginning of line 27, which commenced at the edge of the stone,—the metres shew that nothing is lost at the beginning of line 26, which was commenced at the distance of about nine *akṣaras* from the edge of the stone, and that only four *akṣaras* are lost at the beginning of line 28, which was commenced at the distance of about sixteen *akṣaras* from the edge of the stone.

⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛḍita; and in the next verse.

- 27 [— — — — —] | [bhôgê] bhôr=bhujag-âdhipasya cha tadid=
yâvad-ghanasy-ôdarê tâvat=kirttim=ih=âtanôti dhavalâm=Âdityasênô
nripah || Sûkshmasivêna¹ Gauḍêna praśastir=vvikaṭ-āksharâ ||(1)✓
28 [— — —]mâ(?)mitâ samyag-dhârmmikêṇa sudhimatâ ||

TRANSLATION.

Om ! There was a king, the illustrious **Krishnagupta**, who was like a mountain, in that (*his*) cities, like the slopes of a mountain, were crowded with thousands of elephants ; in that he was attended by men of learning, as a mountain is inhabited by Vidyâdharas ; in that he was of good descent, as a mountain is possessed of excellent bamboos ; (*and*) in that he was firm (*and*) lofty ; (*and*) whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (*his*) haughty enemies, (*and*) in being victorious by (*its*) prowess over countless foes.

(Line 1.)—Just as the full-moon, destitute of spots, the destroyer of the darkness, was produced from the ocean, so from him there was born a son, the majestic one, named the illustrious **Harshagupta**, who,—raining down a terrible flight of arrows from (*his*) firm bow that was bent with ease at the befitting proper time, (*and*) being gazed upon with copious tears by (*his enemies*) who, averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (*him, her*) own lord, were stupified (*at being unable to prevent it*),—was (*always*) displaying a glorious triumph, the written record as it were of terrible contests, in the guise of the rows of the knots of hard callous places, caused by wounds from many weapons, on (*his*) chest.

(L. 3.)—His son was the illustrious **Jivitagupta (I.)**, the best among kings, who was a very cold-rayed (moon) to (*wither*) the waterlilies that were the countenances of the women of (*his*) proud enemies. The very terrible scorching fever (*of fear*) left not (*his*) haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, (*and*) were covered with the branches of plantain-trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra-palms ; (*or*) even though they stood on (*that*) mountain (*Himâlaya*) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow. Even still his superhuman deeds are regarded with astonishment by all mankind, like the leap of (the monkey Hanumat) the son of the Wind² from the side of (the mountain) **Kôṣavardhana**.³

¹ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

² **Hanumat** was one of the most celebrated of a host of semi-divine apes, who were created to become the allies of Râmachandra in his war with Râvaṇa. The leaders of this army of monkeys were supposed to be the offspring of various gods ; and Hanumat was the son of Pavana or Mâruta, the Wind. One famous leap taken by Hanumat was from the mainland, over the sea, onto Ceylon, in order to discover the whereabouts of Sîtâ. Another was his leap back from Ceylon to the mainland, after setting Râvaṇa's city on fire, on which occasion he sprang from a mountain which sank into the ground under the shock. A third leap, or flight through the air, was when he went to the mountain Gandhamâdana, to procure a medicinal herb to cure the wounded Lakshmaṇa. Which of these leaps is alluded to here, is difficult to say, as Kôṣavardhana does not seem to be given in the epic as the name of a mountain at all ; and I cannot find the names of the mountains from which his leaps were taken.

³ The only other mention that we have of a mountain Kôṣavardhana, is in line 17 of the Shêr-gadh (Kôṭa) Buddhist inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 46), where it seems to denote the hill on which the Fort of Shêr-gadh now stands. This may, or may not, be one of the mountains from which Hanumat took one of his flights through the air.

(L. 5.)—That king begat one son, by name the illustrious **Kumāragupta**, of renowned strength, a leader in battle; just as (the god) Hara begat a son, (Kārttikēya) who rides upon the peacock;¹—by whom, playing the part of (the mountain) Mandara,² there was quickly churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious **Īśānavarman**, a very moon among kings, (and) which had for (its) spreading rows of waves the plantain-trees that were wantonly shaken to and fro by the roaring wind (caused by the marching of the troops), (and) had (its) rocks, that were the ponderous and mighty rutting elephants (of the forces), whirled round and round by the masses of water that were the rising dust (stirred up by the soldiers). Cherishing heroism and adherence to the truth, (even) in (the possession of) wealth, he went to Prayāga; (and there), honourably decorated with flowers, plunged into a fire (kindled) with dry cow-dung cakes, as if (simply plunging to bathe) in water.³

(L. 8.)—The son of that king was the illustrious **Dāmōdaragupta**, by whom (his) enemies were slain, just like the demons by (the god) Dāmōdara. Breaking up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the **Maukhari**, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the **Hūnas** (in order to trample them to death), he became unconscious (and expired in the fight); (and then, waking again in heaven, and) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying " (this one or that) belongs to me," he was revived by the pleasing touch of the waterlilies that were their hands. He, (while he was) king, gave away in marriage a hundred daughters of virtuous Brāhmins endowed with many ornaments and with youth, (and) dowered with *agrahāra*-grants.

(L. 10.)—From him there was a son, the illustrious **Mahāsēnagupta**, the leader, among brave men; who in all the assemblages of heroes acquired a (reputation for) valour (that stood) in the foremost rank;—whose mighty fame, marked with the honour of victory in war over the illustrious **Susthitavarman**, (and) [white] as a full-blown jasmine-flower or waterlily, or as a pure necklace of pearls pounded into little bits (?), is still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lōhitya, the surfaces of which are (so) cool, by the Siddhas in pairs, when they wake up after sleeping in the shade of the betel-plants that are in full bloom.

(L. 11.)—As (the god) Mādhava, whose feet are graced by the attentions of (the goddess) **Śrī**, (was born) from Vasudēva, so from him there was (a son), the illustrious **Mādhavagupta**, finding pleasure only in prowess, whose feet were graced by the attentions of the goddess of fortune. He being remembered in the foremost rank; being the leader of those who acquire renown in war; (and) being a very store-house of goodness, the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal of riches, the natural home of wealth, truth, and learning, (and) a firm bridge of religion, —there is no one on the earth who is (as) worthy to be praised by vir-

¹ One of the names of Kārttikēya was Kumāra; hence the comparison between him and Kumāragupta.

² The allusion in this verse is to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, for the recovery of the nectar and other precious things that had been lost. The mountain Mandara was utilised as the churning stick. And, during the process, Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune and wealth, sprang from the froth of the sea.

³ This verse seems to indicate that Kumāragupta's funeral rites took place at Allahābād; but not necessarily that he placed himself on the funeral pyre while still alive.

tuous people, (as he was). He also, (like the god), carried a discus in the palm of (his) hand;¹ to him also belonged a bow made of horn, and a pleasing sword (which was employed) for the destruction of (his) enemies (and) the happiness of his friends;² (and), when the slaughter of (his) foes had been achieved, was averted by him; people did obeisance "(My) mighty enemies have been slain by me in battle; there remains nothing more for me to do,"—thus he, the hero, determined in his mind; (and then) with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harshadēva³

(L. 15).—His son was the illustrious one, named Ādityasēna, the best among kings, whose scimitar was sullied with a thick coating of dust in the shape of the pearls from the temples of the lordly elephants⁴ of (his) enemies that were split open (by it), Maintaining the supreme renown, that (his) perfect praise, coming from (and) rising from the destruction of (his) enemies, is worthy to be lauded in the presence of all wielders of the bow,—a continuous line of blessings Cleaning with the edge of the silken cloth of a banner, (used) under the excuse of (wiping away) sweat in battle, (his) sword that was stained with the rut (of the elephants slain by him), and was covered with sand in the shape of the minute fragments of the pearls (from their foreheads) through that was broken to pieces, the destruction of rutting elephants, in the course of which many swarms of bees, led into a mistake by the copious fragrant juice that trickled forth, were attracted by their perfume. in battle which is full of terrible and repulsive frownings (he) is accustomed to laugh in a charming manner in the gatherings of (his) favourites and servants. His [wife], truthfully constant to (her) lord; performing penance with the excellent qualities of (her) mouth (?); laughter Being (and) being the greatest cause of the destruction of the power of all (his) enemies, (and) being possessed of his own mighty prowess, even when he is full of weariness produced by the fatigue of drawing (his) sword forth (from its scabbard) and (dealing) blows (with it),— the foreheads of rutting elephants in battle, [he is verily] a guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered. He, the king, has had both (his) gleaming arms increased in bulk by splitting open the temples of rutting elephants in war; he

¹ The god carries an actual discus; the king had the mark of a discus (see page 183 above, note 4).

² The allusions here are to the discus of Vishṇu (Mādhava), to his bow of horn named Śārṅga, and to his sword called Nandaka.

³ Harshavardhana of Kanauj.—The present form of his name occurs also in the *Harshacharita* (Kāśmīr edition), p. 119, line 5.—I notice that he is often called Śrīharsha, and Śrīharshavardhana; as if *śrī* were a component part of his name, instead of being only the honorific prefix. But I cannot find any authority whatever for this. I cannot trace a single instance in which the reading of any inscription or book is *śrī-Śrīharsha* (see page 8 above, note 3); while, in line 26 of the Kāuṭhēm grant of Vikramāditya V. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22), he is distinctly called *Harsha-mahānripa*, "the great king Harsha." So, also, Bāṇa's book about him and his history is always called simply *Harshacharita*, not *Śrīharshacharita*, in the colophon of each division of it; and the *śrī*, which is prefixed on the title-page of the Kāśmīr edition, only qualifies *Harshacharita*, as the name of the book, in the sense of "the famous history of Harsha."

⁴ The belief, to which there are constant allusions in Sanskrit poetry, was, that there are pearls to be found inside the foreheads of elephants.

has a halo of fame, [acquired] by destroying the power of many enemies; the darting fire of the prowess of (*his*) feet has had thrown into it (*to feed it*) the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all (*other*) kings; he is possessed of fortune; (*and*) he has a pure and celebrated reputation (*acquired*) by honourable behaviour in war.

(L. 23.)—This best of temples has been caused to be made, on account of (the god) Vishṇu, by him, the king, whose very great fame, (*of*) this (*kind that has been described*), white as the orb of the autumn moon (*and*) conferring renown on the (*whole*) circle of the world, was for a long time made angry by him through (*his*) desire for (*her*) association with (*his*) wealth, and then, becoming more wonderful than ever, went, forsooth, through the enmity natural to the condition of rival wives, to the other side of the ocean (*in order to dwell there far away*).¹

(L. 24.)—By his mother, the *Mahadēvi Śrīmātī*, a religious college has been caused to be built, resembling a house in the world of the gods, (*and*) has been given by herself in person to religious people.

(L. 25.)—By the queen, the illustrious *Kōṇadēvi*, the dear wife of that same king, in the performance of an excellent penance, there has been caused to be excavated a wonderful tank, the waters of which are eagerly drunk by people; which is full of drifting and glistening spray, resembling in lustre a *śaṅkha*-shell, or the moon, or crystal; (*and*) in the waves of which, driven to and fro by the motion of the alligators, the birds disport themselves and the large fishes play about.

(L. 26.)—As long as a digit of the moon [remains] on the head of (the god) Hara, (*and*) (the goddess) *Śrī* on the breast of Vishṇu, (*and*) (the goddess) *Sarasvatī* in the mouth of Brahman; as long as the earth [remains] on a hood of (*Śeṣha*) the king of serpents; and as long as there is lightning in the interior of a cloud,—so long shall the king *Adityasēna* display here (*in these works*) (*his*) dazzling fame!

(L. 27.)—(*This*) eulogy, (*written in*) beautiful letters, [has been composed, or engraved] by *Sūkshmaśiva*, (*a native of*) the *Gauḍa* (*country*), who is thoroughly religious (*and*) very intelligent.

66 H. 8.
No. 43; PLATE XXIXA. 612/3h.

SHAHPUR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

THIS inscription was discovered, apparently in 1879-80, by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar, Assistant to the Director General of Archaeological Surveys; and was first brought to notice, in 1882, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 12, where General Cunningham published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xi. No. 1).

Shāhpur,² also known as Shāhpur-Tētarāwām, is a village on the right bank of

¹ Kīrtti, 'fame,' and Lakshmi, 'fortune or wealth,' are here regarded as the two co-wives of the king. The idea is that his fame became at length so great as to extend to the uttermost ends of the world, beyond even the oceans; and this is indicated by Kīrtti becoming at length jealous of Lakshmi, and leaving her husband's house in order to dwell far away from her rival wife.

² The 'Shahpur, Shahpoor, Shahpoor-Tetranwan, and Shahpoor-Titarawa,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 6' N.; Long. 85° 43' E.

the Sakari river, about nine miles to the south-east of Bihâr, the chief town of the Bihâr Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing image of the sun,—represented as a man, 2' 10" high, holding a waterlily in each hand; and with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club,—which was found on a mound in the lands of this village. When I sent my copyists to Shâhpur in 1884, they could not find the image, and could obtain no information as to what had become of it; my lithograph, therefore, has been prepared from Mr. Beglar's pencil-rubbing, which suffices for practical purposes, though perhaps the date is not quite as clear as it might be.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 4½" broad by 4" high, has suffered a good deal of injury towards the proper right side of the stone; the rest, however, is very well preserved.—The average size of the letters is about ⅛". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kutila type as those of the preceding Apsad inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42, Plate xxviii. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols¹ for 6, 7 (?), and 60.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of *v* for *b* in *valldhikrita*, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the time of Âdityasêna, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year sixty-six, on the

¹ The symbol for the day is a little doubtful; but it seems to be 7.—Gen. Cunningham interpreted these symbols as decimal figures, and read the year as 55, and the day as 1. At the same time he notified that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, interpreting them in the same way, read the year as 88. And the date certainly has the appearance, in Gen. Cunningham's published lithograph, of either 55 or 88.—But this is too early a period for the occurrence of decimal figures; and, though the symbols are rather damaged, I think quite enough of them remains to shew very clearly a 60, followed by a 6.—So far as definite dates are available, the system of numerical symbols was preserved in this part of the country as late as Harsha-Samvat 188 (A.D. 794-95) as shewn by the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 138 ff.); and in the neighbouring country of Nêpâl, as late as Harsha-Samvat 153 (A.D. 659-60), as shewn by the inscription of Jayadêva II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 178 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345), and Gupta-Samvat 535 (A.D. 854-55), as shewn by another Nêpâl inscription (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 168 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345). In the west of India, it continued, in Gujarât, as late as Śaka-Samvat 679 (A.D. 757-58), as shewn by the Kârêlî grant of Kakka of Gujarât (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff.). In Central India, as late as Vikrama-Samvat 879 (A.D. 822-23), as shewn by the Shêrgadh (Kôṭā) inscription of the *Sāmanta* Dêvadatta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 45 ff., 351). And in the South, as late as about Śaka-Samvat 549 (A.D. 627-28), as shewn by the Vizagapatam grant of the Eastern Chalukya *Mahârâja* Vishnuvardhana I. (Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 137 f. and Pl. xxvii.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 186, where I gave the date as the sixteenth year, instead of the eighteenth, which it really appears to be.)—As regards the introduction of decimal figures (setting aside the question of the first invention of them, which was probably by the astronomers of Ujjain in the fifth or sixth century A.D.), the earliest epigraphical instances of the use of them that I can quote, are, in the north, the Gwalior inscription of Bhôjadêva dated Vikrama-Samvat 933 or A.D. 876-77 (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 407 f.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 108, note 25); and the 'Pehewa' inscription of the same king, dated Harsha-Samvat 276 or A.D. 882-83 (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXII. p. 673 ff., and Vol. XXXIII. p. 223 ff.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 109, note 27); in Central India, the 'Deogarh' inscription of the same king, dated Vikrama-Samvat 919 and Śaka-Samvat 784 or A.D. 862-63 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 100 ff.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 110, note 32); in Gujarât, the 'Bagumra' grant of the Râshtrakûta chieftain Dhruva III., dated Śaka-Samvat 789 or A.D. 732-33 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 185); in Kâthiawâd the Môrbi grant of Jâinka, dated (irrespective of the actual reading in line 17) Gupta-Samvat 885 (A.D. 804-5); and in the Dekkan, the Sâmangâ grant of Dantidurga, dated Śaka-Samvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 108 ff.).

seventh (?) day of the bright fortnight of the month *Mārga*, i.e. *Mārgasīra* or *Mārgasīrsha* (November-December). The era is not specified; but, from the known facts of *Ādityasēna*'s history, it is that of *Harshavardhana* of *Kanauj*, commencing¹ A.D. 606 or 607; and the result for this date, therefore, is A.D. 672-73. The inscription is 'one of solar worship'; and the object of it is to record, in the first place, some grant, the details of which are illegible in line 1; and, in the second place, the installation of the image by the *Balādhikṛita*² *Sālapaksha*, in, apparently, the *agrahāra* of *Nālanda*.

The name of *Nālanda* is rather doubtful in this inscription; but there is no special objection to reading it, since *Nālanda* was a famous place, originally Buddhist, in the neighbourhood of *Shāhpur*, being in fact identified by General Cunningham³ with the modern 'Baragaon,' seven miles due north of *Rājgir*, and about fifteen miles nearly due west of *Shāhpur*. The image, being fairly small and portable, may easily have been originally set up at *Nālanda*, and then removed at some time or other to *Shāhpur*.

TEXT.

- 1 kh . l . ḍh . g . . . chandra-kṣhiti-kālaṃ yāvat-p[r]atipāditam [11*]
- 2 Ōm Samvat 60 6 Mārgga śu di 7(?) asyān-divasa-māsa-
samvatsar-ānupūrvvyām⁴ śrī-Āditya'sēna-
- 3 [dēva]-rāj[y]ē Nā(?)landa(?) mah-āgrahārē sād[h]un]ā va(ba)lādhikṛita-
Sālapakshēṇa dē[ya*]-dharmamō-yaṃ pratishṭhitam(h)
- 4 [mātāpitrōr-ā]tmānaś-cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē [11*]

TRANSLATION.

..... has been granted, to endure for the same time with
..... and the moon and the earth.

(Line 2.)—Ōm! The year 60 (and) 6; (the month) *Mārga*; the bright fortnight; the day 7 (?),—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day and month and year,⁵—in the reign of the illustrious *Ādityasēnadēva*, this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous *Sālapaksha*, the *Balādhikṛita*, in the great *agrahāra* of *Nālanda* (?), for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 420, note 37.

² *Balādhikṛita* is a technical military title, meaning literally 'one who is appointed to (a command of) the troops.' The superior of the *Balādhikṛitas* was the *Mahābalādhikṛita*; see page 109 above, note 2.

³ *Anc. Geog. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 468 ff.

⁴ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 8' N.; Long. 85° 29' E.—In the map, the name is written 'Burgaon.' The correct form of the name would therefore seem to be *Badgaum*.

⁵ From Mr. Beglar's pencil-rubbing; so also the lithograph.

⁶ Supply *tithau*.

⁷ Read *śrī-Āditya*.

⁸ The text here has the abbreviation *śu*, which represents *śuddha*, or *śukla*, in composition with *paksha* or *pakshā*; see page 92 above, note 1.

⁹ See page 97 above, note 1.

Nos. 44 and 45; (No PLATE)

MANDAR HILL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ADITYASENA.

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton), and were first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled *Eastern India*, where the inscriptions are mentioned in Vol. II. p. 58, with reduced lithographs (*id.* Plate iv. Nos. 3 and 4).—I cannot find that any fuller notice of them has ever been published.

Mandâr or Mandâragiri¹ is a famous hill about seven miles south-east of Bânka,² the chief town of the Bânka Sub-Division of the Bhagalpur District in the Bengal Presidency. When I was on tour in the north of India, I could not succeed in acquiring any accurate information as to the position of the inscriptions, and was thus unable to obtain impressions and publish lithographs of them. But Dr. Buchanan's facsimiles, though not good enough to reproduce, are intelligible throughout, with the exception of the three letters immediately following the name of Ādityasēnadēva. And quite recently Mr. Beglar has sent me a rubbing and a hand-copy of No. 44, which, though not suitable for lithography, fully endorse Dr. Buchanan's rendering of this record, and enable me also to read with certainty some of the letters that are doubtful in his lithograph. From Mr. Beglar's remarks, I learn that this inscription, No. 44, is on the rock to the right of the steps rising from a corner of the lower tank, now called Papaharî, and at the base of a flight leading to the upper tank. The position of the other inscription, No. 45, seems to be not now known at all.

The two inscriptions are identical in substance; but are arranged, one in two lines, and the other in four. The writing of No. 44 covers a space of about 6' 2" broad by 2' 11" high; and is in a state of fairly good preservation; but the surface of the rock seems to be so rough that it is doubtful whether an ink-impression could be obtained, sufficiently good for lithography.—The average size of the letters is about 5". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kuṭiḷa type as those of the Aṃśad inscription of Ādityasēna, No. 42 above, Plate xxviii. page 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscriptions are in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscriptions refer themselves to the time of Ādityasēna, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. They are not dated. But the paramount titles of Paramabhāṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja applied here to Ādityasēna, shew that they belong to the period of confusion and anarchy that attended the death of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, when Ādityasēna established the independence of his family in Magadha; and that they are slightly later than his Aṃśad and Shāhpur inscriptions, in the latter of which,—as it is in prose,—the paramount titles would certainly have been introduced, if he had assumed them by that date. They are non-sectarian; the record being simply that Ādityasēna's wife, Kōṇadēvī, caused a tank to be made.

¹ The 'Mandar, Mandargiri, Mundar Hill, and Mundar H. Temple,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 24° 50' N.; Long. 87° 4' E.

² The 'Banka' of maps.

³ The 'Bhagalpur and Bhaugulpoor' of maps, &c.

TEXT.¹

No. 44.

- 1 Ōm Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mah[ā]r[ā]jād[h]i[r]āja-
 2 śrī-Aditya'sēnadēva-dayit[ā] parama-
 3 bhaṭṭārik[ā]-r[ā]j[ī]t-mah[ā]d[ē]v[ī]-śrī-[Kō]ṇad[ē]v[ī]
 4 pushkarīṇī-klrttim-im[ā]ṇ-k[ā]r[i]tava[t] [II*]

No. 45.

- 1 Ōm Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mah[ā]r[ā]j[ī]dhirāja-śrī-Ād[i]tya'sēnadēva-
 day[i]tā
 2 paramabhaṭṭārik[ā]-r[ā]j[ī]t-mahād[ē]vī-śrī-K[ō]ṇad[ē]vī pu[shkarīṇī-
 klrt]t[i]m-im[ā]ṇ-kāritavatī [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! The *Paramabhaṭṭārikā*,⁴ the queen,⁵ the *Mahādēvī*, the glorious *Kōṇadēvī*,—the dear wife of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Aditya-sēnadēva*,—caused to be made this famous work⁶ of a tank.

¹ From Mr. Beglar's rubbing of No. 44, and Dr. Buchanan's published lithograph of No. 45.

² Read *śrī-āditya*.

³ Here, again, read *śrī-āditya*.

⁴ *Paramabhaṭṭārikā*, lit. 'she who is supremely entitled to respect or veneration,' is the feminine of *paramabhaṭṭāraka* (see page 17 above, note 3), and was one of the customary technical titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns.

⁵ *rājāṇī*; also in line 2 ff. of the following Dēś-Baraṇārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II.—The word is only the feminine form of *rājan*; but it does not seem to have been so exclusively and technically used as a subordinate feudatory title, in the way in which *rājan* was used. In the present day also *Rājāṇī*, which is the Prākṛit form of *rājāṇī*, is the proper title of a wife of a *Rājā*; but is also used, equally with *Mahārājāṇī*, as a title of the Queen-Empress of England and India.

⁶ *klrtti*.—Mr. K. T. Telang (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 36, note 13) first brought to notice, on the authority of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, that in certain connections *klrtana* has the meaning of 'a temple'; e.g. in line 18 of the Khārēpāṭaṇ grant of Anantadēva, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 1016 (*id.* p. 34), which he was then editing.—This was supported by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 228 f.); who, in pointing out the error into which, from not being aware of this meaning of the word, I had fallen in translating the passage in lines 14 f. of the Barōda grant of Kākka II., dated Śaka-Saṃvat 734 (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 159), was able to quote three passages from the *Agni-Purāṇa* (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol. I. p. 111), Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, and Sōmēśvara's *Klṛttikaumudī*, in which the word evidently has the same meaning.—And to these instances I have since been able to add the 'Dudahi' inscriptions of Dēvalabdhī (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 289), and the Udayagiri inscription, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 1093 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 185).—On the analogy of these authorities, there is every reason for allotting the same meaning, when required, to *klrtti*, which is a derivative from the same root. Dr. Bhandarkar has, however, recently suggested to me that *klrtti* and *klrtana* are hardly to be actually translated by the word 'temple,' or by any other specific term; but denote generally 'any work, of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.' This is in accordance with the etymology of the words, from the root *kr̥t*, 'to mention, commemorate, praise.' And the particular work referred to may be a temple, as in the instances quoted above; or a tank, as in the present inscriptions; or anything else of a suitable nature.

Another passage in which *klrtti* has the same meaning, though we have no information now as to the specific nature of the work referred to, is in line 4 f. of an inscription on the right-hand side pier in the porch of the temple of Vaidyanātha at 'Deoghar' in the 'Santal' Parganas in the Bengal Presidency, edited by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LII. Part I.

No. 46; PLATE XXIX B.

DEO-BARANARK INSCRIPTION OF JIVITAGUPTA II.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1880-81 by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1883, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. pp. 68 and 73 ff., where he published a reading of the text, and a partial translation of it, supplied to him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, with a lithograph (*id.* Plates xxv. and xxvi.) from a photograph by his Assistant, Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

p. 190f., No. 3. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and, therefore, as pointed out by Dr. R. Mitra, it does not belong properly to the temple of Vaidyanātha, which is a Śaiva shrine; and, from the concluding words, it seems to have been brought away from some building on the Mandār Hill. I had no opportunity of obtaining a proper impression of the inscription. But the one in the Society's library suffices to shew that Dr. R. Mitra's version of the text, which I now give, with my own translation of it, is correct:—

TEXT.

- 1 Śāstā samudr-ānta-vasundharāyāḥ yashṭ-āśvamēdh-ādya-mahā-
kratūnām | Ādityasēnaḥ prathita-prabhā-
- 2 vō babhūva rāj-āmara-tulya-tējāḥ || Māghyām Viśākhā-pada-
samyutāyām Kṛitē yugē Chōla-purāḍ-a-
- 3 pētya mahā-maṇīnām-ayuta-trayēṇa trilaksha-chāmīkara-ṭaṅkakēna ||
Ishṭv-āśvamēdha-trita-
- 4 yēna dattvā tulā-sahasraṁ haya-kōṭi-yuktam | śrī-Kōshadēvyā
sahitō mahishyā achīkarat=kl-
- 5 rttim=imām sa sarvvām || Kṛitvā pratishṭhām vidhi-vad=
dvijēndraiḥ svayām yathā vēda-patham narēndraḥ |
kalyāṇa-hē-
- 6 tōr=bhuvana-trayasya chakāra samsthām Nṛīharēḥ sa ēva ||
Sthāpitō Balabhadrēṇa varāhō bhukti-mukti-
- 7 daḥ | svarg-ārtḥē pitṛi-mātrīṇām jagataḥ sukha-hētavē || Iti
Mandāragiri-prakaranam ||

TRANSLATION.

There was a king, Ādityasēna, of renowned prowess, equal in glory to the gods; the ruler of the (*whole*) earth up to the shores of the oceans; the performer of the *āśvamēdha* and other great sacrifices. On the full-moon day of (the month) Māgha, coupled with the sign of (the lunar asterism) Viśākhā, in the Kṛita age, —having arrived from the Chōla city,—having sacrificed with three *āśvamēdha*-sacrifices, (*and*) having given away his own weight a thousand times over, together with a crore of horses,—he, with (*his*) consort, the glorious Kōshadēvī, caused to be made the whole of this famous work (*kṛitti*), with three myriads of large jewels (*and*) three lakhs of gold (*coins of the kind called*) *ṭaṅkakas*. Having consecrated (*it*) according to due rite (*through the ceremonies performed*) by Brāhmanas, just as if he, the king, himself (*was laying out*) the path of the Vēdas, he made an establishment of (the god) Nṛīhari, who is the cause of the prosperity of the three worlds. A boar (*i.e.* the *god* Viṣṇu in that form), the giver of enjoyment and final emancipation, has been set up by Balabhadra, in order that (*his*) parents may attain heaven, (*and*) for the happiness of the (*whole*) world. Thus runs the chapter on the Mandāragiri.

DĒO-Baraṇārka,¹ or **Dēva-Baraṇārka**, the ancient **Vārunikā** of this inscription, is a village about twenty-five miles south-west of Arrāh (properly Arā), the chief town of the **Shāhābād District in the Bengal Presidency**. The inscription is on two 'contiguous faces of a pillar in the entrance-hall of a temple on the west side of the village,' which has apparently been adapted in modern times as a temple of the god Vishnu.²

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2' 3½" broad by 1' 4" high, has suffered a great deal of injury from the weather, especially down the **proper right side**, where many passages are hopelessly illegible; but fortunately the whole of the genealogy of the Guptas of Magadha given in this inscription is intact, with the exception of the first three syllables of the name of Mādhavagupta, in line 2, which can easily be supplied. In lines 7 ff., however, there was a good deal of historical information that is not now quite perfect.—The average **size** of the letters is about ⅓". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost the same Kuṭila type as those of the Aphaś inscription of Ādityasēna, No. 43 above, Plate xxviii.; but they do not shew the bent tails of the letters quite so markedly.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In **style**, it follows the customary form of a copper-plate charter; not of a stone-inscription.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of *sh*, instead of the *jihvāmālīya* or the *visarga*, in *antashpāti*, line 7; (2) the use of the dental *n*, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *s*, in *hansa*, line 14; (3) the doubling throughout of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *itraya*, line 1; *puttra*, line 5; and *mitra*, line 16; and (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vāldditya*, line 13.

The inscription is one of **Jivitagupta II.**, of the family of the **Guptas of Magadha**; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the fort of **Gōmatikottaka**.³ It is not dated.⁴ It is an inscription of **solar worship**,⁵ its object being to record the continuance of the grant of a village, either **Vārunikā** or **Kiśoravātaka**, to the Sun, under the title of **Varuṇavāsin**, a name which is of some interest, as apparently preserving the ancient belief, in accordance with which *varuṇa*, *lit.* 'that which envelopes,' meant 'the all-encompassing sky,' before it became the name of the ocean-god Varuṇa, who himself was ori-

The characters, called Maithila by Dr. R. Mitra, shew that this inscription is quite modern, —certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D.; and it must have been engraved when the boar-statue of Vishnu, spoken of in line 6, was set up by Balabhadra. I have thought it worth while, however, to give the record in full, because, in my opinion, it so plainly contains a memorial of the great Ādityasēna of Magadha. The antiquity of the allusion is indicated by its being referred to the Kṛita age. And though the name of Ādityasēna's wife is here given as Kōśhadēvī, instead of Kōṇadēvī, this is to be explained by the usual inability of the people, then as now, to read correctly the ancient characters of the inscription or other record from which the composer of these verses obtained his information; and it is a mistake of the kind that corroborates, not invalidates, the identification of Ādityasēna.

¹ The 'Deo-Barnārak, Deo-Barnārāk, Deo-Barunārak, and Deonar Narooch,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 15' N.; Long. 84° 31' E.

² See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. Plates xxii. xxiii. and xxiv.

³ *id.* p. 69.

⁴ Gen. Cunningham read in it the date of 152, which he referred to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. But this arose only from a misunderstanding of the words *sa-datāpārādha-pāñcha*, in line 19.

⁵ It appears that two special festivals in honour of the sun still take place at DĒO-Baraṇārka, on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of the months Chaitra and Kārttika (see *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. p. 72).

ginally looked upon as one of the twelve Ādityas, or forms of the sun, the offspring of Aditi.¹

The importance of this inscription consists, first, in its continuation, for three more generations, of the genealogy of the **Guptas of Magadha**, including the name of **Dēva-gupta**, which, as will be seen hereafter, gives the clue to the date of the *Vākātaka Mahārājas*; and secondly, in its recording the names of certain previous kings, who each in succession had confirmed the grant. The names that are now legible are those of **Bālāditya**, who, as is known from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, played so important a part in connection with Mihirakula; **Śarvavarman**, who is evidently the Maukhari king Śarvavarman, whose copper-seal we have in No. 47 below, Plate xxxA; and **Avantivarman**, who is probably the Maukhari Avantivarman, mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* as the father of Grahavarman who became the husband of Rājyaśrī, the sister of Harshavardhana of Kanauj.²

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, **Gōmatikottaka**, the fort whence the charter was issued, must evidently be looked for somewhere along the river Gōmati, the modern Gōmti or Gumti, which, rising in the Shāhjahānpur District of the North-West Provinces, passes Lucknow and Jaunpur, and flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghāzīpur, and about eighty-five miles to the west of Dēo-Baranark. And **Vārūpikā** is plainly the modern **Dēo-Baranark** itself. In the modern name, the first component is *dēva*, 'a god'; and the second, a corruption of Varūpārka, evidently gives the name of a later conception of the original god, embodying the attributes of the Sun (*arka*) with those of Varuṇa.

TEXT.³

- [na]mah [II*] Svasti Śakti-ṭray-ōpātta-jayaśabdān-mahā-nau-
 14 hā(ha)sty-aśva-patti-sambhāra-durnivārāj-jaya-skandhāvārāt **Gōmatikottaka-**
 samīpa-vāsa-
 2 [kāt] [śrī-Mādhava]guptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudyātaḥ
 paramabhāṭṭārikāyām rājnyām mahādēvyām śrī-Śrīmatyām-utpannah
 paramabhāṭṭavataḥ śrī-Āditya[sē]-
 3 [nadēvas=tasya] pu[ṭtra]s=tat-pād-ānudyātaḥ paramabhāṭṭārikāyām rājnyām
 mahādēvyām śrī-Kōnad[ē*]jvyām-utpannah paramamāhēśvara-
 paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahār[ā][ā]-
 4 [dhirāja-paramēśvara]-śrī-D[ē]vaguptad[ē]vas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānu-

¹ See, for instance, Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, pp. 12 f. and 68; and Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 27, note 42.

² See FitzEdward Hall's preface to the *Vāsavadattā*, p. 52; and the *Harshacharita*, Kāśmīr edition, p. 311 ff.

³ From the ink-impression.

⁴ Bhagwanlal Indraji supplied *varuṇavāsi-bhāṭṭārakāya* here. But only about five *aksharas*, or at the most six, appear to have been destroyed.

⁵ Some sectarian title of Mādhavagupta must have been destroyed here; but there seems hardly room enough for *paramabhāṭṭavata* or *paramamāhēśvara*.

⁶ Read *śrī-Āditya*.

⁷ This name of Dēvaguptadēva,—which is of considerable importance, from its bearing on the date of the *Vākātaka Mahārājas*,—is very indistinct; but I agree with Bhagwanlal Indraji that it can be read with sufficient certainty.

- dhyātaḥ paramabhattachārikāyā[m*] rājnyā[m*] mahādēvyā[m*] śrī-
 5 [svara-paramabhattachārika-mahārāja[dhī]rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Vishnuguptadēvas-
 tasya putras=tat-pād-anudhyātaḥ paramabhattachārikāyā[m*] rājnyā[m*]
 mahādēvyā[m*] śrī-Ijjā[dēvyā]-
 6 [m=utpannah parama.....paramabhattachārika-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-
 śrī-Jivita-guptadēva[h*] kuśali Nagara-bh[u*]ktau Vālavī-vaishayika-
 śrī-Vā[ṇvō]..
 7 padra(?)lik(?)ksh)-antāshpātī-V[ā*]rupikā-grāma-
 gōshth[ā]na(?)kula-talāvātaka-dūta-slmakarmakara-madyā(?)
 8 taka-rājaputtra-rājamattrā-mahā....
 kshatika-mahādandanāyaka-mahāpratthāra-mah[ā]śa-
 9 pra(?)mātasā..... k[u]m[ā]rāmātya-rājasthānly-
 ōparika-..... dhika-chaurōddharanika-dāndika-da(?)nda-
 10 [pāsika(?)] ka rshni(?)vala-vyāyata-
 Kīśō(?)ravā(?)ta(?)ka(?)g[r]āma-h d . t . . yanikaga pati-
 karma(?)-
 11 rasaka t-Asmat-p[ā]da-prasād-ōpaitvinas-cha
 prativ[ā]sinas=cha vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarā[n*] mahattara-ka(?)kshi(?)pura-
 12 viṇāpita-śrī-Varuṇavāsi-
 bhattachārika-prativa(ba)ddhā-bhōjaka-Sūryamittreṇa upari-likhi-
 13 [ta] grām-ādi-samyutam paramēśvara-
 śrī-Vā(bā)lādityadēvena sva-śāsanēna bhagava-śrī-Varuṇavāsi-
 bhattachārika-
 14 ka va-parivā(?)haka bhōjaka-Hansa-
 mittrasya samāpat[t*]yā yathakāl-ādhyāsibhiś=cha ēvaṃ paramēśvara-
 15 śrī-Sarvvavarmma bhōjaka-Rishi-mittira yatakam
 ēvaṃ paramēśvara-śrī[ma*]d-Avantivarmmanā pūrvva-dattakam-avala-
 16 [mbya] ēvaṃ mah[ā*]rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-
 śāsana-dānēna bhōjaka-Durddha(?)ra(?)mittirasya-
 anumō-
 17 [dita] tē(?)na(?) bhu(?)jyātē(?) [i*] tad=aham
 kimapi(?) ēvaṃ matimān ānupā(mō)ditam=iti
 sa(?)rvva(?)samājñāpa(?)nā(?) [i*] ētā ..
 18 payu
 Varuṇavāsy-āyatanam tad=anu dattam

¹ Bhagwanlal Indrajī read *humāra*; but the three *aksharas* are distinctly *hamala*.

² Read *sr-ijjā*. ³ Either *bhāgavata* or *māhēśvara* is illegible here.

⁴ Bhagwanlal Indrajī read *savitri*; but the three *aksharas* are distinctly *jivita*, as, in fact, was recognised by Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. pp. viii., 68).

⁵ Read *rājāmātya*.

⁶ Read *bhagavach-ckhrā*.

⁷ Read *bhōjaka-rishi*; or, according to the more usual custom, *bhōjak-arshi*.—In the case of a final *a*, followed by an initial *ri*, it is usual to join the vowels in regular *samāhi*. But Dr. Hultzsch has drawn my attention to the fact that the commentary on Pāṇini, vi. 1, 128, *riṭy-akoh*, states that the *samāhi* here is in accordance with the opinion of Śākalya, and thus seems to intimate that, according to other grammarians, the *samāhi* is optional, and a hiatus is equally permissible.

- 19 tyaksha
 s-ōdraṅgaṃ s-ōparikaraṃ sa-daśāparādha-pañcha .⁷
 20 [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to! Hail! From the victorious camp, possessed of shouts of victory acquired by the three constituents of power,¹ (and) invincible through (its) equipment of great ships and elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, (and) situated near the fort of **Gōmatikottaka** :—

(Line 2).—(There was) the illustrious **Mādhavagupta**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the glorious **Adityasēnadēva**,² begotten on the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā*, the queen,³ the *Mahādēvī*, the glorious **Śrīmatidēvī**.

(L. 3).—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and [*Paramēśvara*], the glorious **Dévaguptadēva**,⁴ begotten on the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā*, the queen, the *Mahādēvī*, the glorious **Kōnadēvī**.

(L. 4).—His son, who meditated on his feet, was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the [*Paramabhaṭṭārikā*], *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious **Vishnuguptadēva**, begotten on the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā*, the queen, the *Mahādēvī*, the glorious **Kamaladēvī**.⁵

(L. 5).—His son, who meditates on his feet, the most devout worshipper of the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious **Jīvitaguptadēva**⁶ (II).—[begotten] on the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā*, the queen, the *Mahādēvī*, the glorious **Ijjādēvī**,⁷—being in good health, [issues a command] to the herdsmen, *Talvātakas*,⁸ messengers,⁹ makers of boundaries,¹⁰

¹ *śakti-traya*.—The three *śaktis*, or 'constituents of regal power,' are *prabhutva*, 'majesty,' *mantra*, 'good counsel,' and *utsāha*, 'energy.'

² The omission, in the case of Ādityasēna, of the paramount titles,—which are duly attached to his name in the Mandār Hill inscriptions, Nos. 44 and 45 above, page 211, and to the names of his mother and wife, and all his successors, in the present inscription,—is rather peculiar.

³ *rājīk*; see page 212 above, note 5.

⁴ See page 215 above, note 7.

⁵ See page 216 above, note 1.

⁶ See page 216 above, note 4.

⁷ This is a Prākṛit name, in which *ijjā* represents the Sanskrit *ijyā*, 'a sacrifice.'—We have had another Prākṛit name of a female, in *Ajjhitadēvī*; e.g. in line 5 of the Kārtalāṭ grant of the *Mahārāja Jayanātha* of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117.

⁸ *Talvātaka* is an official title, the etymology and meaning of which are not apparent.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his treatment of this inscription, read the word with the short vowel *a* in the second syllable, and explained it as meaning the modern *Talāṭ* or *Talāṭh*, 'the village accountant; but of course some authority requires to be cited, before this explanation can be accepted.

⁹ *Dāta*; the word seems to denote here simply ordinary message-carriers or postmen; not the special officers called *Dātakas*, employed in connection with copper-plate charters (see page 100 above, note 3).

¹⁰ *Simaharmakara*.

..... *Rājaputras*,¹ *Rājāmātyas*, *Mahādāṇḍānyakas*, *Mahāpratthāras*,²
 *Kumārāmātyas*, *Rājasthānyas*, *Uparikas*,
 *Chaurōddharanikas*,³ *Dāṇḍikas*,⁴ *Dāṇḍapāṣikas*,⁵
 of the village of *Vāruṇikā*, which lies in the
 in the *Nagara bhukti*,⁶ (and) belonging to the
Vālavi vishaya, (and) to the village of *Kiśoravāṭaka* (?), which
 was laid out by
 and to those who subsist on the favour of Our feet, and to the neighbours, headed by the
 Brāhmaṇs, (and) to the *Mahattaras*,

(L. 12).—By the *Bhōjaka*⁷ *Sūryamitra*, belonging to (the establishment of) the divine
 (god) the holy and sacred *Varuṇavāsin*, who was requested the
 above-mentioned [village] together with and the
 village, &c., was formerly bestowed by the *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Bālādityadēva*, by
 (his) own charter, the divine (god) the holy and sacred *Varuṇavāsin*,
 by restoration to the *Bhōjaka* *Hamsamitra*, and by those who presided at
 different times, viz. the *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Śarvavarman*
 [to] the *Bhōjaka* *Rishimitra* by the *Paramēśvara* *Avantivarmān*. In accord-
 ance with this practice' assent to its enjoyment by the
Bhōjaka *Durdharamitra* was given, by the grant of a charter, by the *Mahārājādhirāja* and
Paramēśvara; and it is now enjoyed by him.

(L. 17).—"Therefore I [now announce] that it is assented to
; such is (my) command to all people.
 the altar of (the god) *Varuṇavāsin*; after that, there is given
 with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, with (the proceeds of
 fines for) the ten offences, the five

¹ *Rājaputra* means literally 'a king's son, a prince'; but, as used in such passages as the pre-
 sent, it evidently has some technical official meaning, differing from this. In the modern Prakrits we
 have, in Marāṭhī, *rāut* or *rāḍī*, and in Gujarāṭī, *rāwat*, in the sense of 'a horse-soldier, a trooper.'
 And these words would seem to be derived from *rājaputra*, and so to indicate its technical meaning;
 rather than, as given by Molesworth and Candy in their Marāṭhī Dictionary, from *rāva-dāta*, 'a
 king's messenger.'

² *Mahāpratthāra*, lit. 'a great door-keeper,' was the technical title of the officer next in grade
 above the *Pratthāras* (see page 190 above, note 1).

³ *Chaurōddharanika*, lit. 'one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves,' is evidently
 the technical title of a certain class of police officers.

⁴ *Dāṇḍika*, lit. 'a chastiser, a punisher,' may denote either a judicial functionary, from *daṇḍa* in
 the sense of 'a fine,' or a police officer, from the same word in the sense of 'a rod (of punishment).'

⁵ *bhukti*, lit. 'enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term.—From the arrangement of the text
 here, as also from the mention of "the village of *Pāṇyaka*, in the *Śrāvastī bhukti*, and belonging to
 the *Vālayikā vishaya* which lay in the *Śrāvastī maṇḍala*," in the Dighwā-Dubaut grant of the *Mahā-
 rāja* *Mahēndrapāla* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 112, line 7 f.), and the mention of "the village of *Tikkarikā*,
 in the *Pratiśṭhāna bhukti*, and attached to the *Kāśpāra pāṭhaka* which belonged to the *Vārāṇasī
 vishaya*," in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahārāja* *Vināyaka* (*id.* Vol. XV. p. 141,
 line 9 f.), the term *bhukti* seems to have denoted a larger extent of territory than a *vishaya*.

⁶ *Bhōjaka* is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as denoting 'a class of
 priests, or sun-worshippers, supposed to be descended from the Magas by intermarriage with women
 of the *Bhōja* race.'—Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary, gives the same word as meaning 'a village-head-
 man.'

⁷ The construction of the original is *Bālādityadēva* *pūrva-dattakam=avalambya*,
 'having relied on (i.e. having adapted himself to) the former grant that was made by *Bālādityadēva*
 (and the others mentioned).' I have broken up the construction for convenience of translation.

No. 47; PLATE XXX A.

ASIRGADH COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF SARVAVARMAN.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice, through two independent channels, in 1836. In the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 482 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published the Rev. W. H. Mill's reading of the text, and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxvi.) reduced from a drawing, forwarded to him by Dr. J. Swiney, which had been made in 1805 from a wax-impression of the original seal, and had been in the possession of Dr. Mellish from then; the lithograph is a fairly good one; but the rendering of the inscription was erroneous almost throughout. And in the *Four. R. As. Soc. F. S.* Vol. III. p. 377 ff., Professor H. H. Wilson published Sir Charles Wilkins' reading of the text and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, apparently full-size, prepared from an impression which was found in 1805 or 1806 by Captain Colebrooke at Asirgadh, in a box containing property of the Mahārāja Scindia, and was forwarded by him to Sir Charles Wilkins.

Asirgadh¹ is a hill-fort, which formerly belonged to Scindia, about eleven miles to the north-east of Burhānpur,² the chief town of the Burhānpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Nimār³ District in the Central Provinces. As is shewn by the Sōnpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxiiB, and the seal attached to the spurious Gayā plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii., the original of the inscription is evidently the seal, presumably of copper, of a copper-plate grant. The grant itself appears never to have been found. As regards the seal, it is not quite clear from the published accounts whether the original was ever found, or only impressions of it. But, at any rate, I have not been able to find out what became either of the seal, or of the impressions of it. My lithograph is a full-size reproduction of the lithograph published with Professor H. H. Wilson's paper.

In the absence of the original seal and impressions, I am unable to give any details as to its measurements, weight, state of preservation, &c. But, if the original lithograph is full-size, it represents a seal, roughly oval in shape, measuring about $4\frac{3}{4}$ " by $5\frac{1}{8}$ ". The upper part is occupied by emblems, which are—in the centre, a bull, walking to the proper right, decorated with a garland; beyond it, or perhaps attached to its off-side, there is an umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers; on the proper right side, in front of the bull, there is a man, walking, who carries in his right hand a curved double axe on a short transverse handle, and in his left hand, either a standard, with a wheel or sun-emblem on the top of it, or perhaps an *abdgir* or 'sunshade'; and on the proper left, behind the bull, there follows another man, who carries in his left hand an ordinary long-handled double axe, and in his right either a *chauki*-brush or a stick, with which he is driving the bullock.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though rather florid, especially in respect of the representation of the superscript vowels, they are of a perceptibly older type than those of the inscriptions of the Guptas of

¹ The 'Asirgarh and Asseer Gurh' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. $21^{\circ} 28' N.$; Long. $76^{\circ} 20' E.$

² The 'Burhanpur and Boorhanpoor' of maps, &c.

³ The 'Nimār' of maps, &c.

Magadha, Nos. 42, 43, and 46, Plates xxviii. and xxixA. and B.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmanya*, in *utpannah-parama*, line 7; (2) the doubling throughout of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *atikkranta*, line 1, and *puttra*, line 3; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyata*, lines 3, 4, 5, and 6.

The seal is one of the **Maukhari** king **Śarvavarman**, whose approximate date is fixed very closely by the mention of his father **Īśānavarman**, as the contemporary of Kumāragupta of Magadha, in line 7 of the Aphaś inscription of Ādityasēna, No. 42 above, page 200. The mere finding of the inscription at Aśrīgaḍh of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukharis with that locality. Their territory probably lay some hundreds of miles more to the east. Its real position, however, is a point that, with the definite date of Śarvavarman, can only be cleared up by the discovery, if it is still in existence, of the plate itself, to which the seal belongs.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Chatus-samudr-ātikkranta-kṛttih pratāp-ānurāg-ōpanat-ānya-rājā(jā)^a varṇp-
āśrama-vyavasthā- *PR*
- 2 pana-pravṛitta-chakkras-Chakkradhara iva prajānām-artti-hara(h*) *R* śrī(śrī)-
mahārāja-**Harivarmma** [11*] Tasya
- 3 puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhy[ā*]tō Jayasvāmī-bhattārikā-dēvyā^a *PS* *QX* m=utpannah
P śrī-mahārāj-**Ādityava-**
- 4 rmma [11*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Harshaguptā-bhattārikā-
dēvyām=utpannah śrī-mah[ā*]rā-
- 5 j-**Ēśvaravarmma** [11*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyāta **Upaguptā**^a
bhattārikā-dēvyām=utpannō *P*
- 6 mah[ā*]rājādhirāja-śrī(śrī)-**Īśānavarmma** [11*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānuddhyātō La(P)ksh(m)iva *P*
- 7 [tj]*-bhattārikā-mah[ā*]dēvyām=utpannah-paramamāhēśvarā(rō) ma-
- 8 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Śarvavarmma **Maukhari** [11*]

¹ From the lithograph published with Sir Charles Wilkins and Prof. Wilson's paper; so also the present lithograph.

^a In the absence of the original seal, which possibly was not properly cleaned before it was copied, I can only treat this, and a few other instances, as mistakes of the original, though they may be only defects in the lithograph.

^b Sir Charles Wilkins read *umdguptā*. As regards the second syllable, *m* and *p* are very much alike in the lithograph. But the letter here seems to be *p*, rather than *m*; and there is certainly no *d* over it.—In support of my reading, the name *Upaguptā* occurs in the masculine form, *Upagupta*, as the name of the fourth or fifth Buddhist Patriarch (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. pp. 149, 315; *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 182, and Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273).

^c Read *śr-Īśāna*.

^d Sir Charles Wilkins read *harship*; but there are four *aksharas* to be accounted for, not three. The first *akshara* is very doubtful; the second is certainly not *rshi*, but seems to be *ksh[m]*, rather imperfectly copied; the third is *va*; in the fourth, the superscript *f* is distinctly visible, and the consonant, which is almost entirely illegible, naturally suggests itself as *t*.

TRANSLATION.

(There was) the illustrious *Mahārāja Harivarman*, whose fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (his) prowess and by affection (for him); who was like (the god) Chakradhara, in employing (his) sovereignty¹ for regulating the different castes and stages of religious life; (and) who was the remover of the afflictions of (his) subjects. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious *Mahārāja Ādityavarman*, begotten on the *Bhaṭṭārikā*² and *Dēvī*³ *Jayasvāmini*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious *Mahārāja Śivaravarman*, begotten on the *Bhaṭṭārikā* and *Dēvī* *Harshaguptā*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Śānavarman*, begotten on the *Bhaṭṭārikā* and *Dēvī* *Upaguptā*.⁴ His son, who meditates on his feet, (is) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the *Mahārājādhirāja Śarvavarman*, the *Maukhari*, begotten on the *Bhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahādēvī* *Lakshmivati*.⁵

No. 48; PLATE XXX B.

BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1790, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 167 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington.⁶—In 1837, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 674 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxvi. Nos. 15, 16, and 17) reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne.—And in 1884, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 428, note 55, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has incidentally published his own reading of the text.

The *Barābar Hill*, the ancient *Pravaragiri* of this inscription, stands about a mile and a half away on the north side of the village of *Panāri*,⁷ which is about fourteen miles to the north by east of *Gayā*,⁸ the chief town of the *Gayā District* in the *Bengal Presidency*. In the south part of the hill there is a cave-temple, which it has become the custom to call the "*Lōmaśa Rishi Cave*,"⁹ and the original construction of which is allotted by

¹ Typified by the *chakra*, or 'wheel (of his chariot).'¹—*chakra* means also the discus of *Vishṇu*; and hence the point of the comparison.

² *Bhaṭṭārikā*, *lit.* 'she who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is the feminine form of *bhaṭṭāraka* (see page 17 above, note 1). It is used here as a technical title of a wife of a *Mahārāja*; but, in line 7 below, it occurs also as the title of a wife of a *Mahārājādhirāja*.

³ *Dēvī*, *lit.* 'goddess,' is another technical title of a wife of a *Mahārāja*.

⁴ See page 220 above, note 3.

⁵ See page 220 above, note 5.

⁶ See also the Calcutta reprint of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 128.

⁷ The 'Punaree-Ferozpoor' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 24° 59' N.; Long. 85° 7' E. The hill itself is entered under the name of 'Baraber Hill,' and is a Trigonometrical Survey Station.

⁸ The 'Gya' of maps, &c.

⁹ Marked C. in Gen. Cunningham's sketch given in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 40, Plate xviii.

General Cunningham to the Aśoka period, though the entrance-porch was enlarged and decorated with a sculptured façade at a later time, probably when the present inscription was engraved. The inscription is on a smooth polished surface of the granite rock, over the entrance to the cave.¹

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 3' 9½" broad by 1' 3½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from ⅜" to 1½". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and exhibit very markedly the fully developed *mātrās*, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, that have already been noticed at pages 43 and 140 above.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word *Om*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling throughout of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *puttra*, line 1, and *yattra*, line 5; and (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vabhūva*, line 4.

The **inscription** is one of a **Maukhari** chieftain named **Anantavarman**; but, from the way in which his father Śārdūla or Śārdūlavarman is mentioned in line 5, it seems to have been engraved while the latter was still aliye. It is not dated. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by **Anantavarman**, of an image of the god Viṣṇu, in his incarnation as Kṛiṣṇa.

[The hill itself is mentioned in line 2, under the name of **Pravaragiri**. The word, of course, is capable of being taken simply as an epithet, to be rendered by "(this) excellent hill." But, on the analogy of the town of Pravarapura, which is mentioned in the first line of the Chammak grant of the *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv., it seems to me to be clearly intended as the actual name of the hill. And we have possibly a reminiscence of it in the modern name Barābar, for which, at any rate, General Cunningham's proposed etymology of *barā dvāra*, 'the great enclosure,'² does not suffice to account.

TEXT:

- 1 Om⁴ [11*] Bhūpāna[m*]⁵ **Maukharinām** kulam-aṭānu-guṇo-lam-chaḥar-ātma-jātyā⁶ śrī-Śārdūlasya⁷ yō-bhūj-jana-hṛdaya-harō-**Nantavarmma**
su-puttraḥ [1*]
2 **Kṛiṣṇasya**-ākṛiṣṇa-kīrttiḥ **Pravaragiri-guhā-saṃsṛitam** viṇvāp-ētat mūrta'm
lōkē yaśa[h*] svām rachitam=iva **mud-āchikarat-kāntimat-saḥ** ||
with iron caused to be made

¹ Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 47) speaks of it as "two distinct inscriptions, the upper one, of two lines, being somewhat later in date than the lower one, of four lines, in rather larger characters." But the six lines are all one and the same inscription; and the rather smaller size of the letters in the first two lines is simply due to the lateral space available being less, in consequence of the turning over of the upper part of the façade, within the limits of which the inscription is engraved.

² *id.* p. 43.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ In the original, the symbol for this word, *Om*, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

⁵ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ The engraver first formed *ṛtti*, and then partially cancelled the *i*.

- 3 Kālah¹ śatru-mahābhujāṃ prajāyinaṃ ichchhā-phalāḥ pādapō¹ dipah
~~kshattrā-kulasya~~ ~~paika-samara-vyāpāra-sābhāvataḥ~~ [1*]
 4 ~~kāntā-chitta-hataḥ~~ Smara-pratisamah pātā va(ba)bhūva kshitēḥ śrī-Śārdūla
 iti¹ pratisṭhita-yaśā[h*] ~~sāmānta-chūdāmanih~~ II
 5 Utpakshma-antavilōhit-ōru-tarala-spasht-ēshta-tārām rushā¹ śrī-Śārdūla-nripah
 karōti vishamāṃ yatra sva-drishtim ripō(pau) I
 6 tattr-ākarnṇa-vikriṣṭa-śārṅga-saradhi-vyastāś-śarō=tt(nt)-āvahah tat-puttrasya
 . pataty-ananta-sukha-dasya-~~Anantavarman~~-śrutēḥ II

TRANSLATION.

Om! He, **Anantavarman**, who was the excellent son, captivating the hearts of mankind, of the illustrious **Śārdūla**,¹ (and) who, possessed of very great virtues, adorned by his own (high) birth the family of the **Maukhari** kings,—he, of unsullied fame, with joy caused to be made, as if it were his own fame represented in bodily form in the world, this beautiful image, placed in (this) cave of the mountain **Pravaragiri**, of (the god) **Kṛishṇa**.

(Line 3.)—The illustrious **Śārdūla**, of firmly established fame, the best among chieftains,² became the ruler of the earth;—he who was a very Death to hostile kings; who was a tree, the fruits of which were the (fulfilled) wishes of (his) favourites; who was the torch of the family of the warrior caste, that is glorious through waging many battles; (and) who, charming the thoughts of lovely women, resembled (the god) **Smara**.

(L. 5.)—On whatsoever enemy the illustrious king **Śārdūla** casts in anger his scowling eye, the expanded and tremulous and clear and beloved pupil of which is red at the corners between the up-lifted brows,—on him there falls the death-dealing arrow, discharged from the bowstring³ drawn up to (his) ear, of his son, the giver of endless pleasure, who has the name⁴ of **Anantavarman**.

No. 49; PLATE XXXIA.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

THIS inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1799, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 168 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington.⁵—In 1847, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 401 ff., Major Markham Kittoe published a lithograph of it

¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and in the following verse.

² and ³ These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

⁴ As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note 3.

⁵ *Sāmānta*; see page 148 above, note 1. The use of the word here perhaps indicates the exact status of these Maukhari chiefs.

⁶ *saradhi*, *lit.* 'the arrow-holder,' is usually explained by 'quiver.' But here it plainly denotes the string of the bow.

⁷ *lit.* 'the hearing, the sound.'

⁸ See also the Calcutta reprint of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 129.

(*id.* Plate x.) reduced from a copy made apparently by himself, to accompany his "Notes on the Caves of Barabar."—And this was followed, in the same volume, p. 594 ff., by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading of the text, accompanied by a reprint of Sir Charles Wilkins' translation.

The Nāgarjuni Hill, which, in line 8 of the following inscription of the same chieftain, No. 50 below, is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhya range, is about a mile away on the north side of the village of Jāphra,¹ which is about fifteen miles to the north by east of Gayā, the chief town of the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency. It is the most eastern part of the group of hills that includes the Barabar Hill mentioned in connection with the preceding inscription, page 221 above. On the north side of the hill, there is a cave-temple, which is shewn to belong to the Asoka period by an inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Dēvānampiya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has been named the "Vadathi Cave."² The present inscription is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the right hand in the entrance to the cave.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4' 2½" broad by 1' 5½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The average size of the letters is about 1". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription of the same chieftain, No. 48 above, Plate xxxB., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed *mātrās*.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word *om*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *s*, in *ansa*, line 5; and (2) the customary doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *kshattrā*, line 1, and *nēttā*, line 2.

The inscription is another record of the Maukhari chieftain Anantavarman. It is not dated. It is a Śaiva inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by Anantavarman, of an image representing Śiva, in the form of Bhūtapati or "the lord of beings," and his wife Pārvatī, under the name of Dēvī. The image was probably of the kind called Ardhanārīśvara, combining Śiva and Pārvatī in one body; the right half being the male god, and the left the female.

TEXT.³

- 1 Ōm⁴ [1*] Āst⁵=sarvva-mahākṣhitām-Anur⁶=iva kshattrā-sthītē=ddēsikāḥ
 śrīmān=matta-gajendra-khēla-gamanāḥ śrī-Yajñavarmma nripaḥ [1*]
 2 yasy=Abhūta-sahasranēttā-viraha-kṣhāmā sad=aiv=Adhvairaiḥ Paulōmt chiram-
 āśru-pāta-malinām dhā(dha)ttē kapōla-śriyam ||

¹ The 'Kootbunpoor-Jafra' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 0' N.; Long. 85° 8' E.—The name of the hill is not shewn in the map.

² Marked G. in Gen. Cunningham's sketch given in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 40, Pl. xviii.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ In the original, the symbol for this word, *om*, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and in the following verse.

⁶ Sir Charles Wilkins and Dr. R. Mitra both read *mahākṣhitām Manur=iva*; but there is no *anusvāra* over the *id.*

- 3 Śrī-Śārdūla-nrip-ātmajaḥ para-hitāḥ śrī-pauruṣaḥ śrūyatē¹ lōkē chandra-
marchi-nirmala-guṇo yō-Nantavarman-ābhidhā(dha)ḥ [I*]
4 dṛiṣṭi-ādṛiṣṭa-vibhūti karṭri-varadaṁ tēn=ādbhutaṁ kārītaṁ² vimvaṁ
Bhūtapati-guh-āsitam=idam Dēvyās=cha pāyāj-jagat ||
5 Anu-ānt-ākṛiṣṭa-śārṅga-pravitata-saśara-jyā-sphṛan-maṇḍal-ānta- I -vyakta-
bhṛūbhāṅga-lakṣma-vyatikara-śaval-ākhaṇḍa-vaktreṇdu-vimva[h*]³ I
6 antāy-Ānantavarmanā Smara-sadṛiṣa-vapur-jjivitē ni[h*]sprihābhiḥ dṛiṣṭa[h*]
sthitvā mṛigibhiḥ suchiram=animiṣa-sniḡdha-mugdh-ēkṣaṇābhiḥ ||
7 Atyākṛiṣṭāt⁴-kurara-viruta-sparddhinaḥ śārṅga-yantrā- I -d⁵=vēg-āviddhāḥ
pravitata-guṇād-iritaḥ saushṭhāvēna I
8 dū'ra-prāpti vimathita-gaj-ōdbhrānta-vājī pravirō I⁶ vāṇō=ri-stri-vyasaṇa-pādavi-
dēsikō-Nanta-nāmnā(mna)ḥ⁷ ||

TRANSLATION.

Om! There was a glorious king, the illustrious **Yajñavarman**,—who, as if he were Anu,¹⁰ instructed all rulers of the earth in the duty of those who belong to the warrior caste;—whose gait was like the play of a rutting elephant;—(and) through whose sacrifices (the goddess) Paulōmī, always emaciated by separation from (the god Indra) who has a thousand eyes, invoked (*by this king so constantly as to be perpetually absent from her*), has had the beauty of (*her*) cheeks for a long time sullied by the falling of tears.

(Line 3.)—He, the son of the illustrious king **Śārdūla**, who has the name of **Anantavarman**; who is reputed in the world to be benevolent to others, (and) to be possessed of fortune and manliness, (and) to be full of virtues that are as spotless as the rays of the moon,—by him was caused to be made this wondrous image, placed in (*this*) cave, of (the god) Bhūtapati and (the goddess) Dēvī, which is possessed of excellencies (*of workmanship*) some of them (*previously*) beheld (*in other images*) but others not so; (and) which confers boons upon the maker (*of it*). May it protect the world!

(L. 5.)—Having the surface of the full-moon that is (*his*) face made grey through being scattered over with spots that are (*his*) frowns displayed at the ends of the bent arc, glistening with (*its*) string pulled tight and fitted with an arrow, of the bow drawn up to the extremities of (*his*) shoulders, **Anantavarman**, whose body is like (*that of*) (the god) Smara,—having stood, gazed upon for a very long time by the does, indifferent to life, whose moist and tender eyes omit to blink (*through the intentness with*

¹ and ² These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

³ Metre, Sragdhārā.

⁴ Read *ānta-vyakta*, omitting the mark of punctuation.

⁵ Metre, Mandākrantā.

⁶ Read *yantrād*, omitting the mark of punctuation.

⁷ This *akṣhara* is partly mixed up with the *ḥ* of *dḥ* in *vidḥisvasu*, which was subsequently engraved below this inscription, but has no connection with it.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁹ This *visarga* was at first omitted, and then was inserted partially on the first stroke of the following mark of punctuation, when the text was altered from *nāmnā* to *nāmnah*.

¹⁰ See page 224 above, note 6.—Anu, one of the sons of Yayāti, was the progenitor of the Ānayas who are identified by Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. II p. 14 ff.*) with the 'Janjābas,' who now occupy 'Makhyāla' and other places in the Salt Range, in the Pañjāb.

which they regard him),—(lives only) for (the purpose of dealing out) death. The far-reaching (and) powerful arrow, scattering the elephants and driving horses wild with fear, of him who has the name of **Ananta**,¹—impelled with speed (and) skilfully discharged from the machine of (his) bow, fitted with a well-stretched string, that is drawn very tight (and) rivals the screams of an osprey (with the noise of its twanging),—teaches to the wives of (his) enemies the condition of the sorrows (of widowhood):

NO. 50; PLATE XXXIB.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

THIS inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol. I. p. 276 ff., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington, and, with it, a lithograph from the same materials.²—And in 1837, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 67a ff., Mr. James Prinsep published another reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxiv.), reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne.

This is another inscription from the **Nāgārjuni Hill**³ in the lands of **Jāphra**, in the **Gaya District** of the **Bengal Presidency**. On the south side of the hill, there is another **cave-temple**, which also is shewn to belong to the **Aśoka** period by another inscription, in four lines, of **Dasalatha-Dēvānampiya** on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has come to be called the "**Gōpi Cave**."⁴ The inscription now published is on the smooth and polished surface of the **granite rock**, on the left hand in the entrance to the cave.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 4' 11" broad by 1' 11½" high, is in a state of **excellent preservation throughout**; except that, in the last line, the name of the village that was granted has been intentionally obliterated.—The average **size** of the letters is about 1". The **characters** belong to the **northern class of alphabets**, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions of the same chieftain, Nos. 48 and 49 above, Plates xxxB. and xxxIA., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed **mātrās**.—The **language** is **Sanskrit**; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word **ōm**, the inscription is in **verse throughout**.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *anśu*, line 2, and before *h*, in *anhas*, line 9; (2) the customary doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *vikkrama*, line 4, and *puttrēṇa*, line 7; and (3) the use throughout of *v* for *b*, in *lavdham*, line 5; *vandhu*, line 6; and *amvubhiḥ*, line 9.

The inscription is another record of the **Maukharī** chieftain **Anantavarman**. It is not dated. It is either a **Śaiva**, or a **Śākta**, inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by **Anantavarman**, of an image of the goddess **Pārvatī**, the wife of **Śiva**, under the name of **Kātyāvanī**, and also the grant to the same goddess, under the name of **Bhavānī**, of a village, the name of which has been destroyed.

¹ As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note 3.

² See also the Calcutta reprint of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 236 ff.

³ See page 224 above, and note 1.

⁴ Marked E. in Gen. Cunningham's sketch in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 40, Pl. xviii.

In line 8 of this inscription, the Nāgarjūni Hill is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhya range. This is in accordance with facts; since the Vindhya mountains, though most conspicuous in Western and Central India, do extend right across the peninsula, until, passing through the neighbourhood of Gayā, their easternmost spurs reach and disappear in the valley of the Ganges at Rājmaḥā.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Om [11*] Unnidrasya² sarōruhasya sakalām-ākshipya śōbhām ruchā³
s-āvajñam Mahish-āsurasya śirasi nyastah kvaṇan-nūpurah⁴ 1⁵
2 ^RDēvyā vah sthira-bhakti-vāda-sadṛiṣṭm yuñjan-phāṣṇ-ārthitām⁶ | dīśyād=
achchha-nakh-āṇsu-jāla-jatīlah pādah padam sampadām ||
3 Aśt-ishta-samriddha-yajña-mahimā⁷ śrī-Yajñavarmmā⁸ nripah | prakhyātā(tō)
vimal-ēdu-nirmmala-yaśā[h*] kshātrasya dhāmnah padam⁹ |
4 prajñān-ānvaya-dāna-vikkrama-guṇair-yō rājakasy-āgrañ[h*] | bhūtv-āpi
prakṛiti-stha ēva vinayād-ākshōbhya-sat[t*]y-ōdadhi[h*] ||
5 Tasy-ōdṛpa-mah-ārṇav-ōpama-raṇa-vyāpāra-lavdha(bdha)m yaśah [i*] tanvānah
kakudam mukhēshu kakubhām kṛt[t*]yā jit-ēdamyugah [i*]
6 śrīmān=va(ba)ndhu-suhrij-jana-praṇayinām-āśah phalaiḥ pūraya[n*] | puttrah
kalpa-tarōr-iv-āpta-mahimām⁴ Śārdūlavarmmā⁸ nripah ||
7 Tasy-ānantam-ananta-kṛtti-yaśasō Nant-ādi-varmm-ākhyaya¹⁰ | khyātēn-āhita-
bhakti-bhāvita-dhiyā puttṛēṇa pūt-ātmanā [i*]
8 ā-sūrya-kshiti-chandra-tārakam-iyam¹¹ puny-āspadam vāñchchha(ñchha)tā |
vinyast-ādbhuta-Vindhya-bhūdhara-guhām-āśṛitya Kātyāyanī ||
9 Dhaut-āñhō-mala-panka-dōsham-amalair-māhānadair-amṇu(mbu)bbih | vyādhūt-
ōpavana-priyaṅgu-vakulair-āmōditam vāyubhi[h*] |
10 ^Rkalpant-āvadhi-bhōgyam-uchcha-śikhari-chchhāy-āvṛit-ārka-dyutim | [— —]
grāmam-analpa-bhōga-vibhavam ramyam Bhavānyai dadau ||

TRANSLATION.

Om! May the foot of (the goddess) Dēvi, fringed with the rays of (*its*) pure nails, point out the way to fortune, endowing with a (*suitable*) reward your state of supplication which is such as befits the expression of firm devotion;—(that foot) which, surpassing in radiance all the beauty of a full-blown waterlily, was disdainfully placed, with its tinkling anklet, on the head of the demon Mahishāsura¹²

(Line 3.)—There was a king, the illustrious Yajñavarman, possessed of greatness by celebrating copious sacrifices; renowned; possessed of fame as pure as the spotless moon; the abode of (*all*) the dignity of one of the warrior caste;—who, though he was the foremost of all kings in respect of wisdom, (*high*) descent, liberality, and prowess, yet, through modesty, was (*like*) an ocean which adheres to the natural state (*of tranquillity*), (*and*) the calmness of which is never to be disturbed.

¹ From the original stone.² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita, throughout.³ It is not customary to punctuate the first and third *pādas* of a verse; but it was done almost uniformly throughout this inscription.⁴ Read *mahimā*.⁵ A demon who assumed various forms, but principally that of a buffalo, and was slain by Pārvatī, who, in the form of Dēvi or Durgā, attacked him, on a lion, and cut off his head.

(L. 5.)—His son (*was*) the king **Śārdûlavarman**, who stretched out over the faces of the points of the compass, (*as*) an emblem of sovereignty, the renown that he had acquired in the occupation of war resembling (*in its extensiveness*) the great swollen ocean; who conquered (*the stains of*) this present age with (*his*) fame; who was illustrious; (*and*) who acquired, as it were, the glory of the *kalpa*-tree, by satisfying with rewards the wishes of (*his*) relatives and friends.

(L. 7.)—Of him, who was always possessed of infinite fame and renown, the son (*is*) he, pure of soul, (*and*) possessed of intellect animated with innate piety, who is known by the appellation of **Varman** commencing with **Ananta**;¹—by whom, desiring a shrine of religious merit that should endure as long as the sun, the earth, the moon, and the stars, this (*image of*) (the goddess) Kātyāyanī has been placed in (*this*) wonderful cave of the **Vindhya** mountains.

(L. 9.)—He has given to (the goddess) Bhavānī, to be enjoyed up to the time of the destruction of all things, the charming village of, possessed of a great wealth of enjoyment,—the sin, impurity, mud, and blemishes of which are washed away by the pure waters of a great river;²—which is filled with perfume by the breezes that agitate the *priyangu*³ and *vakula*-trees⁴ in (*its*) groves;—(*and*) from which the radiance of the sun is screened off by (*this*) lofty mountain.

No. 51; PLATE XXXIIA.

JAUNPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARAVARMAN.

THIS inscription,—which was discovered by General Cunningham in 1875-76 or 1877-78, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 124 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxvii. No. 1),—is from a stone built in as one of the lower voussoirs of the outer arch of the south gate of the Jāmi Masjid at Jaunpur,⁵ the chief town of the Jaunpur District in the North-West Provinces.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 3½" broad by 1' 1½" high, is, so far as it goes, in a state of very good preservation, except for the marks by which it has been disfigured a little above the centre of the stone. But it is only a fragment of a very much larger inscription. Nothing has been lost at the top, and at the ends of the lines. But from thirty-eight to seventy-two *aksharas*,—probably the larger number,—are lost at the beginning of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below the last line that is extant.—The average size of the letters is about ⅙". The characters belong to the

¹ *i.e.* Anantavarman.

² We might find in this verse a reference to "the pure waters of (the river) Mahānadi." But the Mahānadi, which rises in the Rāypur District, flows into the Bay of Bengal, without coming anywhere within two hundred and fifty miles of the Nāgarjunī hill. The small river that runs past this hill, is named the Phalgu; and it flows into the Ganges, not into the Mahānadi. Under the name of Phalgu, it is mentioned in an inscription, belonging to about the twelfth century A.D., of a prince named Yakshapāla, at the Satī Ghāt at Gayā (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 64, line 2).

³ *priyangu*; the Panicum Italicum; a medicinal plant, and perfume.

⁴ *vakula*; the Mimosa Elengi.

⁵ The 'Jounpoor' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 41' N.; Long. 82° 43' E.

northern class of alphabets, and are radically of much the same type as those of the Asirgadh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the execution is, in some details, still more florid. In dōrbhyām, line 1, kīrtīr, line 4, karair-gunair-guṇavatām, line 5, and other places, we have to note that the superscript *r* is formed on the top line of the writing, instead of above it.—The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *k*, *t*, and *d*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in kkrāra, line 5; kshattrēṇa, line 1; and upaddravair, line 5; and (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in lavdha, line 1.

The inscription mentions, in line 4, a 'king' named Śīvaravarman, of the Maukhari, or as it is here called the Mukhara family, who is evidently the Makārdja Śīvaravarman, the grandfather of Śarvavarman, who is mentioned in line 5 of the Asirgadh seal, No. 47 above, page 219. But the lacunæ in the following lines are so extensive, that it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Śīvaravarman, or to one of his descendants. It is much to be wished that the first half of the stone could be recovered; since, in addition to clearing up this point, it would probably give the name of a king in connection with the city of Dhārā that is mentioned in line 6, and also the name of a king in connection with the Andhras who are spoken of in lines 7 and 8; and the latter information might afford the much-wanted starting-point for settling the chronology of the Andhra family. It would probably give us also the name of a king of Saurāshtra or Kāthiawād, in connection with the mountain Raivataka that is mentioned in line 7. The extant portion of the inscription contains no date, and nothing to indicate a sectarian character.

TEXT.¹

- 1 r(?) . ksh(?) . l(?) . gam^a || Dōrbhyām^a=[Ā]tmabhuvō dhanuḥ
saha-bhuvā kshattrēṇa lavdh(bdh)-ātmanā vistārī-
2 [u]dayini^a Mukharānām bhūbhujām^{pg} anavāyē¹ | sakala-
purusha-śakti-vyakta-śārngā^M-pratāpō
3 karmmaṇā^a yājñam^g dh[ū]ma-vitāna-mēgha-nivahaḥ puṇyam
vitēnē divi ||²
4 laka^a-srast-ākāgrām kulaiḥ || Tasya^a dikshu [v]itat-
āmala-kīrttēr-ātma-jō nripatir-Śīvaravarmma |³

¹ From the ink-impression.

² If (since we have a half-mark of punctuation after *anavāyē* in line 2) we accept the double mark of punctuation after the fourth extant *akshara* of this line as marking properly the end of a verse, seventy-two *aksharas* have been cut away and lost here. If, however, it marks only the end of the second *pāda* of a verse, then only thirty-eight *aksharas* are lost.—I have tried several ways of arranging the verses, in order to determine exactly how many *aksharas* are lost at the commencement of each line, but without being able to satisfy myself. The probability is, however, that the larger number (seventy-two) has been lost at the beginning of this line, and in proportion all the way down.

³ Metre, doubtful.

^a Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^g Metre, Mālinī.

^M Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^{pg} This mark of punctuation is followed by some scroll-work, to fill up the line.

¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

Metre, Svāgatā.

- 5 [kri]p¹-ānurāga-samita-kkrūr-āgam(?)-ōpaddravair-lōka-ānanda-karair-
gunair-gunavatām kō nāma
- 6 [a]dhishṭhitam kshitibhujām simhēna simhāsanaṁ II **Dhārā-**
mārgga-vinirgat-āgni-kanikā
- 7 dam II **Vindhy**-Addreḥ prati-randhram-**Andhra**-patinā śaṅkā,
parēṇ-āsitaṁ yātō **Raivatak**-āchalam
- 8 sām² · vāraṇānām ^Mghatāsu vyāptēḥ-ūtkhāta-^Mkhadga-dyuti-
khachita-bhujēshv-**Andhra-sēnā**-bhātēshu ^{NC}
- 9 ra³-prapāta-salilaiḥ snātām śilā-gandhibhiḥ pralēy-addri-
bhuvāś-cha śilā-payasaḥ prakshā-
- 10 rēpubhir-giri-sarit-pūr-ōrmmi-bhaṅg-ākulair-utsarppadbhir-anupragē-
pi divasō yasy-āp.
- 11 h ya

TRANSLATION.

..... [Wielding]
with (*his*) arms the bow of (the god) Ātmabhū,⁴ by means of (*his*) innate warriors' skill
that pervaded (*his very*) soul in the flourishing lineage
of the **Mukhara** kings; whose prowess with the bow was displayed with all the energy of
a man; by the rite; (*and his*) religious
merit, arising from sacrifices, spread out over the sky (*in the form of*) the mass of the
clouds of the canopy of the smoke (*of his oblations*)
having the ends of (*their*) curls fallen down by the families

(Line 4.)—Of him, whose spotless fame spread far and wide over the regions, the
son (*was*) king **Īśvaravarman**, with virtues which by
means of compassion and affection allayed the troubles (*caused*) by the approach of cruel
people, and which effected the happiness of mankind; who, indeed, of virtuous people
.....; by him, a very lion to (*hostile*) kings, the throne
was occupied. A spark of fire that had come by the road from (the city of) **Dhārā**
..... the lord of the **Andhras**, wholly given over to fear,
took up (*his*) abode in the crevices of the **Vindhya** mountains; went to
the **Raivataka** mountain among the warriors of the
Andhra army, who were spread out among the troops of elephants (*and*) whose arms were
studded with the lustre of (*their*) swords drawn out (*from the scabbards*),
..... bathed with the waters, fragrant with benzoin, of the torrents of
..... and cleansing the lands, full of cool waters, of (Himālaya) the moun-
tain of snow with the pollen
disordered by the breaking of the waves of the swollen mountain-streams, (*and*) flowing
onwards, whose day, even in the hours that come next after daybreak
.....

¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and in the next three lines.

² Metre, Sragdharā.

³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and in the next line.

⁴ *It.* 'the self-existent one;' an epithet of Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. From the mention of a bow, it must here denote Viṣṇu; who carries the bow of horn named Śārṅga.

No. 52; PLATE XXXII B.

SONPAT/COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF HARSHAVARDHANA.

THIS inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, is from a copper seal in the possession of Moharsingh Ramratan Mahajan, a merchant at Sônpat¹ or Sônîpat,² the chief town of the Sônpat Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Dehli District in the Panjâb. I obtained the seal for examination through the kindness of Mr. J. D. Tremlett, B.C.S., who, in fact, had the first information of it, and brought it to my notice.

The seal is oval, measuring about $5\frac{1}{8}$ " by $6\frac{3}{8}$ ". All round it there runs a rim, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad; and inside this there are, in rather shallow relief on a slightly countersunk surface,—at the top, a bull, recumbent to the proper right; and below this, the inscription that is given below. That it is only a seal, belonging to a copper-plate from which it has been detached, is shewn by plain indications of soldering on the back of it, and also by the spurious Gayâ plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii., which has a similar seal attached to it. The letters of the inscription are worn down so much, that in many places they can only be read by getting the light to fall on the surface at different angles; and in some places they are entirely illegible. The only historical information, however, that seems to be lost, is the completion of the name of Prabhâkaravardhana's father, in line 4. I have to acknowledge some assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in reading this inscription; but, of course, without binding him to any of the details of it, as here published.—The weight of the seal is 3 lbs. 6 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of much the same type as those of the Aśtîrghadh seal of Śārvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the forms are rather more conservative in details.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *putra*, lines 2 and 7.

The seal is one of Harshavardhana, king of Kanauj, who began to reign³ A.D. 606 or 607; and it is of peculiar interest, as being the first of his own epigraphical records that has ever come to light. I have made every effort to discover the plate to which it belongs; as the inscription on the plate would make the genealogy perfect, and also, if belonging to the early years of Harshavardhana's reign, would probably shew what era was used by him prior to the establishment of his own. But I have not succeeded in obtaining any information about it; and it seems to have been hopelessly lost sight of. The present owner of the seal states that there is no record of the plate itself having ever been in the possession of his family; so it is very doubtful whether it is now in existence.

¹ The 'Sonipat, Soonput, and Sunput,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. $28^{\circ} 59'$ N.; Long. $77^{\circ} 3'$ E.

² Other forms of the name are Sônêpat, and Sunpat.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 420, note 37.

TEXT:

- 1 y ... śrīmā(?)hā(?)dā) ..
 2 paramādityabha[kṛ]o mahārājja-śrī-Rājyavarddhanah [II*]
 Tasya puttras=tat-p[ā]-
 3 [d-ānudhyātah] śrī(?)Ma(?)hā(?)dēvyām= [utpannah paramā]dityabhaktō.
 mahārāja-śrīmad-Āditya-
 4 [varddhanah]¹ [II*] [Ta]sya [puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātah śrī]-Mahā-
sēnaguptā-dēvyām=utpanna
 5 y. sarv[v]a-varṇa-āśrama-vyavasthāpana-
 pravri-
 6 [ttah]. y ... va(?) prava[r]ddh paramādityabhaktah
 paramabhaṭṭāraka-
 7 mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Prabhākaravarddhanah [II*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-
 ānudhyā[ta]
 8 i śr[ī]matyā[m] Yaśō[m]maty[ām]=utpannah]
 paramasō(sau)gata
 9 [paramabhaṭṭāraka]-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhanah [II*]
 10 [Tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ānu]dhyātō mahādēvyā[m] Yaśōmatyā-
 11 [m=utpannah] [pa]-
 12 [paramabhaṭṭāraka-ma]hārājādhi[rāja-śrī-Harsha-
 13 varddhanah]⁴ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

(There was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Rājyavardhana* (I.) His son, [who meditated on] his feet, (was) the [most devout] worshipper of the Sun, the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Ādityavardhana*,¹ [begotten] on the illustrious *Mahādēvi*(?). His [son, who meditated on his feet], (was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Prabhākaravardhana*, begotten on the *Dēvī*, [the illustrious] *Mahāsēnaguptā*, (and) who was employed in regulating all the castes and stages of religious life. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout follower of Sugata,² the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Rājyavardhana* (II.), begotten on the glorious *Yaśōmatī*. [His younger brother], who meditated on [his feet], (is) the [*Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and] *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Harshavardhana*, [begotten] on the *Mahādēvī*, *Yaśōmatī*.

¹ From the original seal.

² This part of the name is quite illegible; but the analogy of the other names seems to indicate that the termination here was the same, viz. *vardhana*.

³ These two *aksharas*, *mahd*, are very indistinct; but I think they may be accepted as certain.

⁴ These three *aksharas*, *varddhanah*, are rather small and cramped, in the centre of the bottom of the seal.

⁵ See note 2 above.

⁶ *paramasauagata* is a Buddhist sectarian title. Sugata, *lit.* 'well-gone; well-bestowed; one who has attained a good state,' was one of the names or titles of Buddha.

Nos. 53 & 54; PLATE XXXIII A & B.

NACHNE-KI-TALAI STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE
MAHARAJA PRITHIVISHENA.

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84, and were brought to notice by him in 1885, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XXI. p. 97 f., where he published his reading of the text of the complete one, No. 54, accompanied by lithographs of both of them (*id.* Plate xxvii.)

Nachnê-ki-talâi¹ meaning literally the "tank of Nachna," is a small village or collection of huts, about seven miles south-west of Jasô,² the chief town of the Jasô State in the Bundêlkhand division of Central India. When I drafted the title of the Plate, I understood that the inscriptions were on a boulder lying in the jungle; whereas it now appears, from General Cunningham's published account, that they are on a loose slab which was found lying at 'Lakhura, Lakhuria, or Lakhâwara,' which is the name of the ground outside the fort of 'Kûthara or Kûtharagarh,' which again is given as an older name of the site on part of which the village of Nachna or Nachnê-ki-talâi now stands. The inscription of four lines, No. 54, is on the face of the slab; and the incomplete inscription, No. 53, on the side or edge of it. The explanation of No. 53 probably is, that this side was intended to be the front of the stone; but that the stone was then found to be too rough, and this face was made the side of it, and the inscription was commenced again and finished on what is now the front of it. And I am extremely doubtful whether the inscription on the side, No. 53, really consists of more than one line. Some signs resembling the syllables *vyâghra* are pencilled-in on the impressions that were sent to me; but I was unable to depute my own copyists to Nachnê-ki-talâi for the purpose of taking fresh impressions to settle this point, or to go there myself.

The writing of No. 53 covers a space of about 1' 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high; and of No. 54, about 1' 9" broad by 1' 1" high. The imperfections of some of the letters appear to be due to incomplete engraving, owing to irregularities of the stone, rather than to subsequent injury. In the centre of No. 54 there is a sculpture which may be either a Buddhist wheel, or the sun-symbol.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{7}{8}$ " to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, which I have noticed at page 18 f. above.—The language is Sanskrit; and both the inscriptions are in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point calling for remark is the doubling of *dh*, before *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, in line 2 of No. 54.

As regards the contents of the inscriptions, No. 53 gives simply the name of the *Mahârâja Prithivishêna* of the *Vâkâtaka* tribe or dynasty. No. 54 repeats this, and adds the name of a feudatory of his, *Vyâghradêva*. No date is given; and nothing to shew any sectarian purpose. And the record simply refers to *Vyâghradêva* having made something or other, which must have been either a temple, or a well or tank, of which this slab evidently formed a part.

¹ The 'Nachna, Nâchna, and Narhua,' of maps, &c. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70, but is not entered there. Lat. 24° 24' N.; Long. 80° 30' E.

² The 'Jasso, Jusso, and Jussoo,' of maps, &c.

As regards the name of this family, **Vākātaka**, General Cunningham¹ has proposed its identification with the modern **Bhāndak**,² a place evidently of considerable antiquity, the chief town of the Bhāndak Parganā in the Chānda District in the Central Provinces, fifteen miles north-west of Chānda,³ and eleven miles south-east of Warōḍā.⁴ It is possible that **Bhāndak** may have been the **Vākātaka** capital. But the identity of the two names cannot be upheld. In the first place, there is the difficulty of accounting for the disappearance of the *k* in the second syllable of **Vākātaka**, and for the change of the lingual *t* into the dental *d*, with a nasal before it. In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler,⁵ there is an insuperable obstacle, in the suggested change of *v* into *bh*. And, in the third place, I have to point out that the name **Vākātaka** must be derived from an original *vakāṭa*; like, for instance, **Māhākāntāraka** from *Mahākāntāra*, **Kausalaka** from *Kōsala*, **Kairālaka** from *Kēraḷa*, and **Paishṭapuraka** from *Pishṭapura*, in line 19 of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above; and like **Traikūtaka** from *Trikūṭa*, in line 1 of the 'Pardi' grant⁶ of the **Traikūtaka Mahārāja** Dahrasēna of the year 207. If any trace of the name is to be found in the maps of the present day, we must look for some such place as **Wakāt**, **Bakāt**, **Bakaṭ**, **Baktōr**, or **Baktauli**; and it might possibly be found in 'Waktapur,' in the Rēwā-Kanṭhā Agency.

TEXT.

* No. 53.

- 1 **Vākātakānām** mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-**Prithivishēna**
- 2 **Vyā(?)ghra(?)** .

No. 54.

- 1 **Vākātakāna[m*]** mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-
- 2 **Prithivishēna** - pād - a¹⁰nuddhyātō
- 3 **Vyāghradēvō** mātāpitrō[h*] puny-
[a*]rttham
- 4 kṛitam¹¹-iti [l*]

¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 121 f.

² The 'Bhanduk' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 73. Lat. 20° 6' N.; Long. 79° 9' E.

³ The 'Chandah' of maps.

⁴ The 'Warorā and Wurroda' of maps, &c.

⁵ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 117 f.; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 239 f.—Dr. Bühler speaks of **Vākātaka** as being the name of a country, as well as of the tribe governing it. It probably did, in the usual way, denote the country, as well as the tribe or dynasty. But it does not occur in the compound quoted by him, 'Pavarajja-Vākātaka,' which exists only in the original misreading, for **Pavarajjavātaka**, in line 22 of the Siwanf grant, No. 56 below, page 246.—**Vākātaka** has also been supposed to occur as the name of a place or country in line 161 of the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of the Kākatiya chieftain Rudradēva; but this, again, is only due to the original misreading (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII, pp. 903, 908); the place that is really mentioned is **Kātaka**, as is shewn by the lithograph published with my own reading of this inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, pp. 11, 16, 20).

⁶ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI, p. 347.

⁷ From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impressions; so also the lithographs.

⁸ This *hā* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

⁹ These two *aksharas* are very doubtful; they are pencilled-in on the ink-impression, and there may be some traces of them; but the impression is not deep enough for them to shew in relief on the back of it.

¹⁰ This *dā* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

¹¹ Read *kṛitavān*.

TRANSLATION.

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, the illustrious **Pṛithivishēṇa**, has made (*this*) for the sake of the religious merit of (*his*) parents.

No. 55; PLATE XXXIV.

CHAMMAK COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.

THIS inscription was discovered about 1868, and,—the original plates having been obtained by Major H. Szczepanski, and forwarded by him to Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay,—was first brought to notice in 1879, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's reading of the text, published in *Notes on the Buddhist Rock-Temples of Ajanta*,¹ p. 54 ff.—And in 1883, Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E., published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 116 ff., and also, accompanied by a lithograph of the plates, but not of the seal, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 239 ff.

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found in ploughing a field at **Chammak**,² the ancient **Charmāṅka** of the inscription, a village about four miles south-west of **Ilichpur**,³ the chief town of the Ilichpur District in the Commissioner-ship of East Berar, in the Haidarābād Assigned Districts. The original plates, which I obtained for examination from Dr. Burgess, are now, I understand, again in the possession of Major Szczepanski.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are seven in number, each measuring from $7\frac{3}{8}$ " to $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by from $3\frac{1}{2}$ " to $3\frac{5}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. A few of the letters on the first and last plates have been damaged by rust; but the rest of the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The plates are fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are not very deep, do not shew through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew here and there marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the top of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $3\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. It was not soldered into the socket of a seal; but the ends of it were flattened off, as if to overlap and fasten with a pin or bolt; there is, however, no hole in them to shew that they were ever actually secured in this way. The seal⁴ is a flat disc of copper, rising slightly towards the centre, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $2\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter. To the centre of the back of it, there is soldered a small ring, by which it slides on the larger ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the legend, in four lines, of

¹ No. 9 of the separate pamphlets of the Archæological Survey of Western India.

² The 'Chamuck' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. $21^{\circ} 12' N.$; Long. $77^{\circ} 31' E.$ —In *Notes on the Buddhist Rock-Temples of Ajanta*, p. 54, the plates are said to have been obtained from Sāgar in the Central Provinces. And in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 234, they are called the Ilichpur grant. But in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 116, it is stated explicitly that they were found in a ploughed field at Chammak.

³ The 'Ellichpur' of maps, &c.

⁴ See Plate xxxiiiC.

which the text and translation are given below.—The **weight** of the seven plates is about 6 lbs. 14 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, about 14½ oz.; total 7 lbs. 12½ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which, I have commented at page 18 f. above. But, whether intentionally or accidentally, the heads of the letters were scooped out hollow through nearly the whole of this inscription; and the true box-shaped tops are discernible in only a few places; e.g. in lines 58 and 59. The characters include forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8 and 10, in line 60, and for 8,000, in line 19.—The **language** is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 36 to 39, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmn̄tīya*, in *rājñah=pravara*, line c; *pāññh=prasāda*, line 13; *sambhōh=prasāda*, line 16; and *rakshitavyah=pari*, line 32; but not in *kālīyah putra*, line 30; (2) the occasional doubling of *k* and *d*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *kkrama*, line b; *kkriyābhīs*, line 31; and *ddrōha*, line 4; (3) the doubling of *th* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *bhāgīratthy-amala*, line 6, and *sarvvaddhyaksha*, line 21; and (4) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra*, in *samvutsarē*, line 60.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Pravarasēna II.*, of the *Vākātaka* tribe or dynasty; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the town of *Pravarapura*. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the eighteenth year (of his government), on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month *Jyēsthā* (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by *Pravarasēna II.*, to a thousand *Brāhmaṇs*, of the village of *Charmāṅka*, i.e. the modern *Chammak* itself, in the *Bhōjakata* kingdom.

TEXT.¹

The Seal.

- a *Vākātaka*²-lalāmasya P
 b *kkrama-prāpta-nṛipa-śriyah* P
 c *rājñah=Pravarasēnasya*
 d *śāsanam ripu-śāsanam* [11*]

First Plate.

- 1 *Drishṭam*³ [11*] *Svasti Pravarapurād-agnishṭōm-āptōryyam-ōkthya-*
*shōḍaśy-ātīratra*⁴
 2 *vājapēya - bṛihaspatīsava - sādyaskra - chaturaśvamēdha - yājinaḥ*
 3 *Rvi(vi)shṇ[u]v[ri]ddha-sagōtrasya* ^{PSR} *samrād* ^V *Vākātakānām*⁵
mahārāja-śri(śrī)-Pravarasēnasya P
 4 *sūnōh sūnōh atyanta-[S]vāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya*
bhāra-santi(nni)vēśi- P
 5 *ta-Śiva-līng-[ō]dvahana-Śiva-suparitusṭa-samutpādi[ta]-rājava[m]*śā-*

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre, *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh).

³ See page 240 below, note 2.

⁴ See page 241 below, note 6.

⁵ Read *samrād-Vākātakānām*, in composition.—The final *d* of *samrād* (or possibly *t* of *samrāt*), rather small and faint, stands below the line, and just above the *mi* of *svāmi* in the next line.

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 nām=parākram-ādhigata-~~Bhāg~~iraththi-ā(a)mala-jala-mūrdhn(rddh)-ābhi-
shiktānān-daś-ā-
7 svamedh-avabhṛitha-snānām=Bhārasivānām mahārāja-srī-Bhava-
nāga-dau-
8 hitrasya Gautamī'putrasya putrasya Vākātakānām mahā-
rāja-srī-Rudrasē-
9 nasya sūnōr=atyatna(nta)māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-kārunya-
sauryya-vikrama-na-
10 ya - vinaya - mātmy - ādhima(ka)tva - hā'(pā)tr - āgata - bhakti(kti)tva-
dharmmavi(vi)jayi(yi)tva-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 manōnairmma(rmma)ly-ādi-guṇais=samupētasya varsha-śatam=abhi-
varddhamāna-kōśa-
12 daṇḍasādhana-sannā(ntā)na-putra-pautripaḥ Yudhishtīra-vṛitnē(ttē)r-
Vākātakā-
13 nām mahārāja-srī-Prithivishēnasya sūnōr=bbhagavataś=Chakra
pānēh=prasā-
14 d-ōpārjji'ta-srī-samudayasya Vākātakānām mahārāja-srī-Rudra-
sēna-
15 [sya*] sūnōr=mmahārājādhirāja-srī-Dēvagupta-sutāyām Prabhāva-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 16 tiguptāyām=utpannasya Śambhōh=prasāda-dhriti-kārttayugasya
17 Vākātakānām = paramamāhēśvara - mahārāja - srī - Pravarasēnasya
yachanā[t*]
18 Bhōjakata-rājve Madhunadi(di)-tatē Chammānka'-nāma-
gr[ā*]mah rājamānika-bhu(bhū)ml-
19 sahasrair-ashtābhih⁸ 8000 Satr[u*]ghnarāja-putra-Kondarāja-
vijñāptyā nānā-gō-
20 tra-charaṇēbhyō brāhmanēbhyah sahasrāya dattaḥ [II*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 21 Yatō-smat-santakā[h*] sarvvāddh²aksh-ādhīyōga-niyuktā ājñā-
sañch[ā*]ri-kulaputr-ādhikṛitā

¹ The form of superscript *i* that we have here, is somewhat different from that which occurs throughout the rest of this inscription.—In line 7 of the next inscription, page 245 below, this syllable has the short vowel *i*, as is optionally allowable.

² The engraver first formed *hi*, and then partially cancelled the *i*. Probably the man who wrote the copy from which he engraved, had hesitated between *hit-āgata* and *pātr-āgata*.—The form of superscript *i* used here, was not of general use till somewhat later times. But, in the present inscription, it occurs again distinctly twice in *ti*, in line 16, in *ni*, line 21, and twice in *vi*, line 23; and in other places; and, in many other instances throughout the inscription, there is a tendency to form it in the same way.

³ The engraver first formed *jji*, and then corrected it into *rjji*.

⁴ The engraver first formed *kkā*, and then partially cancelled the *ā*.

⁵ We have to supply *parimitaḥ*, or some similar word, after this instrumental case.

- 22 bhaṭāch(ś)=chhātrās=cha viśruta-pūrvvay=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā Veditam-
astu vò yath=ē-
23 h=āsmākam=manō¹ dharmm-āyur-bva(bba)la-vñjay-aśvarya-vivṛiddhayē
ih-āmutra-hit-ā-
24 rttham=ātm-ānugrahāya vaijaikē² dharmmasthānē apūrvva;dat[t*]yā
udaka-purvva-
25 m=atisrishtaḥ [I] ath=āsy=ōchitām pūrvva-rāj-ānumatām chātur-
vvaidya-grāma-ma-
26 ryyādān(m)=vitarāmas=tad=yathā a-karadāyī³ a-bhaṭa-chhchha-
(chcḥhā)trā-prāvēśya[h*]

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 27 a-pārampara-gò-balivardda[h*] a-pushpa-kshīra-satdō(ndō)ha[h*] a-
ch[ā*]rā-
28 sana-charmm-āngāra[h*] a-lavaṇa-kinna-kkrēpi-khanaka[h*] sarvva-
vē(vi)shtī-pari-
29 hāra-parihṛitah⁴ sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-kli(klṛi)pt-ōpakli(klṛi)ptaḥ
30 ā-chandr-āditya-kāliyah putra-pautr-[ā*]nugamakāḥ [I*] bhu[m*]jatām
na kē-
31 nachi[d*]=vyāghātām(h) kaṭṭavyas=sarvva-kkriyābhis=sa[m*]rakshi-
tavyaḥ=par[i*]varddhayī-
32 tav[y*]aś=cha [I*] yaś=ch=āyam⁵ śāsanam=a-gaṇayamānō(naḥ)
svalp[ā*]m=api [pa*]ribādhām⁶

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 33 n(n)=kuryyāt=kārayitā vā tasya brāhmaṇair=vvēditasya sa-
va(da)ṇḍa-nigrahām kurryā-
34 ma II Asmi[m*]ś=cha dharmm-āvara-karaṇē ati(tī)t-ānēka-rāja-
datna(tta)-sañchitna(nta)na-
35 paripālanam kṛita-puṇy-ānukīrtana-parihār-ārttham na
kīrttayāmaḥ [II*]
36 Vyāsa-gītau ch=ātra ślōkau pra'māni(ni)karttavayau [I*] Sva-
datnā(ttā)m=para-datnā(ttā)m
37 vvā(vā) yò harēta vasundharām gavām śata-sahasrasya
hantu-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

- 38 r=harāṭi dushkṛitām [II*] Shashṭīm varsha-sahasrāni(ni) svarggē
mōdati bhū-

¹ Read *yath=aisha ātmanō*.

² Read *vaijayikē*.

³ The engraver first formed *yai*, and then corrected it into *yī*.

⁴ Read *parihṛitah*.

⁵ Read *yaś=ch=ēdam*. The *cha* of *ścha* closed up again, almost entirely, after the engraving.

⁶ After this word, *kurryā* was engraved and then cancelled.—The *anusvāra* is not required; since, in the next line, we have *n*, by mistake for *ñ*, connecting *paribādhām* in *samāhi* with *kurryā*.

⁷ The engraver first formed *h=pra*, and then cancelled the *h*.

⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh) ; and in the following verse.

- 39 mi-daḥ āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha¹ tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=
iti [I*] Śśā(śā)sana-
40 sthitiś=ch=ēyam brāhmaṇair=iśvaraiś=ch=ānupālaniyā tad=yathā
rājñām sa-
41 ptāṅgē rājyē a-ddrōha-pravṛintā(ttā)nām [a*]-brahmaghna;chaura-
pāradārika-rāja-
42 pathyakāri-prabhṛiti(tī)nām [a*]-saṅgr[a*]mā-kurvvatām anya-
grāmēshv=an-a- II

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

- 43 par[a*]ddhānām² ā-chandr-āditya-kāliyaḥ [I*] atō=nyathā kurvvatām=
anumōdatām vā³
44 rājñāḥ bhu(bhū)mi-chchhēdam kurvvataḥ a-stēyam=iti [II*]
Prā(pra)tigrā⁴hinaś=ch=ātra
45 vāra-niyuktāḥ [I*] Śātyāyanāḥ Gaṇāryyaḥ Vātsya-Dēvāryyaḥ
Bhāradvāja-
46 Kumāraśarmmāryya[h*] Pārāśaryya-Guhaśarmmā Kāśyapa-
Dēv[a*]ryyaḥ Mahēśvarāryya[h*]
47 Mātrāryya[h*] Kauṇḍinya-Rudrāryya[h*] Sōmāryya[h*]
Harīśarmmāryya[h*]

Sixth Plate; First Side.

- 48 Bhāradvāja-Kumāraśa[r]mm[ā]ryya[h*] Kauṇḍinya(nya)-Mātrī(tri)-
śarmmā Varāśarmm[ā*]
49 Gōṇḍasarmmā Nāgaśarmmā Bhāradvāja[*]-Śantiśarmmā Rudra-
śarmmā Vātsyaḥ
50 Bhōjakad[ē*]vāryya[h*] Maghaśarmmā Dēvaśarmmā Bhāradvāja-
Mōkshaśarmm[ā*]
51 [Nā]gaśarmmā Rēvatiśarmmā Dharmmāryya[h*] Bhāradvāja-
Śarmmāryya[h*]
52 Nandanāryya[h*] Mūlaśarmmā I Iśvaraśarmmā I Varāśarmmā

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

- 53 Chānsya⁵-Skandāryya[h*] Bhāradvāja-Bappāryya[h*] Dharm-
māryya[h*] Ātrēya-Skandāryya[h*]
54 Gautama-Sōmaśarmmāryya[h*] Bha[r*]trīśarmmā Rudraśa[rm]mā[*]-
ryya[h*] Maghāryya[h*] Mātrī-
55 śarmmāryya[h*] Iśvaraśarmmāryya[h*] Gautama-sagōtra-Mātrī-
śarmmā-
56 ryya[h*] Kauṇḍinya(nya)-Dēvaśarmmāryya[h*] Varāśarmmāryya[h*]
Rōhāryya[h*]

¹ The engraver first formed *chcha* or *chchha*, and then cancelled the lower *ch*, or the *chha*.

² The engraver first formed *rd*, and then cancelled the *ā*.

³ Read *an-apar*[ā*]*ddhānām*, omitting the mark of punctuation.

⁴ The engraver first formed *vvd*, and then cancelled the lower *v*.

⁵ The engraver first formed *gvā*, and then corrected it into *grā*.

⁶ This *ryya* stands at the end of the line, below the *rd* of *mahēśvarā*; but this is evidently the place to which it properly belongs.

⁷ Read *vātsya*.

Seventh Plate.

- 57 Gautama-sagôtra-Svâmidé[vā*]ryya[h*] Rêvatisarmmâryya[h*]
 58 Jyêshthasarmmâryya[h*] Śaṇḍilya-Kumârasarmmâryya[h*] ,Śvâtī-
 sarmmâ-
 59 ryya[h*] Ś[ā*]tyâyaṇa(na)-Kand[ā*]ryya-prabhritayah [II*] Sênâpatau
 60 Chitravarmmaṇi samvatsarê-shtâdaśa[mê*] 10 8 Jyêshthâ-
 mâsa;śukla-
 61 paksha-trayôdaśyâ[m*] śâsanam likhitam-iti¹ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king **Pravarasêna**, the ornament of the **Vâkâtakas**, who has attained royal dignity by inheritance, (is) a charter for (the observance of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Sight has been attained!² Hail! From the town of **Pravarapura**;—(Line 17.)—At the command of the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the *Mahârāja* of the **Vâkâtakas**, the illustrious **Pravarasêna (II.)**,³ who was begotten on **Prabhâvati-guptâ**, the daughter of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Dêvagupta**; who, through possessing the favour of (the god) Śambhu, is (as virtuous as) one belonging to the Krita age;—

(Line 13.)—(And) who is the son of the *Mahârāja* of the **Vâkâtakas**, the illustrious **Rudrasêna (II.)**, who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapâni;—

(L. 9.)—Who⁴ was the son of the *Mahârāja* of the **Vâkâtakas**, the illustrious **Prithivishêna**, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; who was endowed with an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with

¹ Read *iti*.—Two forms of the double mark of punctuation are used in this inscription; the upright form, after *anyagrâmêshv=ana* in line 42; and the horizontal form, after *kuryyâma* in line 33-34. The latter rather resembles the *visarga*. And thus the engraver came to form a *visarga*, instead of a double mark of punctuation, after the word *iti*.

² As regards the Text and my Translation here, Dr. Bühler, while admitting that the opening *aksharas* looked like *drishṭam* or *driṭam*, interpreted them as *śm śm*.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read them as *drishṭam*.—The mark over the *dri* is not an *anusvâra*, but only a rust-mark. And the reading is as indisputably *drishṭam* here, as it is *drishṭam* at the commencement of the next inscription.—The same word occurs, if possible still more clearly, in the margin of the first plate of the Goa grant of Satyâraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 348 ff.), where Mr. K. T. Telang (*id.* p. 360, note) suggested that it might mean 'sanctioned.' But it is of course the remnant of some such expression as *drishṭam bhagavatâ*, "sight (i.e. clearness of perception in religious matters; a thorough insight into the nature of the universe and everything connected with it) has been attained by the Divine One;" see my remarks on *siddham*, page 25 above, note 4.

³ The context is "the village named Charmânka" &c., in line 18 ff. below.

⁴ i.e. Rudrasêna II.

purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Yudhishthira;—

(L. 4.)—Who¹ was the son of the *Mahārāja* of the *Vākātakas*, the illustrious *Rudrasēna* (I.), who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svāmi-Mahā-bhairava; who was the daughter's son of the illustrious *Bhavanāga*, the *Mahārāja* of the *Bhārasīvas*, whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva, (caused) by (their) carrying a *linga* of Śiva placed as a load upon (their) shoulders, (and) who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathi that had been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten *asvamedha*-sacrifices;—who² was the son of *Gautamīputra*;—

(L. 1.)—(And) who⁴ was the son of the son of the *Mahārāja* of the sovereign *Vākātakas*, the illustrious *Pravarasēna* (I.), who celebrated the *agnishōma*,⁵ *aptōryāma*, *ukthya*, *shōḍaśin*, *ātirātra*,⁶ *vājapēya*, *brihaspatisava*,⁷ and *sādyaskra*⁸ sacrifices and four *asvamedha*-sacrifices, (and) was of the *Vishṇuvṛiddha gōtra*;—

(L. 18.)—The village named *Charmānika*, on the bank of the river *Madhunadi*, in the *Bhōjakata* kingdom, (measured) by eight thousand *bhūmīs*,⁹ (or in figures) 8000, according to the royal measure, is, at the request of *Koṇḍarāja*, the son of *Satrugna-rāja*, given to one thousand Brāhmaṇs of various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*.

(L. 21.)—Wherefore Our¹⁰ obedient and high-born¹¹ officers, employed in the office of general superintendents,¹² (and Our) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be (thus) directed with a command preceded by (the words) 'O illustrious one':— "Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (and) for the sake of (Our) welfare in this world and in the next, (and

¹ i.e. *Prithivishēpa*.

² i.e. *Rudrasēna* I.

³ See page 237 above, note 1.

⁴ i.e. *Rudrasēna* I.

⁵ The *agnishōma*, lit. 'praise of the god Agni, or fire,' was a protracted sacrifice, extending over five days in spring, and forming one of the parts of the *Jyōtishōma*, which was one of the principal sacrifices connected with the sacred *Sōma* plant and juice. Other parts of the *Jyōtishōma* sacrifice were the *aptōryāma*, *ukthya*, *shōḍaśin*, *ātirātra*, and *vājapēya* ceremonies, which are mentioned in the text here; the seventh, and last, part being the *atyagnishōma*, which is not here mentioned.

⁶ Monier Williams, in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*, gives only the form *ātirātra*, with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable; so also Max Müller in his *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 177, note. But the Text here distinctly gives the long vowel *d*. And, though in line 1 of the next inscription, page 245 below, the vowel is rather imperfectly formed, yet a comparison with *bhāgirāthi-āmala*, in line 5 of the same, shews that there also the vowel *d* is intended.

⁷ The *brihaspatisava* was another sacrifice, lasting a day, apparently connected with *Bṛhaspati*, the priest and preceptor of the gods.

⁸ The *sādyaskra* was another sacrifice, of which I have not been able to find any explanation in the books of reference available.

⁹ *bhūmī*, lit. 'land, the earth,' is evidently used here as some technical land-measure, the value of which is not known.

¹⁰ *asmat-santaka*, lit. 'belonging to Us,' see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *santaka*.

¹¹ *kulaputra*.

¹² *Sarvōdhyaksha*.

generally) for Our benefit, this (*village*) is granted, in (*Our*) victorious office of justice, as a grant not previously made, with libations of water.

(L. 25.)—"Now We grant the fixed usage, such as befits this (*village*), (*and*) such as has been approved of by former kings, of a village which belongs to a community of *Chaturvêdins*; namely, it is not to pay taxes; it is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (*the right to*) cows and bulls in succession of production,¹ or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from (*all obligation of*) forced labour; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the *kṛipta* and *upakṛipta*;² it is (*to be enjoyed*) for the same time with the moon and the sun; (*and*) it is to follow (*the succession of*) sons and sons' sons. No hindrance should be caused by any one to those who enjoy it. It should be protected and increased by all (*possible*) means. And whosoever, disregarding this charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brāhman̄s."

(L. 34.)—And in this document, which has at least (*the merit of*) religion,³—in order to avoid boasting of (*other*) meritorious actions performed (*by Us*),—We do not recite (*Our*) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone.

(L. 36.)—And two verses, sung by Vyāsa, are to be cited as an authority on this point:—Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 39.)—And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhman̄s and by (*future*) lords; namely (*the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhman̄s*) for the same time with the moon and the sun, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of seven constituent parts,⁴ of (*successive*) kings; that they are not slayers of Brāhman̄s, and are not thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, &c.; that they do not wage war; (*and*) that they do no wrong to other villages. But, if they act otherwise, or assent (*to such acts*), the king will commit no theft in taking the land away.

(L. 44.)—And the recipients, appointed for the occasion in this matter, (*are*):—Gaṇārya, of the Śātyāyana (*gōtra*). Dēvārya, of the Vātsya (*gōtra*). Kumāraśarmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*). Guhaśarman, of the Pārāśarya (*gōtra*). Dēvārya, of the

¹ The interpretation here is not quite certain. But this and the next three expressions seem to reserve certain rights for the villagers against the grantees.

² These are technical fiscal expressions, the meaning of which is not known.

³ This is in accordance with Dr. Bühler's rendering (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 123, note 8).—As regards *karana* in the sense of 'a document,' it is borne out by *Karaṇika*, which is of constant occurrence in evidently the meaning of 'one who has to do with documents, a writer, a scribe;' e.g. in the passage from the 'Dewal' inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1049, referred to at page 201 above.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to correct the text into *pharmma-śdara*, probably meaning "in this act of respect for religion."

⁴ The *saptāṅga*, or 'aggregate of the seven constituent elements (of a kingdom),' consists of the king, and his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army, and treasury.

Kāśyapa (*gōtra*); Mahēśvarārya, (*and*) Mātrārya. Rudrārya, of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Sōmārya, (*and*) Hariśarmārya. Kumārasarmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*). Mātrīśarmān, of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Varāśarman, Gōṇḍaśarman, (*and*) Nāgaśarman. Śāntīśarman, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Rudraśarman. Bhōjakadēvārya, of the Vātsya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Maghaśarman, (*and*) Dēvaśarman. Mōkshaśarman, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Nāgaśarman, Rēvatiśarman, (*and*) Dharmārya. Śarmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Nandanārya, Mūlaśarman, Īśvaraśarman, (*and*) Varāśarman. Skandārya, of the Vātsya (*gōtra*). Bappārya, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Dharmārya. Skandārya, of the Ātrēya (*gōtra*). Sōmaśarmārya, of the Gautama (*gōtra*); (*and*) Bhartṛīśarman, Rudraśarmārya, Maghārya, Mātrīśarmārya, (*and*) Īśvaraśarmārya. Mātrīśarmārya, of the Gautama *gōtra*. Dēvaśarmārya, of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Varāśarmārya, (*and*) Rōhārya. Svāmīdēvārya, of the Gautama *gōtra*; (*and*) Rēvatiśarmārya, (*and*) Jyēsthāśarmārya. Kumārasarmārya, of the Śāṇḍilya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Svātīśarmārya. (*And*) Kāṇḍārya, of the Śātyāyana (*gōtra*); and so forth.

(L. 59.)—(*This*) charter has been written, while **Chitravarman** is the *Sēnāpati*, in the eighteenth year, (*or in figures*) 10 (*and*) 8, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēsthā.

No. 56; PLATE XXXV.

SIWANI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1836, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 726 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. D. M. McLeod, Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxiii. Nos. 1 and 2).

The inscription is on some copper-plates which were obtained by me for examination from the possession of a Zamīndār or land-holder named Hazari Gond Malguzar, living at the village of Pinḍarāi, in the Siwani Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Siwani-Chhaparā District¹ in the Central Provinces. I have no information as to where the plates were originally found; and, as they have always been known as the **Siwani** grant, it seems desirable to continue that name; though, of course, in the absence of any local identification of the places mentioned in the inscription, this name indicates only in a general way the part of the country to which the grant belongs.

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about $8\frac{3}{8}$ " by $4\frac{1}{8}$ " at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin, and the letters shew through on the reverse sides, so clearly that many of them can be read there; in a very exceptional manner, this is noticeable even on the intermediate plates; though, of course, not to such an extent as to make the letters of one side of a plate legible on the other in the lithograph. The engraving is very

¹ The chief town is Siwant; the 'Seoni and Seonee' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 79 Lat. 22° 5' N.; Long. 79° 35' E.

good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew in a few places marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. The ends of it were flattened off, so as to overlap, and were fastened with a pin or bolt; they were still secured in this manner, when the grant came into my hands. The seal is a thin flat disc of copper, about $3\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. A bolt in the centre of it secures it to a thin band of copper, about $\frac{5}{8}$ " broad and $\frac{3}{4}$ " in circumference, by which it slides on the ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the legend, in four lines, of which the text and translation are given below.—The weight of the five plates is about 3 lbs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total 3 lbs. $9\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ "; except on the seal and on the last plate, where they are rather larger. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give a very perfect and beautiful illustration of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include two forms of *b*; one, the customary form of this alphabet, occurs in *bṛihaspati*, line 1, and in other places in this and the preceding inscription; the other, a square and more antique form, occurs only in *bennā*, line 17; in the lower *b* in *āyur-bbala*, line 26; and in *bāppa*, line 36.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 39 to 42, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upa-dhmanīya*, once, in *rājīnah-pravara*, line c; (2) the use of the dental *n*, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś* and *s*, in *vanśa*, lines 5 and 17, and *ansa*, line 4; (3) the doubling of *th* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *uktthya*, line 1, and *bhāgtrathya-amala*, line 5, and in *sarvāddhyaksha*, line 24; (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *v*, in *addhvaryavē*, line 19-20; and (5) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra* (which, however, was omitted in the actual engraving), in *samvatsarē*, line 18.

The inscription is another record of the *Mahārāja Pravarasēna II.*, of the *Vākātaka* tribe or dynasty. The place whence the charter was issued, is not recorded. It is dated, in words, in the eighteenth year of his government, on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna (February-March). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant to a Brāhman, by *Pravarasēna II.*, of the village of *Brahmapūraka*, in the *Bennākārpara bhāga*.¹

Of the villages mentioned in defining the position and boundaries of the village that was granted, *Kollapūraka* is possibly the modern 'Kolapoor' of the map,² twenty-one miles south of Ilichpur.

¹ See Plate xxxiiiD.

² *bhāga*, lit. 'a part, share, division, allotment,' is a technical territorial term, of rare occurrence, the exact purport of which is not apparent.

³ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. $20^{\circ} 56' N.$; Long. $77^{\circ} 34' E.$ —The same name, in a slightly different form, occurs in the Kollāpura of the southern inscriptions (e.g. line 48 of the Tērdā inscription; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 18; see also *id.* p. 23, note 22), as the ancient name of the modern Kōlāpur, the chief town of the Kōlāpur State in the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT.¹*The Seal.*

- a **Vākātaka**²-lalāmasya
 b krama-prāpta-nṛipa-śriyaḥ
 c rājñah=**Pravarasēnasya**
 d śāsana[m*] ripu-śāsanam [11*]

First Plate.

- 1 Drishtam Siddham³ || Agnishtōm-āptōryāḥ-ṣkṛtṭhya-shōḍaśy-
 ātirātra⁴-vājayē(pē)ya-brihaspatisava-
 2 sādyaskra-va(cha)turaśvamēdha-yājinaḥ **Vishṇuvṛiddha**-sagōtrasya
 sashraṭ **Vākātakānā-**
 3 m⁵-mahārāja-śrī-**Pravarasēnasya** sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atyanta-
 Svāmi-Mahā-
 4 bhairava-bhaktasya ansa-bhāra-sanniv[ē*]śita-Śiva-liṅg-ōdvahana-Śiva-
 suparitushta-
 5 samutpādita-rājavanśānām parākram-ādhighata-Bhāgīratthy-ā(a)mala-
 jala-mūrdh-ābhi-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 shiktānām daś-āśvamēdh-avabhṛitha-snānānam=**Bhārasivānām**=mahā-
 rāja-śrī-**Bhavanā-**
 7 ga-dauhitrasya I⁶ **Gautami**putrasya putrasya I **Vākātakānām**-
 mahārāja-śrī-
 8 **Rudrasēnasya** sūnōḥ atyantamāhēśvarasya I saty-ārjjava-
 kārunya-śau-
 9 ryya - vikrama - naya - vinaya - mātmya⁷-[ā*]dhima(ka)tva-pātr-[ā*]gata-
 bhaktitva-dharmmavijayi-
 10 tva-manōnairmaly-ādi-guṇa-samuditasya I varsha-śatam=abhivarddha-
 māna-kōśa-
 11 daṇḍasādhana-santāna-putra-pautriṇaḥ Yudhishtīra-vṛittē=**Vvākātā-**
kānām-mahārāja-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 12 śrī-**Prithivishēnasya** sūnō[h*] bhagavataś=Chakrapāṇēḥ prasād-
 ōpārjjita-
 13 śrī-samudayasya I **Vākātakānām**=mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-**Rudrasēnasya**
 sūnōḥ

¹ From the original plates.² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).³ In the original, this word, *siddham*, stands between the lines, below *drishtam*.—As regards *drishtam*, see page 240 above, note 2.⁴ See page 241 above, note 6.⁵ Read *samrād-vākātakānām*.⁶ This and the following marks of punctuation, down to line 23, are unnecessary.⁷ See page 237 above, note 1.⁸ In this compound, the *t* is formed very anomalously; but the character cannot stand for anything else.

- 14 pûrvva-râj-ânuvritta-mârgg-ânuśârīṇaḥ sunaya-bala-parākkram-ô-
 15 chchhinna-sarvva-dvishah mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dêvagupta-sutāvam=
Prabhāvati-
 16 guptâyām=utpannasya Śambhō[h*] prasāda-dhṛiti-kārttayugāsyah¹
·Vākātaka-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 17 vanś-ālaṅkāra-bhūtasya | mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya vachanāt
Bennā-
 18 kārppara-bhāḡe pravarddhamāna-rājya-sa[m*]vvatsarē | aṣṭā-
 daśamē | Phālgū-
 19 ṇa(na)-śukla-dvādaśyām Maudgalya-sagotrāya | Taittiri(ri)yāy-
 āddhvarrya-
 20 vē Dēvaśarmma-Achāryyāy-ōdaka-pûrvvam sa-koraṭah sa-
 pañchāśatkah
 21 Brahmapûrakan=nāma grāmō=tisṛishṭah **Vaṭapûrakasy-**
 ōttarēṇa | **Kiṇihikhē-**
 22 **ṭakasy-**Āparēṇa | **Pavarajjavāṭakasya** dakṣhiṇēta(na) |
Kollapûrakasya

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 23 purvvēṇa | sva-simā-par[i*]chchh[ē*]dēna **Karañjavi(ṣchi)raka-**
 taṭē I(II) Atr=āsmat-santakāḥ
 24 sarvvāddhyakṣha-n[i*]yōga-n[i*]yuktāḥ ājñāsañchāri-kulaputr-ādhi-
 kritāḥ bhaṭāḥ-
 25 ś²=chhātrās=cha viśruta-pûrvvayā ājñayā ājñāpayitavyāḥ [I*]
 Vidita-
 26 m=astu ta(va)ḥ yath=aishō-smābhiḥ ātmanō dharmm-āyur-
 bbala-vijay-aishvarya-vi*vi[d*]dhayē
 27 ih-[ā*]mutra-hit-ārttham=ātv(tm)-ānugrahāya I⁴ vaijayikē dharmma-
 sthānē⁵ | a-bhaṭa-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 28 chchh[ā*]tra-prāvēśyah a-pārampara-gō-balivarddah a-pushpa-
 kshīra-sandōha[h*] a-chā-
 29 rāsana-ṣarmma-āngārāḥ a-la⁶vaṇa-tlinva⁷-krēṇi-khanakāḥ I⁸ sarvva-
 viṣṭi-parihāra-
 30 parihṛitah sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-kli(klri)pt-ōpakli(klri)ptah
 ā-chandr-āditya-

¹ Read *kārttayugasya*.² Read *bhaṭās*.³ First *vri* was engraved here, and then, it was corrected into *vi*, by adding the *i* and partially erasing the *ri*.⁴ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.⁵ After this word, we require *atisṛishṭah*, or some similar word, as in line 24 f., of the preceding inscription, page 238 above.⁶ First *li* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *la* by partial erasure of the *i*.⁷ Read *klinna*.⁸ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

- 31 kâli(lī)yaḥ putra-pautr-ānugāmi | bhuḥyamānō na kēnachid-
vyāghātayi-
32 tavyaḥ sarva-kriyābhiḥ samrakṣhitavyaḥ parivarddhayitavyā(vya)ś-
cha [I*] yaś=ch=āśma-
33 ch-chhāsanam=a-gaṇayamānaḥ svalpām=api paribādhān(ñ)=k[u*]rīyāt-
kārāyita¹ vā I²

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 34 tasya brāhmaṇair=āvēditasya | sadaṇḍa-nigrahaṁ kuryyāma
kārayēma v=ēti [II*]
35 Sēnāpatau Bāppadēvē likhitaṁ āchāryyēṇa || 'A'smi[m*]ś=cha
dharm-ādihikara-
36 nē I³ ati(tī)t-ānēka-rāja-dattās⁴-samchintana-paripālana[m*] kṛita-
pu-
37 ny-ānukīrttayāmaḥ⁵ [I*] ēshyanta-kāla-prabhaviṣṇūnam⁶ gauravād-
bhaviṣyān=vi-
38 jñāpayāmaḥ || Vyāsa-gītau ch=ātra ślōkau pramāṇi(ṇi)-
karttavyau ||(I)

Fifth Plate.

- 39 Shashtī⁷-varsha-sahasraṇi svarggē⁸, mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhētā
ch=ānumattā(ntā)
40 cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēta(t) || Sva-dattām=paradattāv(m)=
vā yō harē-
41 ta vasundharāma(m) gavām śata-sahasrasya hantur=harati
dushkṛitam=iti ||

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king **Pravarasēna**, the ornament of the **Vākātakas**, who has attained royal dignity by inheritance, (is) a charter for (the observance of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Sight has been attained! Perfection has been attained!—(Line 17).—At the command of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II.)**, who follows the path of imitating the behaviour of previous kings; who has extirpated all enemies by (his) excellent policy and strength and prowess; who was begotten on **Prabhāvatiguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Dēvagupta**; who, through possessing the favour of (the

¹ Read *kārāyita*, as in line 33 of No. 55 above, page 238; or *kārayēta*.

² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary; also that in the next line.

³ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁴ Read *datta*.

⁵ Read *kṛita-puṇy-ānukīrttana-parihār-ārttham na kīrttayāmaḥ*, as in line 35 of the preceding inscription, page 238 above.

⁶ Read *ēshyatkāla-prabhaviṣṇūnām*.

⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following verse.

god) Śambhu, is (as virtuous as) one belonging to the Krita age; who is the ornament of the lineage of the **Vākātakas**;—

(Line 12.)—(And) who is the son of the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II.)**, who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapāṇi;—

(L. 8.)—Who¹ was the son of the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, the illustrious **Prithivishēṇa**, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; who was possessed of an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Yudhishtira;—

(L. 3.)—Who² was the son of the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, the illustrious **Rudrasēna (I.)**, who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious **Bhavanāga**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Bhārasīvas**, whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva, (caused) by (their) carrying a *linga* of Śiva placed as a load upon (their) shoulders, (and) who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathī that had been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten *asvamēdha*-sacrifices;—who³ was the son of **Gautamiputra**;—

(L. 1.)—(And) who⁴ was the son of the son of the *Mahārāja* of the sovereign **Vākātakas**, the illustrious **Pravarasēna (I.)**, who celebrated the *agnishōma*, *aptōryama*, *ukthya*, *shōḍaśin*, *ātirdra*, *vājapēya*, *brihaspatisava*, and *sādyashra* sacrifices, and four *asvamēdha*-sacrifices, (and) was of the **Vishṇuvṛiddha gōtra**;—

(L. 17.)—In the **Bennākārpara bhāga**,—in the eighteenth year of the augmenting reign; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Phālguna,—the village named **Brahmapūraka**,—(which), according to the specification of its boundaries (is) on the bank of the (river) **Karañjaviraka**,⁵ on the north of (the village of) **Vatāpūraka**, on the west of (the village of) **Kiṇihikhēṭaka**, on the south of (the village of) **Pavarajjavātaka**, (and) on the east of (the village of) **Kollapūraka**,—is given, with libations of water, together with the *korāṭa*⁶ and the fifty (*hamlets*?), to the *Adhvaryu*, the *Āchārya* Dēvaśarman, of the Maudgalya *gōtra*, (and) of the Taittirīya (*śākhā*).

(L. 23.)—In this matter, Our obedient and high-born officers, employed in the office of general superintendents, and (Our) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be

¹ i.e. Rudrasēna II.

² i.e. Prithivishēṇa.

³ i.e. Rudrasēna I.

⁴ See page 237 above, note 1.

⁵ i.e. Rudrasēna I.

⁶ Or, perhaps, Karañjachiraka.

⁷ *sa-korāṭa* is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not known. But *korāṭa* has a Dravidian appearance and sound, and is perhaps an old form of the Kanarese *koradu*, *korandu*, *korantu*, 'a pollard, the trunk of a lopped tree; a log, stump, short stick.'—In Marāṭhi we have, *kōraṭ*, 'spun silk, while still raw or unboiled'; *kōrañḍ*, *kōraṇḍ*, 'Barleria or Amaranth'; and *kōraḍ*, 'dry, empty, yielding no returns of profit.'

(thus) directed with a command preceded by (*the words*) 'O illustrious one:—“ Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our own religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (*and*) for the sake of (*Our*) welfare in this world and in the next, (*and generally*) for Our benefit, this (*village*) [is granted*] in (*Our*) victorious office of justice.

(L. 27.)—⁴ It is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers ; it does not carry with it (*the right to*) cows and bulls in succession (*of production*), or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state ; it is entirely free from all (*obligation of*) forced labour ; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the *hlyipta* and *upakhyipta* ; it is (*to be enjoyed*) for the same time with the moon and the sun ; (*and*) it is to follow (*the succession of*) sons and sons' sons. The enjoyment of it should not be obstructed by any one. It should be protected and increased by all (*possible*) means. And whosoever, disregarding Our charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him, or will cause to be inflicted, punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brāhmanas.”

(L. 35.)—(*This charter*) has been written by the *Āchārya*, while *Bāppadēva* is the *Sādāpati*.

(L. 35.)—And in this subject-matter of religion,—in order to avoid boasting of (*other*) meritorious actions performed (*by Us*),—We do not recite the religious merit acquired by (*Our*) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone. (*But*), out of respect for those who shall be pre-eminent in times to come, We make a request (*for protection of the grant*) to future (*kings*).

(L. 38.)—And two verses, sung by Vyāsa, are to be taken as an authority on this point :—The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years ; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows !

No. 57; PLATE XXXVIA.

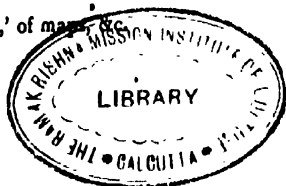
PAHLADPUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in 1838, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 1055, where Mr. James Prinsep published the text of it, as read by Pandit Kamalakanta from Captain Burt's facsimile, and, with the text, his own translation.

Pahlādpur¹ is a village near the right bank of the Ganges, six miles east by south of Dhānapur, the chief town of the Mahālich Parganā in the Zamāniā² Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghāzipur District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on a sandstone monolith column,—about three feet in diameter ; polished and rounded for a

¹ The 'Palladpur and Puhladpoor' of maps, &c. Lat. 25° 26' N.; Long. 83° 31' E.—It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103, almost opposite the village of 'Puharpoor' on the other side of the river ; but it is not entered there.

² The 'Zamania, Zaminea, Zeemaneea, and Zumeniah,' of maps, &c.



length of twenty-seven feet ; with a rough base of nine feet ; the total length being thirty-six feet,—which was found lying here, more than half buried in the ground, and was afterwards, in or about 1853, removed to Benares and set up in the grounds of the Sanskrit College there, on the north side, where it still stands. At the village of 'Lathiya,' one and a half miles east of Zamāniya, there stands another sandstone column, rather smaller in its dimensions, which is supposed to be the sister-column of the Pahlāpur pillar ; but it is not inscribed.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4' 11" broad by 4' high, is about ten feet above the place where the column starts from its present pedestal ; and, commencing on the north-west, it runs a little more than half-way round the column. The greater part of it is in a state of very good preservation ; but a few letters in the third *pāda* of the verse, containing the name of the king, if it was recorded, have unfortunately quite peeled off, and are entirely illegible. There are several inscriptions in the so-called "shell-characters" on this column ; but, apparently, no sculptures connected with the inscription now published.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-Scythic form of *m*, which disappeared in Northern India very soon after the commencement of the Early Gupta period ; and its appearance here is sufficient to stamp this record as being at least as early as any other inscription in this volume.—The language is Sanskrit ; and the inscription consists only of one verse, preceded by the word *iha*, 'here.'—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription is not dated, and is non-sectarian. It only commemorates the fame of a king whose name, if it was recorded, is unfortunately peeled away and lost. Mr. Prinsep suggested, from the comparison in the last *pāda* of the verse, that his name was Lōkapāla. From the rhyming ends of the four *pādas*, it seems that his name must have ended in *pāla*. But, in the third *pāda* of the verse, we have certainly the well-known name of Śīsupāla ; and,—whether the name as it stands here is that of the king himself, or is that of the Purāṇic king Śīsupāla of Chēdi, with whom he is compared,—the inference seems to be that the name of the king, whose inscription is on the pillar, was Śīsupāla. The chief interest of the inscription, however, is in the early date of it, as shewn by the characters ; and in there being the possibility that it is a record of the Pallavas in Northern India. The king is called *pārthiv-ānīka-pālah*. This might be rendered by simply "the protector of the armies of kings." But *pārthiva* has so much the appearance of standing as a proper name here,¹ that I think the correct translation is "the protector of the army of the Pārthivas." And, if Dr. Oldhausen's derivation of the name Pallava, through the form Pahlava, from Parthava, *i.e.* Parthian,² can be upheld, there will be no objection to considering that we have in this record a fuller and more completely Sanskritised form of the early name of this tribe.

TEXT.³

Iha [1*] Vipula⁴-vijaya-kīrt[1*]iḥ kṣatṛa-saddharma-pālah satata-dda(da)yita-
p[ā*]rtthah P[ā*]rthiv-āni(n)ka-pālah diśi-diś[i] Śīsupāla[—]timā
[—]pau(?)lah vihitā iva Vidhātrā pañcamō lō[kapā]lah [11*]

¹ As a Hindu name, it denotes one of the families of the Kausikas, descended through Viśvāmītra from Kuśika who was brought up among the Pahlavas (see Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 351 ff.).

² See Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 188, note 201.

³ From the original pillar.

⁴ Metre, Mālinī.

TRANSLATION.

Here, he,—who is possessed of extensive victory and fame; who is the protector of the true religion of the warrior caste; who always cherishes princes; who is the protector of the army of the Pārthivas;¹ who day after day Śisupāla
—was created, as if he were a fifth *Lōkapāla*,² by (the god) Vidhātṛi.

No. 58; PLATE XXXVI B.

BIJAYAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE YAUDHEYAS.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by myself in 1885, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 8, and is now edited for the first time. It is from a stone that was found by my copyists, built into the inside of the Fort wall, near the pillar which has on it the following inscription of the Varika Vishṇuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59, Plate xxxvi C., in the hill-fort of *Bijayagadh* or *Bējēgadh*, about two miles to the south-west of Byānā,³ the chief town of the Byānā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bharatpur⁴ State in Rājputānā.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the stone, about 1' 5½" broad by 2½" high, except for a margin of about an inch at the beginning of each line, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment of the original inscription. An indefinite amount is lost at the end of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below line 2. Every effort was made to discover the rest of the inscription, but without success.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters must be considered as belonging to the northern class of alphabets; and the so-called Indo-Scythic form of the *m* stamps them at once as of decidedly early date. But they are of such a peculiarly ornate type, that, having no inscription of known date with which to compare them, it is not possible at present to suggest any definite period for them.—The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is entirely in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

All the historical contents of the inscription, including the name, except perhaps the first syllable and part of the second, of the *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsēndapati* whose titles occur in line 1, are lost. The interest of the inscription lies in its being a record of the tribe of the *Yaudhēyas*, who are mentioned elsewhere in this volume only in line 22 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1 above, where they are included among the tribes subjugated by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta.

¹ See the introductory remarks.

² The four *Lōkapālas*, or regents of the quarters of the world, are—Indra, of the east; Yama, of the south; Varuṇa, of the west; and Kuvēra, of the north.—The number is sometimes increased to eight, by the addition of Agni at the south-east, Sūrya at the south-west, Vāyu at the north-west, and Chandra at the north-east.

³ The 'Byānā' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 26° 57' N.; Long. 77° 20' E.—Other writers give the name as 'Baiana, Bayāna, Biāna, and Biānah;' but this is wrong; the name, of which the mediæval form is said to have been Bēhayānā, is dissyllabic.—As regards Mr. A. C. L. Carlisle's utterly untenable derivation of Byānā from the name of the demon Bāṇāsura, see my remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 9.—The ancient Sanskrit name of the place was Śrīpāthā; see *id.* pp. 8 f., and 10; and Vol. XV. p. 239.

⁴ The 'Bhurtpoor' of maps, &c.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Siddham [11*] **Yaudh[é]ya**-gaṇa-puraskritasya mahārāja-mahāsēnāpatēh
 pu
 2 brāhmaṇa-purōgam ch-ādhishtānam śarīr-ādi-kuśalam priṣṭvā likhaty-
 Asti Rasmā
 3 '.....

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Of the *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsēnāpati*, who has been made the leader of the **Yaudhēya** tribe,
 and having asked the settlement, headed by the Brāhman, as to the health of (*their*) bodies &c., writes—
 "There is ...

No. ⁵⁹59; PLATE XXXVIC.BIJAYAGADH STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF
VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE YEAR 428.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, and was first brought to notice by him in 1878, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 59 ff., where he published Dr. G. Bühler's reading of the text and translation,¹ from an ink-impression supplied by himself, with a lithograph (*id.* Plate viii). It is on a monolith red-sandstone pillar that stands in a conspicuous position, near the south wall of the Fort, inside the hill-fort of Bijayagadh or Bêjêgadh near Byānā,² the chief town of the Byānā Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Rājputānā. The pillar stands on a rubble masonry platform, which is about 13' 6" high and 9' 2" square at the top. The height of the pillar above the plinth is 26' 3". The base is square, to the height of 3' 8"; each face measuring 1' 6". Above this, the pillar is octagonal, for a length of 22' 7"; and it then tapers off to a point. The extreme top, however, is broken; and a metal spike, which projects from it, indicates that it was originally surmounted by a capital. The inscription is towards the south side of the pillar; it runs vertically down the pillar, and is read from the top downwards;³ and the lowest letter of line 3, the longest line, is about 7' 0" above the level of the plinth. The platform, on which the pillar stands, is plainly of much more recent construc-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Several superscript vowels are legible along this line; but the consonants are all broken away and lost.

³ Both more or less mutilated in publication.

⁴ See page 251 above, and note 3.

⁵ On this point, Mr. Carlleyle's account is exactly the opposite; but he is wrong; as is, in fact, shewn by his further statement that line 2 is on the left of line 1, and so on; this could not be the case, if the inscription ran from the bottom upwards.

tion than the pillar itself; and this suggests that possibly the present position of the pillar is not its original one. On the south side of the pillar, towards the top of the square base, there is engraved; in two lines of rather rough Dēvanāgarī characters of about the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., *Śrī-yōgi Vra(bra)hmasāgara*, "the holy ascetic, Brahmasāgara," with perhaps an imperfect date below, of (Vikrama-Samvat) 1008 (A.D. 951-52). And this may possibly indicate the period when the pillar was placed in its present position.

The writing, which covers a space of about 9' 4" broad by 2' 6½" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from 1½" to 2". The characters must be regarded as belonging to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-Scythic form of *m*, quite in accordance with the date of the record. They also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 20, and 400.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* in *yatah-kula*, line 4; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, in *vinśeṣhu*, line 1, and *vanṣa*, line 4; (3) the doubling throughout of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *puttrēna*, line 2; (4) the doubling of *p*, once, under the same circumstances, in *suppratishṭhita*, line 2; (5) the very exceptional doubling of *ś*, in conjunction with a following *r* and *y*, in *śśrīyś*, line 4, and *pañchadaśśyam*, line 2; (6) the doubling of *bh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *abhyudaya*, line 4; and (7) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *v*, in *puttrātva*, line 4.

The inscription is one of a *Rāja* named *Vishṇuvardhana*, of the *Varika* tribe. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, when the year four hundred and twenty-eight had expired; on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month *Phālguna* (February-March). The era is not stated; but the type of the characters indicates, with the locality of the inscription, that we must refer the date to the *Mālava* or *Vikrama* era, with the result of A.D. 371-72 expired, and A.D. 372-73 current. And this shews that the *Varika Vishṇuvardhana* was in all probability a feudatory of the **Early Gupta king Samudragupta**.¹ The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it only being to record the erection, by *Vishṇuvardhana*, of this pillar, which is called a *yūpa* or 'sacrificial post,' on the completion of a *pūṇḍarikā*-sacrifice.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Siddham [1*] Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-śatēshv=ashtāvinśeṣhu 400 20 8
- 2 Phālguna(na)-bahulasya pañchadaśśyam=ētasyām=pūrvvāyam² [1*]
- 3 Kṛitau puṇḍarikē yūpō=yam=pratishṭhāpitas=suppratishṭhita-rājya-nāmadhēyēna
 śrī-Vishṇuvarddhanēna Varikēna Yaśōvardhana-sat-puttrēna
 Yaśōrāta-sat-pauttrēna Vyāghrarāta-sat-prapauttrēna³

¹ If we refer the date to the Śaka era, the result, A.D. 506-7, might perhaps be used to identify this *Vishṇuvardhana* with the king of the same name mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of Mālava-Samvat 589 (A.D. 532-33). But there is nothing to justify us in assuming that the Śaka era was ever used in early times in this part of the country. Also, the form of *m*, as a northern letter, is too early for that period. And, as is shewn by his titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, as well as by the general tenor of his inscription, the *Vishṇuvardhana* of the Mandasor record was a far greater person than this *Vishṇuvardhana*, the *Varika*.

² From the original stone.

³ Supply *tithau*.

⁴ The form of *ga* that occurs here differs from the form used in the other instances throughout this inscription, in the distinct loop on the right hand of the bottom of the letter.

- 4 śrī-yajña - dharmma - śśrēyō - bbhyudaya - yaśaṅ - kula - vaṅśa - bhāga - bhōg - ābhivṛi-
ddhayē [11*] Siddhir-astu pushtir-astu śāntir-astu jīvaputrattvam-
astv-ishṭa-kām-āvāptir-astu śrā(śra)ddhā-vittē syātām-iti [11*].

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained ! Four centuries of years, together with the twenty-eighth (year), (or in figures) 400 (ana) 20 (ana) 8, having been accomplished ;¹ on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Phālguna ;—on this (lunar day), (specified) as aforesaid :—

(Line 3.)—On the ceremony of the *pūṇḍarīka*-sacrifice (having been performed), this sacrificial post has been caused to be set up by the **Varika**, the illustrious **Vishṇu-vardhana**, whose royalty² and name are well established,—who is the excellent son of **Yaśōvardhana** ; (and) the excellent son's son of **Yaśōrāta** ; (and) the excellent son of the son's son of **Vyāghrarāta**,—for the purpose of increasing (his) splendour, sacrifices, religion, welfare (in the other world), prosperity, fame, family, lineage, good fortune, and enjoyment.³

(L. 4.)—Let there be success ! Let there be increase ! Let there be tranquillity ! Let there be the condition of (his) having a son who shall live ! Let there be the attainment of desires that are wished for ! May there be faith and wealth !

No. 60 ; PLATE XXXVII.

SPURIOUS GAYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 9.

THIS inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from a copper-plate that was obtained a few years ago by General Cunningham at **Gaya**,⁴ the chief town of the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency, and was, I think, first brought to notice by him in 1883, in his *Book of Indian Eras*, page 53, where it is entered as being dated in the year 40. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 8" by 7½". It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About half-way down the proper left side, the plate has laminated rather seriously ; and there is also a small crack just below this place, and another in the top of the plate, in the

¹ As is seen in the lithograph, there is no foundation whatever for the additional letter *yō* which, in Mr. Carleyle's published lithograph, follows this *ti* ; or, rather, the *h* into which the *ti* was so gratuitously converted by him. The result was naturally such as to puzzle Dr. Bühler as to the close of the inscription.

² *kṛtīśhu* ; see page 73 above, note 1.

³ Or, more technically, 'condition of being a *Rāja*.'

⁴ Or perhaps *bhāgabdhāga* should be taken as one word, meaning 'enjoyment of taxes ; lordship, royalty ;' see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. *bhāgabdhuj*, which is explained by 'enjoying taxes ; a king, a sovereign.'

⁵ The 'Gya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104 Lat. 24° 48' N. ; Long. 85° 3' E.

word *vasakāt*; but, except at these places, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—Onto the proper right side of the plate, there is fused a seal, oval in shape, about $2\frac{7}{8}$ " by $3\frac{3}{8}$ ". It has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—at the top, *Garuda*, represented as a bird, standing to the front, with outstretched wings; and, below this, a legend in five lines, which, being also in relief, is so worn, that nothing of it can be read except a few disconnected letters here and there, and *Sa[m]u[drag]a[tah]*, very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct recital of the genealogy, after the fashion of the *Aśīrgaḍh* seal of *Sarvavarman*, No. 47 above, page 219, and the *Sōnpat* seal of *Harshavardhana*, No. 52 above, page 231.—The weight of the plate, with the seal, is 2 lbs. 10 oz.—The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols¹ for 9 and 10.—The language is *Sanskrit*; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In line 3-4, we have, instead of the usual expression *utsanna*, the word *uchchanna*, which, as used here, is, according to Sir Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*, a *Prākṛit* corruption of the *Sanskrit* *utsanna*.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of *t* throughout, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *prapauttrasya*, line 4; *pitrōr*, line 8; and *sagōttrāya*, line 9; (2) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *ayōddhya*, line 1; (3) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *bō*, line 8, and *sambat*, line 14; and (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vrāhmaṇa*, lines 7 and 10; *vahrichāya*, line 9; and *savrahmachārinē*, line 9-10.

The inscription purports to be one of the *Early Gupta* king *Samudragupta*, and to record a charter issued from his camp at the city of *Ayōdhya*.² It purports to be dated, in numerical symbols,³ in the year nine (A.D. 328-29), on the tenth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Vaiśākha* (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it simply being to record the grant to a *Brāhmaṇ*, ostensibly by *Samudragupta*, of the village of *Rēvatikā* in the *Gaya* *vishaya*.

The legend on the seal of this grant is in characters which present a very different appearance to those of the body of the inscription; as also does the copper of the seal, as compared with the substance of the plate; and the seal is in all probability a genuine one of *Samudragupta*, detached from some other plate. The inscription itself, however, is undoubtedly spurious. This is shewn conclusively, if by nothing else, by the fact that from *uchchhātuk*, line 1, to *dauhittrasya*, line 5, the epithets of *Samudragupta* are uniformly in the genitive case; the drafter of the inscription was copying from a grant of *Chandragupta II.* or some other descendant of *Samudragupta*;⁴ he only then recognised

¹ The symbol which I take to be meant for 9, was interpreted by Gen. Cunningham as 40. But it certainly is not 40. It resembles most the decimal figure 2. But the day of the month is distinctly marked by a form of the numerical symbol for 10. This shews that the sign here also is intended for a numerical symbol; and the only symbol to which it approximates, is that for 9.

² The modern *Ajōdhya* or *Ajōdhya* (the 'Oudh or Ajoodhia' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 87), Lat. $26^{\circ} 48'$ N.; Long. $82^{\circ} 14'$ E., on the south bank of the river 'Ghāgra or Ghōgra,' about four miles north-east of *Faizābad*, the chief town of the *Faizābad* Division of *Oudh* in the North-West Provinces.

³ See note 1 above.

⁴ Compare the construction in the *Mathurā* inscription of *Chandragupta II.* No. 4 above, page 25, and in the *Bhitārī* pillar inscription of *Skandagupta*, No. 13 above, page 52.

that this construction would not suit a supposed inscription of Samudragupta himself, which was required in accordance with the seal that was to be attached; and he promptly then adopted the nominative construction, *utpannah* *Samudraguptah*, without taking the trouble to correct the preceding passages. It is difficult to suggest any definite time for the fabrication of this grant; on the one side, some of the characters are antique, e.g. the forms of *k*, *p*, *m*, and *r*, and particularly *h*; on the other side, others are comparatively modern, especially *the ch in valatkaushabhyam*, line 7-8. But it has the general appearance of having been made somewhere about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Points which may hereafter serve to fix its date more definitely are (1) the use of the Prākṛit corruption *uchchhanna*, in line 3-4; and (2) the opening expression *mahā-nau-hasty-aśva* &c., in line 1; the only other instances of similar expressions being in line 1 of the Dēo-Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II., No. 46 above, page 215, and in line 1 of the Dighwā-Dubauli grant¹ of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla, of A.D. 761-62, and of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant² of the *Mahārāja* Vināyakapāla, of A.D. 794-95.

TEXT:

1. Ōm Svasti Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jayaskandhavarāj(d)-Ā(a)yōddhyā-vāsakāt-sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttu[h*] pri-
- 2 thivyām-a-pratirathasya chatur-yādādhī-salil-aśvādita-yaśa[sō*] Dhanada-Varun-
Ēndr-Ā-
- 3 ntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśōr-nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-kōṭi-pradasya chir-
ōchchha-
- 4 nn¹-āśvamēdh-āharttu[h*] mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapauttrasya² mahārāja-śrī-
Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya³
- 5 mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya⁴ Lichchhivi-dauhittirasya⁵ mahā-
dēvyā[m*] Ku-
- 6 mā¹⁰radēvyām-utpanna[h*] paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudra-
guptah Gayā-Sūchayika-Rēvatikā-grāmē vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purōga-grāma-vala-
- 7 tkaushabhyām-āha I Ēva ch-ārtha[m*] viditam-bō(vō) bhavatv-ēśa(sha)
grāmō mayā mātāpitrōr-ā-ā
- 9 tmanas=cha² puny-ābhivṛddhaye Bhāradvāja-sagōttrāya Va(ba)hvrīchāya
sav[r]a(brā)hmachā-ā
- 10 rinē vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Gōpadēvasvāmīnē s-ōparikar-ōddēśēn-āgraharatvēn-āti-

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 112.² id. p. 140.³ From the original plate.⁴ There is a mark over the *sa*, which may be only a rust-mark, but which renders it a little doubtful whether *yaśō-dhanada* was engraved, or *yaśa dhanada* with an omission of *sō*. The other inscriptions, however, shew that the correct reading is *yaśasō dhanada* &c.⁵ The other inscriptions all read *utsanna*.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, suggests that *uchchhanna*,—which, in the sense of 'uncovered,' is a regular derivative from *ud* + *chhad*,—is, in the sense of 'destroyed, fallen into disuse,' a Prākṛit corruption of *utsanna*, from *ud* + *sad*.⁶ In order to render the inscription capable of translation, read *prapauttrah*. And, at the same time, correct all the preceding genitives into nominatives.⁷ Read *pauttrah*.⁸ Read *puttrah*.⁹ Read *dauhittirah*.¹⁰ This *mā* was first engraved closer to the margin of the plate, and then, being indistinct there, was repeated.

- 11 *spishta* [1*] *tad-yushmābhir-asya śrōtavyam-ājñā cha kartavyā sarvyā*
cha¹ sa²muchitā grāma-pra-³
 12 *tyāyā⁴ mēya-hirany-ādayō dēyāh⁵ [1*] na ch-ē(ai)tat-prabhṛity-ē tad-āgrahārikēṇ-*
[ā]nyad⁶-grā-*
 13 *m-ādi-karāḍa-kutumbi-kāruk-ādayāḥ pravēśayitavyā ma(a)nyathā niyatam-ā(a)gra-*
 14 *hār-ākshēpa[h*] syād-iti [11*] Samba(mva)⁷ 9. Vaiśākha di 10 [11*]*
 15 *Anyā-grām-ākshapaṭalādhikṛita-Dyūta-Gōpasvāminy-adēsa-likhitah⁸ [11*]*

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From the victorious camp, full of great ships and elephants and horses, situated at (the city of) **Ayōdhyā**,—the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the **Mahārājādhirāja**, the glorious **Samudragupta**,—who is the exterminator of all kings; who has no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; whose fame is tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who is equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who is the very axe of (the god) Kṛitānta; who is the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who is the restorer of the *asvamedha*-sacrifice, that has been long in abeyance; who is the son of the son's son of the **Mahārāja**, the illustrious **Gupta**; who is the son's son of the **Mahārāja**, the illustrious **Ghaṭōtkacha**; (and) who is the son of the **Mahārājādhirāja**, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (and) the daughter's son of **Lichchhivi**, begotten on the **Mahādēvi Kumārādēvi**,—says to the two village **Valatkaushans**,⁹ together with the Brāhmaṇs, at the village of **Rēvatikā** belonging to the **Gayā vishaya**;—

(Line 8).—"Be it known to you! For the sake of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) parents and of myself, this village is granted by me, as an *agrahāra*, with the assignment of the *uparikara*, to the religious student, the Brāhmaṇ **Gōpasvāmin**, of the **Bhāradvaja gōtra** (and) the **Bahvricha (śākhā)**.

(L. 11).—"Therefore attention should be paid to him by you; and (*his*) commands should be obeyed; and all the customary tributes of the village, consisting of that which is to be measured, gold, &c., should be given. And, from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artisans, &c., of other villages, &c., should not be introduced by the **Āgrahārika** of this (*village*) (*for the purpose of settling in it and carrying on their occupations*); (*for*) otherwise there would certainly be a violation of (*the privileges of*) an *agrahāra*." The year⁷ 9; (the month) **Vaiśākha**; the day 10.

(L. 15).—(*This deed*) has been written by the order of **Dyūta-Gōpasvāmin**, the **Akshapaṭalādhikṛita**⁸ of another village.

¹ *sa* was engraved here, and then corrected into *cha*.

² *cha* was engraved here, and then corrected into *sa*.

³ Read *anya*.

⁴ As regards the interpretation of the first symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.

⁵ Supply *ulākhā-yam*, or any similar words.

⁶ **Valatkaushan** is evidently a technical official title; but it occurs nowhere else; and I am not able to suggest an explanation of its meaning.

⁷ As regards the interpretation of the symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.

⁸ **Akshapaṭalādhikṛita**, meaning *lit.* 'he who is appointed to (the duties of) a depository of legal documents,' is an official title that is evidently synonymous with **Akshapaṭalika** (see page 190 above, note 2).

No. 61; PLATE XXXVIII A.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 106.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 53 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it by Rāja Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xix).—And in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 309 f., Dr. E. Hultsch, working from General Cunningham's facsimile, published his own revised reading of the text, and translation of it.

This is another inscription from Udayagiri,¹ in the Bhēlsā Sub-Division of the Isāgaḥ District of Scindia's Dominions in Central India. It is inside a cave-temple, which General Cunningham has named "No. 10, the Jain Cave." The cave, which is about a hundred yards beyond "No. 9, the Amṛita Cave," is readily discernible from the plain, by means of the rough stone wall which forms the front of the main part of it; it is high up in the north-western end of the hill, and is not very easy of access, in consequence of its having to be entered by a narrow and steep flight of steps on the very edge of the cliff. The inscription is on the smoothed face of the rock, on a partly natural and partly artificial low arch, leading from the principal room of the cave to the next room towards the east.

The **writing**, which covers an irregular space of about 1' 3½" broad by 7½" high, has suffered a little damage at the beginning and end of some of the lines, owing to the chipping of the angular edges of the rock; but the readings here can be completed without any doubt; and the rest of the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Below the last line, there is a row of five roughly cut modern numerals, reading 31245, the tops of which can be seen in the lithograph; but they have no connection with the inscription.—The average **size** of the letters is about ⅜". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening invocation of the saints or perfect ones, the inscription is in verse throughout.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for special remark.

The **inscription** refers itself to the period of the **Early Gupta** kings; but not to the reign of any particular sovereign. The recorded date, however, shews that it belongs to the time of **Kumāragupta**. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and six (A.D. 425-26), on the fifth solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). It is a Jain inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the *Tirthamkara* Pārśva, or Pārśvanātha, at the mouth of the cave.

TEXT.²

Namaḥ siddhēbhyāḥ [11*] Śrī³-samyutānām guṇa-tōyadhīnām Gupt-
ānvayānām nṛipa-sattamānām

¹ See page 22 above, and note 1.² From the original stone.³ Metre Indravajrā.

- 2 rājyē kulasy-ābhivivarddhamānē śhaḍbhir-yyutē varsha-śatē=tha māsē [11*]
 .Su¹-Kārttikē bahula-dinē=tha pañchamē
- 3 'guhā-mukhē' sphaṭa-vikaṭ-ōtkatām-imām jita-dvishō Jina-vara-Pārśva-
 sāñjñikām Jin-ākṛitīm śama-damavān=a-
 4 ckhkarat [11*] Āchāryya²-Bhadr-ānvaya-bhūṣaṇasya śiṣhyō hy-aśāv-āryya-
 kul-ōḍgatasya āchāryya-Gōṣa-
- 5 rmma-munēs-sutas=tu Padmāvatā³=asvapātē⁴-bbhāṭasya [11*] Parair⁵=a-
 jēyasya Ripughna-māninas=sa Sañghi-
- 6 lasy-ēty-abbhivisrutō bhuvī sva-sañjñayā Śāṅkara-nāma-śabditō vidhāna-
 yuktam yati-mā-
- 7 rggam-āsthitaḥ [11*] Sa⁶ uttarāpām sadṛiṣē Kurāṇām udag-diśā-dēśa-varē
 prasūtaḥ
- 8 kshayāya karm-āri-gaṇasya dhīmān yad-atra puṇyam tad=
 apāśasarija [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to the Perfect Ones!¹ In the augmenting reign of the family of the best of kings, belonging to the **Gupta lineage**, who are endowed with glory (and) are oceans of virtuous qualities;—in a century of years, coupled with six; and in the excellent month of Kārttika; and on the fifth day of the dark fortnight;—

(Line 3.)—He² who has conquered the enemies³ (of religion), (and) is possessed of tranquillity and self-command, caused to be made (and set up) in the mouth of (this) cave, this image of a Jina, richly endowed with (the embellishments of) the expanded hoods of a snake⁴ and an attendant female divinity, (and) having the name of Pārśva, the best of the Jinas.

(L. 4.)—He is, indeed, the disciple of the saint, the Āchāryya Gōṣarman, who was the ornament of the lineage of the Āchāryya Bhadra (and) sprang from a noble family; but he

¹ Metre, Ruchirā.

² Metre, Indravajrā.

³ We have here the locative case of a base *padmāvatī*, which, to suit the metre, is substituted for the proper base *padmāvatī*, the locative of which would be *padmāvatyām*.

⁴ Metre, Varṣasāstha.

⁵ Metre, Upēndravajrā.

⁶ *siddhābhayaḥ*. These Siddhas are not to be confused with the mythical semi-divine Siddhas who are mentioned, e.g., in line 1 of No. 18 above, page 81. [They are saints, who by austere practices have attained *siddhi* or 'perfection or final beatitude' (see the remarks on *siddham*, page 25 above, note 4) in the shape of some or all of the five states of *śalākāṭh*, 'residence in the same heaven with any particular deity'; *sarāpatā*, 'identity of form with the deity, or assimilation to him'; *sāmīpya*, 'nearness to the deity'; *sāyujya*, 'absorption into the deity'; and *sārśhītā* or *samānaitvavyatya*, 'equality with the supreme being in power and all the divine attributes'.—The Jain term *siddha* corresponds pretty closely to the Buddhist *samyak-sambuddha*, which occurs in line 1 of No. 11 above, page 46.

⁷ i. e. Śāṅkara, whose name occurs in line 6 below.

⁸ The allusion is to the *ari-śaṭka* or *ari-śaḍ-varga*; see page 156 above, note 5.

⁹ Dr. Hultzsch wrongly read *sphuṭa*, and thus missed the meaning of this passage.—For *vikaṭ*, which I have translated by 'an attendant female divinity', see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s.v., where he explains it by 'a kind of female divinity, peculiar to Buddhists'.—The image referred to in this inscription, is not now in the cave. But, in support of my explanation of the passage, we may refer to a precisely similar image, in the Jain cave at Bādāmi, described in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 25. It represents the same Jina, Pārśvanātha, with a five-hooded snake over him as a kind of nimbus, and a female on the right side, with a serpent's hood, holding up the rod of the umbrella that shades him

is more widely renowned on the earth (*as being*) the son, (*begotten*) on Padmāvati,¹ of the *Aśvapati*,² the soldier Saṅghila, who, unconquerable by (*his*) enemies, took himself to be a very Ripughna;³—by his own appellation, he is spoken of under the name of **Sāṃkara**;—(*and*) he has adhered to the path of ascetics, conformable to the sacred precepts.

(L. 7).—Born in the region of the north, the best of countries, which resembles (*in beatitude*) the land of the Northern Kurus,⁴—he, the wise one, has set aside whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), for the purpose of destroying the band of the enemies⁵ of religious actions.

No. 62; PLATE XXXVIII B.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 131.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published a very fair lithograph of it (*id.* Plate xxvi.), reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers, and, with it, his own reading of the text, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from **Sāñchi**,⁶ in the Diwāngāñj Sub-Division of the Bhopāl State in Central India. It is on the outer side of the centre rail in the fourth row, outside and on the south side of the eastern gateway, and in a re-entering angle of the railing, of the Great Stūpa.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2 5" broad by 2' 0" high, is in a very fair state of preservation, every letter being, with care, legible from beginning to end; but, owing to the discolouration of the stone from lapse of time, it is much easier to read in the ink-impression and lithograph, than on the original stone.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to 1". As in the case of the Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 93, No. 5 above, page 29, Plate iii B., the characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are not so carefully formed as the characters of that inscription; but,

¹ See page 259 above, note 3.

² *Aśvapati*, *lit.* 'lord of horses,' appears to be a technical official title.—See Prof. F. Kielhorn's note on the analogous term *Gajapati*, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 9, note 52.

³ Or we may translate "took himself to be the slayer of (*all his*) foes."—But Ripughna³ seems to be intended as a proper name, and as a synonym for Ripunjaya, which was the name of three or four Purāṇic kings, and heroes; or for Śatrugṇa, which was the name of one of the brothers of Rāma. We may also compare the name of Śatrugṇarāja, in No. 55 above, line 19, page 237.

⁴ The Kurus, one of the tribes of India, were divided into two branches, the northern and the southern. Uttarakuru, or the country of the Northern Kurus, is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern range of the Hīmalāya mountains, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness.

⁵ Here, again, the allusion is to the *ari-shad-varga*; see page 156 above, note 5.

⁶ See page 29 above, and note 2.—In connection with what I have said there, regarding the origin of the name of Sāñchi, I would add that we should compare, with Sāñchi or Sāchi and Kāchi, such instances as Tōṇḍal and Bōṇḍal, two villages next to each other, separated only by a stream, in the Mālsiras Tāluka or Sub-Division of the Shōlāpur District; and Hīrā and Phīrā, two contiguous villages in the Karmālēm Tāluka of the same District. Similar rhyming names may be found all over the country.

allowing for this, the details shew no particular development. In line 11, they include forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1, 5, 30, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in **prose** throughout. In *pravishṭaka*, line 4, we have to notice the affix *ka* which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography**, the only point that calls for remark, is the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvāra*, in *samvāt*, line 11.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but the date recorded in it, allots it to the time of either **Kumāragupta**, of the **Early Gupta** dynasty, or his son and successor **Skandagupta**. It is dated, in numerical symbols,¹ in the year one hundred and thirty-one (A.D. 450-51), on the fifth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month **Aśvayuj** (September-October). It is a **Buddhist inscription**. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Upāsikā* or lay-worshipper **Harisvāmīnī**, the wife of the *Upāsaka* **Sanasiddha**, of certain sums of money to the *Ārya-Saṃgha*, or community of the faithful, at the great *vihāra* or Buddhist convent of **Kākanādabōta**,—i.e. the great *Stūpa* at **Sāñchi**,²—for the purpose of feeding one *Bhikṣu* day by day, and of maintaining lamps in the shrines of Buddha.

TEXT:

- 1 S[iddha]m^a [II*] Upāsaka-Sanasiddha-bhāryayā upāsik[A*]-Harisvāmīnyā
mātā- R
- 2 pitarām^a-uddiśya Kākanādabōta-sri-mahā-vihāre chāturddiśay-Ārya-saṃ-
ghāya akshaya^a-nīvi dattā dīnāra dvādaśa [I*] ēśām dīnārāṇām
- 3 ya vṛddhi- ^{permanent} ^{endowment} dattā dīnāra dvādaśa [I*] ēśām dīnārāṇām
- 4 r-upajāyatē tayā divasē-divasē saṃgha-madhya-pravishṭaka-bhikṣur-ēkah
bhōja- R
- 5 yitavyaḥ [II*] Ratna-grihē=pi dīnāra-trayaṃ dattam [I*] [ta]d-dīnāra-
trayaśya vṛ[d*]dhya^a ratna-grihē
- 6 bhagavatō Buddhasya divasē-divasē dīpa-trayaṃ prajvālayitavyam [II*]
R Chatur-Buddh-Asa- Eco
- 7 nē=pi dattaḥ dīnāra ēkah [I*] tasya vṛddhya^a chatur-Buddh-Asanē
bhagavatō Buddhasya
- 8 divasē-divasē dīpaḥ^a prajvālayitavyaḥ [II*] Ēvam=ēś-akshaya-nīvi
ā-chandr-ārka-silā-lēkhyā svāmīnī-Sanasiddha-bhāryayā
- 9 upāsik[A*]-Harisvāmīnyā pravartitā iti [II*]
- 10 Samvāt^a 100 30 1 Aśvayug=di 5 11

¹ Gen. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 193) read the first symbol as 300. But the two marks on the right side, required to convert 100 into 300, are entirely wanting; and he must have been misled by the natural marks of the stone becoming exaggerated in an imperfect ink-impression.

² See page 31 above.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ This word is in the margin, before *upāsaka*. The traces that remain of it are very faint.

⁵ Read *mātāpitarāṇāṃ*.

⁶ The initial *a* of this word is badly formed, and is partly run into the *ya* of *saṃghāya*. Perhaps *saṃghāya=akshaya* was being engraved, as required by *saṃdhi*, and then the initial *a* was inserted.

⁷ As regards the reading of the first symbol, see note 1 above.

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! By the *Upāsikā* *Harisvāmini*, the wife of the *Upāsaka* *Sanasiddha*, for the sake of (*her*) parents, twelve *dāndras* are given, (*as*) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great *vihāra* of *Kākanādabōta*. With the interest that accrues of these *dāndras*, day by day one *Bhikṣhu*, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed.

(Line 5.)—Also three *dāndras* are given in the jewel-house.¹ With the interest of these three *dāndras*, day by day three lamps of the divine Buddha should be lit in the jewel-house.

(L. 6.)—Also, one *dāndra* is given in the place where (*the images of*) the four Buddhas are seated.² With the interest of this, day by day a lamp of the divine Buddha should be lit in the place where (*the images of*) the four Buddhas are seated.

(L. 8.)—Thus this permanent endowment,—written upon stone (*so as to endure*) for the same time with the moon and the sun,—has been accomplished by the *Upāsikā* *Harisvāmini*, the noble lady,³ the wife of *Sanasiddha*.

(L. 11.)—The year⁴ 100 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 1; (the month) *Aśvayuj*; the day 5.

No. 63; PLATE XXXIXA.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 135.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 184 f.*, where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate ii. No. 8) reduced from General Cunningham's ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 36 f.*, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id.* Plate xvi. No. 22).

The inscription is on the pedestal of a broken standing statue that was found in the Jail Mound at *Mathurā*,⁵ the chief town of the Mathurā District in the North-West Pro-

¹ *ratna-grīha*; see page 33 above, note 5.

² *chatur-Buddh-āsana*.—As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 191 f., this is explained by four statues of Buddha, seated, one opposite each entrance, which are in the circular enclosure that runs round the *Stūpa*, inside the railing. Owing, I suppose, to alterations made in the course of the restorations that have been carried out at Sāñchi, the statue at the south entrance is now a seated statue, similar in general design to the statues at the north, east, and west entrances; it is evidently the original statue, which had somehow been shifted, now restored to its proper place; and the standing statue, which was opposite the southern entrance when Gen. Cunningham wrote his description, now stands a little to the west of it.

³ *svāminī*.—Or perhaps the word stands here for the fuller title, *Vihārasvāminī*, which occurs in the next inscription; see page 263 below, note 7.

⁴ As regards the reading of the first symbol, see page 261 above, note 1.

⁵ See page 26 above, and note 2.

vinces. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahâbâd; but it has now, I understand, been transferred to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Of the statue itself, all that remains is the feet, with part of a small kneeling figure at each side; and there is thus nothing to shew its nature; but, from the tenour of the inscription, it must have been a standing image of Buddha.

At the commencement of the inscription, in the margin, there is engraved a Buddhist *dharmachakra*, or 'wheel of religion,' an emblem the object of which appears to be to denote the way in which religion encompasses and envelops everything.—The writing covers a space of about 1' 6½" broad by 2½" high; and is in a state of very good preservation, except in the last line, of which almost the whole of the last part is broken away and lost.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 20, 30, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit. The first two lines are in prose, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvâra*, in *samvatsara*, line 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but, from its date, it appears to belong to the time of the Early Gupta king *Skandagupta*; since his father, *Kumâragupta*, having commenced to reign in at least the year 96, can hardly have continued on the throne up to the present date. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and thirty-five (A.D. 454-55), and on the twentieth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pushya (December-January). From the expressions used, as well as from the emblem on the margin of the stone, it is evidently a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Samvatsara-satê pancha-stris²-ôttaratamê 100 30 5 Pushya-mâsê
divasê vi[m]s[ê] di 20 [1*] Dêya-dharm[ô]=yam vihârasvâminy[A] R
- 2 Dêvatâvâ³ [11*] Yad=atra punyam tad=bhavatu mâtâpitrôh sarvva-
sat[t*]vânâñ=cha anuttara-jñân⁴-âptayê⁵ || R
- 3 Saubhâgyam⁶ pratirû(rû)patâ guṇavatî kîrttis=sapatna-kshayaḥ śrîman[t]ô
vibhavâ bhavâ[h*] sukha-phalâ nirvânânam=arîtê śivam
- 4 a-stabdhâ(?)ni bhavanti dâna-niratau chittam niyôjy=aikadâ [—] ! [— — —]
vichâ(?)târaṇa[— — —] dhiyam [— — — —] i [— — —] yam [11*]

TRANSLATION.

In a century of years, increased by the thirty-fifth (year), (or in figures) 100 (and) 30 (and) 5; in the month Pushya; on the twentieth day, (or in figures) the day 20;—this is the appropriate religious gift of the *Vihârasvâmin*⁷ *Dêvatâ*. Whatever religious

¹ From the original stone.² Read *trims*.³ Read *dêvatâvâh*.⁴ This *n* is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for anything else.⁵ There is no objection to the present reading; but we usually have *avâptayê*.⁶ Metre, *Śārdûlavikrîdita*.⁷ *Vihârasvâmin*, lit. 'mistress (lady-superintendent) of a *vihâra*,' seems, not to be a technical religious title denoting an office held by females, but to mean simply 'the wife of a *Vihârasvâmin*;' see page 279 below, note 5.—We may compare *Dandânayakîti*, in line 40-41 of the Kargudari in-

merit (*there is*) in this (*act*),—let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (*her*) parents and by all sentient beings !

(Line 3.)—Good fortune ; the condition of being a model (*worthy of imitation*), abounding in virtuous qualities ; fame ; the destruction of the enemies (*of religion*) ;¹ riches abounding in prosperity, births that result in happiness ; (*and*) finally, an auspicious *nirvāṇa* ;—(*all these*) are not permanent (?) ;² having once fixed the thoughts upon the happiness of making gifts,

No. 64 ; PLATE XXXIX B.

GADHWA INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham in 1874-75 or 1876-77, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 10 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate v. Nos. 2 and 3).

It is another inscription from **Gadhwa**,³ in the Karchhanā Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was found on pulling down a ruined wall ; and is on two faces of a fragment of a square sandstone pillar which had been cut into four beams by splitting it down the middle of each face, in order to adapt it to some later building purposes. The other pieces were not found. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing** includes the remains of two separate records, which, however, seem to refer to one and the same object of donation. On that face of the stone which is represented in the left part of the lithograph, we have the remains of fourteen lines, covering a space of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $1' 2\frac{1}{2}$ " high ; and, on the other side, the remains of eight lines, covering a space of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $11\frac{1}{2}$ " high. Such of the writing as remains, is fairly well preserved ; but of course some of the letters are doubtful from want of the context to explain them.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of Nos. 7, 8, and 9 above, Plate ivB. C. and D. They include, in lines 18 and 19, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1 and 2.—The **language** is Sanskrit ; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ṣ*, in *vinṣati*, line 16.

From the letters visible at the end of line 1, the **inscription** may belong to the time of the **Early Gupta king Kumāragupta**. The details of the date, however, have been

scription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1030 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252, and note 20) ; it means, not 'a female Leader of the Forces,' but 'the wife of a *Dandādyaka*.' Modern instances of finding appellations for women in the official titles of their husbands, are afforded by the Kanarese *Gauḍasāni*, and the Marāṭhī *Pāṭil*, as used to designate the wife of the *Gauḍa* or *Pāṭil*, the village-headman.

¹ The allusion is to the *ari-shad-varga* or *ari-shaṭka* ; see page 156 above, note 5.

² According to the Buddhist doctrine, it would appear that even *nirvāṇa*, or the extinction of existence, is not a permanent state, and does not free the individual who attains it from the liability of future births, unless it is followed by *parinirvāṇa*, or absolute destruction of identity by complete absorption into the divine essence.

³ See page 36 above, and note 1.

entirely destroyed. The remnant of the inscription does not display any sectarian character. The object of it was to record certain grants to a *sattra*, or charitable hall or almshouse:

TEXT.¹

First Part.

- 1 śr. ku.²
 2 r. *sattra* yū(?) . 9(?)
 3 [di]vasa-pūrvvāyām ma,
 4 guptaśy=aiya da. y.
 5 [A]nantaguptāya(?)yā
 6 puṇy-āpyāyan-ā-
 7 [rttham] *sattra*-sā[mā*]nya-bhōja-
 8 [na] [di]nārāih
 9 vāsō-yugā-
 10 parō di-
 11 [nāra] dīnārāih dē(?)va-
 12 [Yaś=ch=ainam] dharmma-skandham vyu-
 13 [chchhindyāt=sa pañchabhir=mahāpāta]kaiḥ sa[r]yu-
 14 ktaḥ syād=iti [II]

Second Part.

- 15 sat[t*]ra-sāmānya-bhōjanē
 16 prati suvarṇnair=ekān-na-viṇśatibhi[h]
 17 kārītaḥ [i*] Brāhma(?)nō mayika
 18 dvayam 2 karōṭa 2 bra
 19 yugam 1 koṭṭayba sukuṇ
 20 dakṣhiṇa-kūla-kañchaḍam paksha [II*]
 21 Yaś=ch=ainam vyuchchhin[dy]ā[t=sa pañchabhir=mahā]-
 22 [pā]takais=sa[r*]yuktaḥ [s]y[ād=iti II]

TRANSLATION.

It is impossible to give any connected rendering of the contents of this inscription. We can only note that, in the First Part, we may perhaps have remnants of the name of **Kumāragupta** in line 1-2; that there is the name of **Anantagupta** or **Ahantagupta** in line 5, evidently belonging to some private person; and that lines 7 to 12 appear to have recorded certain grants, fixed in *dīndras*, for the purpose of providing food in a *sattra* or 'almshouse,' and also to provide pairs of upper and lower garments. It ends with the usual imprecation against interfering with the continuance of the grant.

The Second Part, again, refers to food in an almshouse, recording something in connection with it at a cost of nineteen gold coins of the kind called *suvarṇa*. Other details follow, including two *karōṭas* or 'basins or cups,' and one pair [of upper and lower garments]. Then follows apparently a grant of some land, on the south bank of a river. And the inscription winds up, as before, with the usual imprecation against interfering with the grants.

¹ From the original stone.² Possibly the original had *śrī-Kumdraguptasya*.

No. 65; PLATE XXXIX C.

KOSAM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA BHIMAVARMAN.

THE YEAR 139.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 3, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate ii. No. 3).

Kôsam,¹ the ancient **Kauśāmbī**, is a small village near the left bank of the Jamnā, about eight miles to the south of Karārī,² the chief town of the Karārī Parganā in the Manjhanpur or Mānjhandpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the broken base of a sculptured standing group of Śiva and Pārvatī that was found buried in a field near the large monolith pillar inside the fort, which is described in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 309 ff.

The **writing**, which covers the whole face of the stone, measuring about 10½' broad by 4" high, is in a state of very fair preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment, as at least one line is almost entirely destroyed below line 2; and it is also impossible to say how much has been lost at each side of the stone.—The average **size** of the letters is about 1½". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include forms of the **numerical symbols** for 7, 9, 30, and 100, and perhaps³ for 2.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is all in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** is one of a *Mahārāja* named **Bhīmavarman**, who, judging by the date, must have been a feudatory of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta**. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 458-59), and the seventh solar day, perhaps of the second fortnight of a month, or perhaps of the second month of a season;⁴ but the details here are broken away and lost. It is evidently a **Śaiva** inscription; and the object of it must have been to record the gift or installation of the sculpture, on the base of which it is engraved.

¹ The 'Kosam and Kosim Kheraj' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20' N.; Long. 81° 27' E.—*Kheraj* is a mistake for *khirdj*; the village consisting of two parts, of which one is *indām* or 'rent-free,' and the other is *khirdj* or 'rent-paying.'

² The 'Kuralee' of maps.

³ See note 4 below.

⁴ Before the word *diva* there are two marks which seem to be the numerical symbol 2; and the passage might be completed either in accordance with the method of, for instance, the date of the Nāsik inscription of Puṣumāyi, "in the year nineteen, 19; in the second fortnight, 2, of the hot season; on the thirteenth day, 13" (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 108, No. 18); or the date of the Mathurā inscription of Vāsudēva, "in the 44 (774); in the first month of the rainy season; on the thirtieth day, 30" (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8). But I know of no other instance of these ancient methods being continued as late as the period of the present inscription; and this makes it doubtful whether the signs in question really are the numerical symbol 2.

TEXT.¹

1 Mah[ā*]r[ā]jasya śrī-Bhīmavarmmaṇaḥ samva[t*] 100 30 9

 2 2(?)² diva³ 7 [l*] étaḍ-[d*]ivasa kumaramè

 3 pa

TRANSLATION.

..... (In the government) of the *Mahādja*, the illustrious *Bhīmavarman*;
 —the year 100 (and) 30 (and) 9; 2 (?)²; the day 7;—(on)
 this day

No. 66; PLATE XXXIX D.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 148.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 11, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate v. No. 4).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the only published version of it up to the present time. But in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. page 311, note 3, Dr. E. Hultzsch pointed out that the correct interpretation of the date gave the year 148; not 140, as read by General Cunningham.

This is another inscription from *Gadhwa*,¹ in the Karchhanā Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It is on a sandstone fragment that was found in the pavement of the *Daśavatāra* temple of Vishnu, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

With the exception of a margin of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " at the top and bottom, and at the end of the lines, the inscription covers the entire front of the stone, measuring about 2' 4" broad by 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The writing is a good deal damaged, but can be made out satisfactorily with a little trouble. It is, however, only a fragment; since the first part of each line, containing nearly as much as is now extant, has been cut away in adapting the stone to some later building purpose, and this part of the stone has not been found.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before ś, in *chaṭvāriṣṭaḍ* and *viṇṣati*, line 1; (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *chittra*, line 3; and (3) the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvāra*, in *samvatsara*, line 1.

¹ From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.

² See page 266 above, note 4.

³ See page 266 above, note 4.

² i.e. *divasa*, or *divasā*.

³ See page 36, above, and note 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of some particular king; but his name has been entirely broken away and lost in the first half of line 1. The recorded date, however, shews that it was either of the time of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, or immediately after his reign. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 467-68), on the twenty-first solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Māgha (January-February). It is a Vaishnava inscription. And the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishnu, under the name of Anantasvāmin; and,—for the purpose of providing perfumes, incense, garlands, &c., and of executing repairs,—a grant, the details of which are lost, but which would seem to have consisted of some land at a village belonging to the same god under the name of Chitrakūtasvāmin, or 'the lord of Chitrakūta.'

TEXT.

- 1 sya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara¹-śatē-shtā-
chatvāriṁśad-uttarē Māgha-māsa-divasē ēka-viṁśatimē [1*]
2 puṇy-ābhivṛddhy-arthaṁ vaḍabhiṁ-kārayaitvā² Ananta-
svāmi-pādām³ pratisthāpya gandha-dhūpa-srag
3 s[phu]ṭa-pratisaṁskāra-karaṇ-ārthaṁ bhaga[va]ch-Chittra-
[k]ūtasvāmi-pādiya-kōshthē(?)ta-prāvēśya-mati ..
4 lā, dattā dvādaśa [11*] Yainaṁ⁴
vyuchchh[i]ndy[ā]t-saḥ⁵ paṁchabhiḥ mahāpātakaiḥ sa[rhy]uktaḥ
syād=iti [11*]

TRANSLATION.

..... In the augmenting victorious reign⁶ of
in a century of years, increased by forty-eight, on the twenty-first day of the month
Māgha;—

(Line 2.)—Having caused (*a temple having*) a flat roof⁷ to be made, for the sake of
increasing the religious merit of (*and*) having installed the feet⁸ of
(the god) Anantasvāmin perfumes, incense, garlands
..... for the purpose of repairing whatever may become torn, there have
been given twelve belonging to the entrance of ...
..... which belongs to the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakūtasvāmin.

¹ The Chitrakūta referred to here is the modern 'Chatarkot,' 'Chitarkot,' and 'Chitrakote' Hill of maps, &c., in the 'Bānda' District of the North-West Provinces, forty-two miles south-east of Bānda, and seventy-one miles south-west of Allāhabād; Lat. 25° 12' N.; Long. 80° 47' E. It is a great place of pilgrimage, and is specially sacred to Vishnu in his incarnation as Rāma.

² From the original stone.

³ Read *rājyā samvatsara*; see page 38 above, note 5.

⁴ Read *vaḍabhiṁ kārayitvā*, or *vaḍabhiṁ-kārayitvā*.

⁵ Read *pādām* or *pādaṁ*.

⁶ Read *ya śnam*, or *yaś=ch=ainam*.

⁷ Read *sa*.

⁸ See page 38 above, note 5.

⁹ *vaḍabhi* (also *valabhi*, which occurs in line 6 of No. 18 above, page 81) is explained as meaning 'the wooden frame of a roof; a flat roof, house-top, top-room, turret, top-floor, balcony; any temporary erection on the top of a palace; an awning, a tent;' but it seems to refer to a building here, and to denote 'a flat-roofed temple.'

¹⁰ i.e. "having installed an image;" see page 123 above, note 5. The use of the word *pāda*, not *pada*, shews that the inscription does not refer to the foot-prints or impressions of the feet, which are so frequently objects of worship. So, also, just below this passage, "the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakūtasvāmin" means simply 'the divine (god) Chitrakūtasvāmin.'

(L. 4.)—Whosoever may interrupt this (*grant*), he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins!

No. 67; PLATE XL A.

TUSAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Bird, and was first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1875, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 138 ff., where he published a translation of it by Babu Pratap Chandra Ghosh, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xl. No. 5).

Tusām¹ or **Tusām** is a village about fourteen miles to the north-west of Bhiwāni,² the chief town of the Bhiwāni Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Hisār or Hissār District in the Panjāb. Immediately on the west of the village there is a steep isolated hill, that rises abruptly out of the plain to a height of some eight hundred feet. And the present inscription is on the surface of a rock, about half-way up the east side of this hill.

About a foot below the centre of the last line of the inscription, there is engraved on the rock an **emblem**, of which a complete restoration is given by General Cunningham in his published lithograph, and which may be either a Buddhist *dharmachakra* or 'wheel of religion,' or a sun-symbol. But there is nothing to connect it of necessity with the inscription now published; and it may belong to one of the shorter records, e.g. the *Ītām bhagavatā bhagavat-pāda-dāśē*, "victory has been achieved by the Divine One, in (*this*) region belonging to the feet³ of the Divine One," which is engraved just above the present inscription, in large and somewhat irregular characters of about the same period.⁴—The writing covers an extreme space of about 4' 2" broad by 2' 2½" high; the lines being of unequal length to suit the irregularities of the rock. The engraving was rather shallow, and some of the letters are a good deal weather-worn; but, on the original rock, the inscription is quite legible throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ¾" to 1¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; but in the word *afi*, 'a bee,' in line 1, they include the southern *l*, which I have commented on at page 4 above.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *upādādhya*, line 5; and (2), as noted above, the use of the southern *l* in *afi*, line 1, which is probably due to Sōmatrāta, whose record this inscription is, being a Sātvata from Central or Southern India.⁵

¹ The 'Toosham and Tosham' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 51' N.; Long. 76° 0' E.—The name is written sometimes with the palatal sibilant, and sometimes with the dental; but with a preference for the former.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name 'Tushām,' and suggested that it is derived from *Tushār-ārāma*, 'the Tushār monastery.' But the sibilant is not the lingual *ś*; and the proposed etymology, due in the first instance to the supposition that the inscription mentioned a Tushār king named Vishṇu, cannot be upheld.

² The 'Bhewani and Bhewannee' of maps.

³ See page 123 above, note 5.

⁴ See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. Pl. xl. No. 1; which, however, is not quite an accurate representation of the original.

⁵ See page 271 below, note 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated ; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. It is a Vaishṇava inscription ; and the object of it is to record the making, by an *Āchārya* named *Sōmatrāta*, of two reservoirs and a house, for the use of the god Viṣṇu under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One.

The manipulation of General Cunningham's ink-impression, as shewn by the published lithograph, led to the introduction of the name of the **Early Gupta Mghārāja Ghaṭōtkacha** in line 2 ; and to the supposition that the name Viṣṇu, in the same line, was that of a **Tushāra** king who conquered Ghaṭōtkacha, and who might be identified with the third Kaṇva or Kaṇvayana prince Nārāyaṇa.¹ As is to be seen, however, in my lithograph now published, there is no foundation whatever for this ; the *aksharas* that were supposed to give the name of Ghaṭōtkacha, being, in reality, nothing but *dānav-āṅgaṇā*, "(the women) of the demons ;" and *tushāra* here has no meaning but that of 'frost.'

TEXT.

- 1 ^G *litam*^a = aṅghikshnam = ēva ^R *Jāmbavatī-vadanāravind-ōrijit-ālinā* ।
 2 *dānav-āṅgaṇā-mukhāmbhōja-lakshmi-tushārēṇa* *Viṣṇunā* (II)
 3 *Anēkapurushābhyāgat* - *āryya Sātvaṭa* - *yōgāchāryya* -
 4 *bhagavadbhāktā* - *Yāsastrāta-prapautrasya* - *āchāryya* - *Viṣṇutrāta* -
pautrasya-āchāryya - R
 5 *Vasudatta-p[u]trasya* *Rāvanyām=utpannasya* *Gōtama-*
sagōtrasya-āchāryy-ōpādhyāya - R R
 6 *Yāsastrāt-[ān]ujasya-āchāryya-Sōmatrātasya-ēdam* *bhagavat-*
pād-ōpayō-
 7 *iyam* ^R *kundam=uparyy-āvasathah* ^R *ku-*
 8 *ndam* ^R *ch=āparam* [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Verily victory has been achieved again and again by (the god) Viṣṇu, who is a mighty bee on the waterlily which is the face of Jāmbavatī, (and) a very frost to (cause the withering of) the beauty of the waterlilies which are the faces of the women of the demons !

(Line 3.)—This reservoir, intended for the use of the feet^a of the Divine One, (and) the house above, (it), and the second reservoir, (are the work) of the *Āchārya Sōmatrāta*,—the son of the son's son of Yāsastrāta, who was the successor of many men (of

¹ Mentioned, for instance, in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, book IV. chap. xxiv. ; F. E. Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. IV. p. 192.—The Tushāra, Tukhāra, or Tushkhara (? Turushka) kings are mentioned in the same volume, p. 203.

^a From the original stone.

^b Over this *m*, there are the vowel-marks for *ō*. But they are not connected in any way with the and it is not apparent why they were made, as they cannot possibly stand for the syllable *ōm*, and they are altogether superfluous and unmeaning.

^c This *y* is rather an anomalous one ; but the character cannot stand for anything else.

^d See page 123 above, note 5.

preceding generations); who was a highly esteemed Sātвата;¹ who was an Āchārya of the Yōga philosophy; and who was a devotee of the Divine One;—the son's son of the Āchārya Viṣṇutrāta;—the son, begotten on Rāvaṇ, of the Āchārya Vasudatta;—a member of the Gōtama gōtra;—(and) the younger brother of the Āchārya and Upādhyāya Yaśaśtrāta.

No. 68; PLATE XL B.

DEORIYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 48 f., where he published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xviii D).

DÊORIYĀ or Dêwariyā² is a small village on the right bank of the Jamhā, about eight miles towards the south-west of Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Parganā in the Karchhanā Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the pedestal of a stone standing image of Buddha,—draped, and with small attendant figures kneeling at his feet, one on the right side, and two on the left,—that was found at this village. When I examined the image, it was in the Government Museum at Allahābād; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the pedestal, about 1' 1" broad by 2½" high, is in a state of good preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ⅙" to ⅙". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; it may be allotted, however, on palæographical grounds, to about the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākya mendicant named **Bôdhivarman**, of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Dêya-dharmmo-yam Śākya-bhikshô[r*]=Bôdhivarmmanah. [I*] Yad-atra
punya[m*]
2 tad⁴=bhava[tu*] mâtâpitrô[h*] sarvva-sat[t*]vânām ch-ānūt[t*]ara-jñân-
avāptayē [II*]

¹ Sātвата is explained in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary as being a name of Viṣṇu or Kṛishṇa, and also of a people, inhabiting a district in Central India, said to be the descendants of outcaste Vaiśyas.—It seems to be, as used here, the name of some special sect of Vaiṣṇavas or Bhāgavatas, probably from Central or Southern India.

² The 'Deoriya and Deorya' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 19' N.; Long. 81° 51' E.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name 'Dêvaliā' (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI., p. 354).

³ From the original stone.

⁴ This d was at first omitted, and was then inserted above the line.

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikṣu •Bōdhivarman. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (*his*) parents and by all sentient beings.

No. 69; PLATE XLC.

KASIA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1875-76 or 1876-77 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, and was first brought to notice by him in 1883, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVIII. p. 59, where he published his reading of the text and proposed interpretation of it, followed (*id.* p. 60, note 1) by my own reading of the text (of course mutilated in publication), and my translation as it then suggested itself to me.

• **Kasiā**¹ or **Kasyā** is a village thirty-four miles due east of Gōrakhpur, in the Paḍ-raunā² Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Gōrakhpur District in the North-West Provinces; and is the head-quarters of a Joint-Magistrate in charge of a Sub-Division of the District. The inscription is below the figure of a man, sitting in a squatting position, on the lower part of the western side of the pedestal of a colossal stone statue of Buddha, recumbent in the act of attaining *nirvāṇa*, which was found by Mr. Carlleyle in the course of excavations in a large mound of ruins at this village.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 1' 3½" broad by 2½" high, is in a state of very good preservation, except that the name of the sculptor is partially illegible in line 2.—The average **size** of the letters is about ⅞". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; on palæographical grounds, however, it may be allotted to about the end of the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a *Mahāvihārasvāmin*³ named **Haribala**, of the figure below which it is engraved.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Dēya-dharmmō=yam mahāvihārasvāminō Haribalasya |
2 Pratimā ch=ēyam ghaṭitā Dinē .. mā(?)śvarēṇa I(II)

¹ The 'Kasia, Kassia, Kasya, Kesiya, and Kusya,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 102. Lat. 26° 45' N.; Long. 83° 58' E.

² The 'Paraona, Parāuna, and Pudrownan,' of maps, &c.

³ *Mahāvihārasvāmin*, *lit.* 'a great master (superintendent) of a *vihāra*,' is evidently a technical religious title of office, denoting the officer who came, in the management of a *vihāra*, next above the *Vihārasvāmins* or 'masters (superintendents) of the *vihāra*.' The latter title occurs in the Sāñchi pillar inscription No. 73 below, Plate xlii A.

⁴ From Mr. Carlleyle's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.

TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the *Mahāvihārasādmin* Haribala. And this image has been fashioned by Dinē . . māśvara (?)

No. 70; PLATE XL D.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 230.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the *Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 185, where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate ii. No. 9) reduced from General Cunningham's ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 37, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id.* Plate xvi. No. 23).

This is another inscription from Mathurā,¹ the chief town of the Mathurā District in the North-West Provinces; and is on the pedestal of a stone standing statue of Bud-dha, draped, and with a nimbus behind his head and shoulders, that was found in the Katrā mound. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahābād; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing, which covers a space about 1' 4½" broad by 2" high on the upper part of the face of the pedestal, is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The average size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 30 and 200. In the *rya* of *bhaṭṭāyār-yad*, line 1, we have to notice that the *r* is formed on the line of writing, with a single *y* below it. And the same method of forming the *r* is followed in *dharmō* and *rjaya*, though not in *sarvva*, in the same line.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. But its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and thirty (A.D. 540-50), without any further details. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākya female mendicant named Jayabhaddā, to a monastery called the Yaśōvihāra, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT:

- 1 Dēya-dharmō-yam Yaśā(śō)viḥārē Śākya-bhikṣunyar-Jayabhaddāyār-
Yad⁴-atra punyam tad=bhavatu sarvva-sa-
2 tvanam⁴-anuttara-īṇān āvāptayē 1(11) Sarvatsarah 200 30 1(11)

¹ See page 26 above, and note 2.

² From the original stone.

³ Read *sattvādam*.

⁴ See page 26 above, note 1.

⁵ Read *bhikṣunya Jayabhaddāyāḥ* || *Yad*.

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift, at the (monastery called) **Yasôvihâra**, of the Śākya **Bhikṣuṃś Jayabhaddâ**. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings! The year² 200 (*and*) 30.

No. 71; PLATE XLIA.

BÔDH-GAYA INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

THE YEAR 200.

THIS inscription, which was published by me, for the first time, quite recently, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 356 ff., is from a stone-tablet that was discovered in the course of the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. J. D. M. Beglar at **Bôdh-Gaya**,¹ the famous Buddhist site about five miles due south of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ District, in the Bengal Presidency. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone has the appearance of having been originally set in a socket about three inches deep, and morticed at the sides into a building. The front surface measures about 1' 7½" broad by 1' 6" high. Below the inscription, towards the proper right side of the stone, there are engraved in outline a cow and a calf, standing towards, and nibbling at, a small tree or bush; the tips of the ears of the cow are discernible in the lithograph, below the commencement of line 14.—The writing, which is in the upper part of the stone, and covers a space of about 1' 7½" broad by 1' 0" high, including a margin of about an inch all round, is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. The form of *y*, throughout this inscription, is a slightly older variety of the fully developed Devanâgarî form exhibited throughout the Aṣṣaḍ inscription of Ādityasêna, No. 42 above, page 200. In the conjunct letter *ry*, in *yatir-yatah*, line 7, we have to note that the *r* is formed on the line, with a single *y* below it. The characters include, in the last line, forms of the numerical symbols for 7, 9, 60, and 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing *Om*, and for the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the occasional doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *chakkrais*, line 13; *tantra*, line 2; and *chaittra*, line 14; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, e.g. in *vandhu*, lines 2 and 8; *vabhâva*, line 6; and *vâdhi*, lines 10 and 12.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. Its date, in numerical symbols,² is the year two hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 588-89), on the seventh

¹ The 'Bôdh-Gya and Buddh-Gaya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 41' N.; Long. 85° 2' E.

² As regards the third symbol in the years, 9, it occurs as the second symbol, in the record of the day, in line 9 of the Bhumarâ pillar inscription of the *Mahâradjas* Hastin and Śarvanâtha, No. 24 above; in connection with which instance, I remarked (page 110, note 2) that, though it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9, yet it might possibly be 7 or 8. I also

solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection, by a certain **Mahānāman**,—the second of that name mentioned in this inscription,—of a mansion of Buddha, i.e. a Buddhist temple or monastery, at the **Bôdhimaṇḍa**, or, rather, within the precincts of it; i.e. at the modern **Bôdh-Gayâ**.

With regard to the places mentioned in this inscription, **Lankâ** is, of course, one of the most well-known names of **Ceylon**. And General Cunningham tells me that **Amradvîpa**, 'the mango-island,' is another of its names, derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango. **Bôdhimaṇḍa** is the name of the miraculous throne under the *bôdhi*-tree at **Bôdh-Gayâ**, also called the *vajrâsana* or 'diamond-throne,' on which Buddha and his predecessors sat, when attaining *bôdhi* or perfect wisdom.¹ And Professor Childers, in his Pali Dictionary, added that he inferred that the term was also applied to the raised terrace built under the *bôdhi*-tree within the precincts of any Buddhist temple, in imitation, presumably, of Buddha's throne. This, rather than the throne itself, seems to be its meaning in the present inscription.

The chief interest of this inscription, lies in the probability that the second **Mahānāman** mentioned in it, is the person of that name who composed the more ancient part of the Pali *Mahāvamsa*, or history of Ceylon. If this identification is accepted, it opens up a point of importance in the question of dates. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the date of the present inscription has to be referred to the Gupta era, with the result of **A.D. 588-89**. On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records, Mr. Turnour arrived at **A.D. 459 to 477** as the period of the reign of **Mahānāman's** nephew (sister's son) **Dhātusēna**,² and it was during his reign that **Mahānāman** compiled the history.

then considered that the same symbol occurs, in the record of the day, in the Khôh grant of the *Mahârdja* Saṃkshôbha, No. 25, above; in line 24 of which (page 115) I accordingly read the solar day as 29. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, has found, by actual calculation, that the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, which is mentioned in line 2 f. of that record (page 114), was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month. Accordingly, the symbol which we have there, in line 24, must be interpreted as 7; not 9.—On fuller consideration of the whole matter, with the help of Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation, I find that, in the three passages, we are concerned with two separate symbols; not one and the same.—One is the symbol which is the third in the years of the present inscription of **Mahānāman**, and the second in the record of the day in the Bhumarâ pillar inscription; and I see no reason to alter my original opinion, that it is a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. A sign extremely like it occurs, it is true, in the date of the Môrbi grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 258, and Plate, line 19), where the record in words compels us to interpret it as 8; but it is there a decimal figure, not a numerical symbol; and that record also comes from a far distant part of the country; so that we are not bound to adopt the same interpretation in the present instance.—The other symbol is the second in the record of the day in the grant of Saṃkshôbha. And an examination of the lithograph (Plate xv B.) will shew, that it really differs from the symbol which I interpret as 9, through a slight mark below it, which, being a little detached from it, I took originally to be a rust-mark, and not part of the symbol itself. Taking it now as part of the symbol itself, it makes the symbol identical with, though in execution somewhat inferior to, the symbol for the day in the present inscription of **Mahānāman**; and, accordingly, the symbol for the day here must now be interpreted as 7; not as 8, which I took it to be in my original version of this inscription.—The same symbol occurs also in lines 19 and 21 of the Nêpâl inscription of Jishnugupta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 172, and Plate); and it was Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's interpretation of it there as 8, which led me to read it originally as 8 in the present instance.

¹ See, amongst other authorities, Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 116.

² See Turnour's *Mahavanso*, pp. ii. liv. lxii. 254 ff.; and *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 922.

The recorded date of the present inscription, therefore, shews,—if the identification suggested above is accepted,—either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be ; or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working them out, and that they now require considerable rectification.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Om [II*] Vyāptō² yēn=a-pramēyaḥ sakala-śaśi-ruchā sarvvataḥ sat[t*]va-
dhātuḥ kṣuṇṇāḥ pāṣaṇḍa-yōdhās=sugati-patha-rudhas=tarkka-śastr-
ābhīyuktāḥ sampūrṇō
- 2 dharmma-kōṣhaḥ .prākṛiti-ripu-hṛitāḥ sādhitō lōka-bhūtyai³ śāstuḥ Śāky-aika-
va(ba)ndhōr=jjayati, chirataram tad=yaśas-sāra-tanttram || Nairōdhīm⁴
śubha-bhāvanā-
- 3 m=anusritāḥ. samsāra-samklēśa-jin=Maitrēyasya karē vimukti-vaśitā yasy-
ādbhuta vyākṛitā | nirvāṇ-āvasarē cha yēna charapau dṛiṣṭau munēḥ
- 4 pāvaṇau⁵ pāyād=vaḥ sa munīndra-śāsana-dharaḥ stutyō⁶ **Mahā-Kāśyapaḥ** ||
Samyukt-āgaminō viśuddha-rajasaḥ sat[t*]v-ānukamp-ōdyatāḥ śishyā
- 5 yasya sakṛid=vichēruḥ=amālām **Laṅkā**-āchal-ōpatyakām tēbhyaḥ śīla-guṇ-
ānvitās=cha śataśaḥ śishya-praśishyāḥ kramāj-jātās=tuṅga-narēndra-
- 6 varṇsa-tilakāḥ prōtsṛijya ^{raja-śriyam} **rājya-śriyam** || Dhyān⁷-ōday-āhita-hitaḥ śubh-
āsubha-vivēkakṛid=vihata-mōhaḥ sad-dharmm-ātula-vibhavō **Bhavō**
va(ba)bhūva
- 7 śramaṇas=tataḥ || **Rāhuḥ**⁸-ākhyās=cha tach-chhishya **U⁹pasēnō** yatir-yataḥ
Mahānāmā kramād=ēvam=**Upasēnas**=tatō=paraḥ || Vātsalyam¹⁰ śaraṇ-ā-
- 8 gatasya satatam dīnasya vaiśēshikam vyāpat-sāyaka-santati-kṣhata-dhṛitē-
ārttasya ch=āpatyakam | krūrasy-āhita-kāriṇaḥ pravitatam va(ba)ndhōr=
yathā-
- 9 bhāvataḥ ēvam sach-charit-ōdbhavēna .yaśasā yasy-āchitam bhūtalam ||
Āmradvip¹¹-ādhivāsi prithu-kula-jaladhis-tasya śishyō mahīyaṇ
- 10 **Laṅkā**-dvīpa-prasūtaḥ para-hita-nirataḥ san-**Mahānāmā-nāmā** | tēn-ōchchair-
Vvō(bbō)dhimaṇḍē śaśi-kara-dhavalāḥ sarvvatō maṇḍapēna¹²
- 11 kāntaḥ prāsāda ēsha Smara-va(ba)la-jayinaḥ kāritō lōka-śāstuḥ ||
Vyapagata¹³-vishaya-snēhō hata-timira-daśaḥ pradīpa-vad=a-saṅgaḥ
- 12 kuśalēn-ānēna janō vō(bō)dhi-sukham=^{anuttaram} bhajatām || Yāvad¹⁴-
dhvānt-āpahārī pravitata-kiraṇaḥ sarvvatō bhāti bhāsvān-yāvat-pūrṇō=
mbu(mbu)-

¹ From the original stone.

² Metre, Sragdharā.

³ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita; and in the following verse.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁶ My original reading was *stutyai*. I owe the correction, as also that of *amālām*, for *atulām*, in line 5, to the kind suggestion of Dr. Kielhorn.

⁷ Metre, Āryā.

⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁹ From the vowel *ē* being partially engraved over this *u*, the engraver seems to have begun to form the *ś* here.

¹⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹¹ Metre, Sragdharā.

¹² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

¹³ Metre Āryā

¹⁴ Metre, Sragdharā.

- 13 *rāṣiḥ phaṇi-phāṇa-kuṭilair-ūrmī-chakkrais-samantāt yāvach=ch=Ēndr-ādhivāsō
vividha-maṇi-śilā-chāru-sringaṇ Sumēruḥ śōbh-āḍhyam*
14 . *tāvad=ēṭad=bhavanam=uru-munēḥ śāsvatatvam=prayātu || Samvat 200 60, 9
Chaitra śu dī 7 ||*

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Victorious for a very long time is that doctrine, replete with fame, of the Teacher, the chief kinsman of the Śākya, by which, lustrous as the full-moon, the inscrutable primary substance of existence has been pervaded in all directions ; by which the warriors, who are heretics, obstructive of the path of beatitude, have been broken to pieces, being assailed with the weapon of logic ; (and) by which the whole treasure of religion, that had been stolen by the enemy which is original nature, has been recovered for the welfare of mankind !

(Line 2.)—May he, **Mahā-Kāśyapa**, who is worthy of praise, protect you,—he who observed the precepts of (Buddha) the chief of saints ; who practised that auspicious habit of abstract meditation which is of the nature of a trance ; who overcame the anguish of successive states of existence ; whose wonderful subjugation of the passions in final emancipation (*is to be*) displayed in the hand of Maitrēya ;¹ and by whom the two pure feet of (Buddha) the saint were beheld at the time of attaining *nirvāṇa* !²

(L. 4.)—His disciples, endowed with a connected tradition of doctrine, purified as to (*their*) emotions, (*and*) active in compassion for existing beings, roamed at one time over the stainless country at the feet of the mountains of **Lankā** ; and in succession from them there were born, in hundreds, disciples and disciples' disciples, possessed of the virtue of (*good*) character, who, without the glory of (*actual*) sovereignty, were the ornaments of a lofty race of kings.

(L. 6.)—Then there was the **Śramaṇa Bhava**, whose welfare was effected by the development of abstract meditation ; who discriminated between good and evil ; who destroyed error ; (*and*) who possessed an unequalled wealth of true religion.

(L. 7.)—And his disciple (*was*) he who had the name of **Rāhula** ; after whom (*there came*) the ascetic **Upasēna (I.)** ; then in succession (*there was*) **Mahānāman (I.)** ; (*and*) after him another **Upasēna (II.)**, whose special characteristic of affection, of the kind that is felt towards offspring,—for any distressed man who came to him for protection, and for any afflicted person whose fortitude had been destroyed by the continuous flight of the arrows of adversity,—extended, in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman, (*even*) to any cruel man who might seek to do (*him*) harm ; (*and*) by whose fame, arising from good actions, the whole world was thus completely filled.

¹ As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.

² Maitrēya is a Bôdhisattva, at present in the Tushita heaven, who is to be the next Buddha. And the present passage, which is rather obscure, is perhaps explained by the injunction which Buddha, when on the point of attaining *nirvāṇa*, gave to Mahā-Kāśyapa, to deliver over his *kāśhāya* or yellow robe (and with it the transmission of the Buddhist doctrine) to Maitrēya, when he should attain the condition of a Buddha (see Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 142 ff.)

³ Mahā-Kāśyapa was seated in meditation, when suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. And then, exerting his divine sight in order to ascertain what wonderful event was indicated by this portent, he saw Buddha in the act of entering on *nirvāṇa* (see *id.* Vol. II. p. 161).

(L. 9.)—His disciple, greater (*even than himself*), (*is*) he who has the excellent name of **Mahânâman** (II.); an inhabitant of **Âmradvîpa**; a very ocean of a mighty family; born in the island of **Lankâ**; delighting in the welfare of others;—by him this beautiful mansion of the Teacher of mankind, who overcame the power of (the god)* Smara,¹—dazzling white as the rays of the moon, with an open pavilion on all sides,—has been caused to be made at the exalted **Bôdhimaṇḍa**.

(L. 11.)—By means of this appropriate (*action*), let mankind,—freed from attachment to worldly things; having the condition of (*mental*) darkness dispelled; (*and*), like (*the flame of*) a torch, having no adhesion (*to material objects*),—enjoy the supreme happiness of perfect wisdom!

(L. 12.)—As long as the sun, the dispeller of darkness, shines in all directions with diffused rays; as long as the ocean (*is*) full on all sides with its circles of waves that are curved like the hoods of hooded snakes; and as long as (the mountain) Sumêru, the abode of (the god) Indra, has its summits made beautiful by various jewelled slabs, in such a way as to be full of lustre,—so long let this temple of the great saint attain the condition of being everlasting!

(L. 14.)—The year 200 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 9; (the month) Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the day² 7.

No. 72; PLATE XLI B.

BODH-GAYA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

THIS inscription, which, also, was published by me quite recently, for the first time, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 359, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist image that was discovered in the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar at **Bôdh-Gayâ**,³ in the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 1½" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation.—The average **size** of the letters is about ⅜". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type with those of the preceding inscription of Mahânâman.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but the characters allot it to precisely the same time with the preceding Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, of A. D. 588-89. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the presentation of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, by a *Sthavira* named **Mahânâman**, who is obviously the second Mahânâman mentioned in the preceding inscription.

As pointed out to me by General Cunningham, this inscription shews that **Mahânâman** must have been at least thirty years old when he visited Bôdh-Gayâ; by the Buddhist rules, he could not receive the *upasampadda*-ordination, before attaining the age

¹ This refers generally to the subjugation of the passions; but also specially to the temptation by Mâra, or Love as the Destroyer, which is referred to in *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 69 ff.

² As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.

³ See page 274 above, and note 1.

of twenty years; and, after that, he would have to wait at least ten or twelve years, before he could be invested with the title of *Sthavira* or *Théra*. A further point to be noted, is, that Mahānāman's visit to Bôdh-Gayā probably occurred before the time when Dhātusāna became king of Ceylon,—during the flight of the uncle and nephew to avoid the persecution of the usurper Pāṇḍu; according to Mr. Turnour's deductions, this was between A.D. 434 and 439.

TEXT.¹

1. Ōm Dēya-dharmmō=yam Śākya-bhikshōh Amradvīpa-vāsi-sthavira-
Mahānāmasya² [11*] Yad=atra punyam taḥ=bhavatu sarvva-
sat[11*]vānām=anuttara-jñān-āvāptayē=stu³ [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikshu, the *Sthavira* Mahānāman, a resident of Amradvīpa. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings!

No. 73; PLATE XLII A.

SANCHI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1854, in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 199, where he published his reading of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxi. No. 199).

This is another inscription from Sāñchi,⁴ in the Diwāganj Sub-Division of the Bhopāl State in Central India. It is on the north side of part of a small monolith round pillar, broken, that stands a few yards to the north-east of the eastern gateway of the great Stūpa.

The writing covers a space of about 10" broad by 2½" high. Except for the first three letters, which are very much damaged, it is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment; the concluding part of it being broken away and lost.—The average size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *puttra*.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is, not dated. But, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is evidently the remnant of a Buddhist inscription; and its object seems to have been to record the gift of the pillar, on which it is inscribed, by a *Vihārasvāmin*,⁵ the son of

¹ From Mr. J. D. M. Beglar's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.

² Read *mahānāmāh*.

³ This *stu* (*astu*) is redundant, as we have already had *bhavatu*. The same redundant *astu* occurs also in line 2 of the Bôdh-Gayā image inscription, No. 76 below, page 282.

⁴ See page 29 above, and note 2.

⁵ *Vihārasvāmin*, *lit.* 'master of a *vihāra*,' is a technical religious title of office, applied to certain functionaries who came next in rank below the *Mahāvihārasvāmin*; see page 272 above, note 3.

Gôśûrasimhabala, whose name is partially destroyed, only the first two syllables, **Rudra**, remaining.

TEXT.¹

1 A(?)ka... vihârasvâmi-Gôśûrasimhabala-puttra-Rudra.....

TRANSLATION.

..... the *Vihârasvâmin* Rudra..... the son of Gôśûrasimhabala.....

Nô. 74; PLATE XLII B.

CALCÛTTA MUSEUM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a sandstone image that is in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. The image seems to have been originally a standing statue of Buddha; but the whole of the upper part of it, above the ankles, is broken away and lost. I have no information as to where it was found.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes; but it is only a fragment; the conclusion of it, in the third line, having been cut away, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *attra* and *pittrôh*, line 2.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākya mendicant named **Dharmadâsa**, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Dêya-dhârmô=yam Śākya-bhikshôr-Dharmadâsasya [1*] ya-
- 2 d-attra punyam tan²=mâtâpittrô[h*] sarva-sat[t*]vânâm ch-â-
- 3 [nuttara³-jñân-âvâptayê=stu ||]

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya *Bhikshu* **Dharmadâsa**. What-ever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), [let] it [be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge] by (*his*) parents and by all sentient beings.

¹ From the original pillar.

² From the original stone.

³ This *n* was at first omitted, and then inserted above its proper place.

⁴ This last line has been entirely cut away and lost, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.

No. 75; PLATE XLII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1871, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 123, and Plate xxxiv. No. 4.

Sárnâth is the modern name of a large collection of Buddhist ruins, about three and a half miles north of Benares (properly Banâras or Banâras), the chief town of the Benares District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is below a sandstone bas-relief representation of three scenes in the life of Buddha, that was found here in the course of excavations. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 1' 1½" broad by 2¼" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout.—The average **size** of the letters is about ¼". The **characters** are a peculiarly square variety of the northern alphabet.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated. But, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record that the sculpture, below which it is engraved, was made by the order of a religious mendicant named **Harigupta**.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Gurum² pûrvvaṅgamam kṛtvā 1³ mātaram pitaram tathā 1 kārītā
2 pratimā śāstuḥ 1⁴ Hariguptêna bhikṣuṇā 11

TRANSLATION.

Having placed first (*in the order of those who are to acquire religious merit from this act*) (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) mother (*and*) father, this image of the Teacher has been caused to be made by the *Bhikṣu* Harigupta.

No. 76; PLATE XLII D.

BODH-GAYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription, which does not appear to have been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist stone statue that was found by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar in their excavations at **Bôdh-Gayâ**,⁴ in the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. The original statue is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 1' 11" broad by 2" high, towards the top of the pedestal, is in a state of very good preservation throughout.—The average

¹ From the original stone.

² Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

³ and ⁴ In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁵ See page 274 above, and note 1.

size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Bôdh-Gayâ image inscription of Mahânâman, No. 72 above, page 278, Plate xli B. But, as, contrasted with the form in Mahânâman's inscription of the year 269, No. 71 above, page 274, Plate, xli A., we have to notice that, in conjunction with a following *y*, the *r* is here formed above the line, and the *y* is doubled.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *attra*, line 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the sixth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by two Śākya mendicants named **Dharmagupta** and **Damshṭrasēna**, natives of **Tishyāmratīrtha**, of the statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm Dēya-dharmmô=yam Śākya-bhikshvôṣ= **Tishyāmratīrtha-vāsika-**
 Dharmmagupta-Damshṭrasēnayôr-Yyad-attra punya[m] tad-bhavatu
 mâtāpi[ta*]rāv=āchāryy-ôpādhyāyau pūrvvaṅgama[m] kṛitvā
 2 sarvva-satvanām²=anuttara-jñān-āvāptayē=stu³ ||

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the two Śākya *Bhikshus*, **Dharmagupta** and **Damshṭrasēna**, residents of **Tishyāmratīrtha**. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings, after (*their*) parents and (*their*) *Āchārya* and *Upādhyāya*.

No. 77; PLATE XLIIIA.

LAHOR COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA MAHESVARANAGA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a copper seal that was obtained by General Cunningham from a native dealer at **Lāhōr**,⁴ the chief town of the Lāhōr District in the Panjāb. It is not known where it was originally found. I obtained it, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The seal is on an exaggerated signet-ring, in shape closely resembling the ordinary English pattern, of the kind which may still be seen worn loosely on the thumbs of the ministers of Native States. From the flat surface of the seal, to the bottom of the ring, it is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The flat surface of the seal is about $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick, and slightly oval in shape, about $1\frac{1}{8}$ " by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". At the top there is a bull, recumbent to the proper left, with a crescent moon in front of its face; below this, a straight line, turned up at each end; below

¹ From the original stone.

² Read *sattvānam*.

³ This *stu* (*astu*) is redundant, as we have *bhavatu* in line 1; see page 279 above, note 3.

⁴ The 'Lahore' of maps, &c., Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30. Lat. 31° 34' N.; Long. 74° 21' E.

this, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; and, at the bottom, a curved line, which is evidently intended for a *nāga* or hooded snake. The legend is in reverse in the original, so as to give a direct impression on documents; and it is evidently for some purpose or other of this kind that the seal was used. I give a direct representation of it in the lithograph.—The weight of the seal and ring is about 2½ oz.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the legend is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark,

The inscription simply records the name of the *Mahārāja Mahêśvaranāga*, the son of *Nāgabhaṭṭa*, belonging, it may be presumed, to a branch of the well-known *Nāga* family or tribe. On palæographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Mahārāja-Nāgabhaṭṭa-
- 2 putra-Mahêśvaranāga

TRANSLATION.

The *Mahārāja Mahêśvaranāga*, the son of *Nāgabhaṭṭa*.

No. 78; PLATE XLIII B.

ROHTASGADH STONE SEAL-MATRIX OF THE
MAHASAMANTA SASANKADEVA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, was discovered by Mr. Beglar cut in the rock at the hill-fort of *Rôhtâsgadh* or *Rôhitâsgadh*,¹ twenty-four miles south by west of *Sahasrâm*,² the chief town of the *Sahasrâm* Sub-Division of the *Shâhabâd* (Ârâ) District in the Bengal Presidency.

In the upper part, there is a somewhat damaged representation of a bull, recumbent to the proper right, and below this, separated by a line about $\frac{3}{8}$ " broad, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; the whole being enclosed in a circle, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, with a breadth of circumference varying from $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{4}$ ". I give a direct representation in the lithograph. But the original, on the rock, is in reverse; and, with the bull, the circular surrounding line, and the line across the surface, the legend is countersunk, not in relief. It is plain that what we have here, is a mould or matrix, for casting copper-seals in relief, to be attached to copper-plate charters.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the legend is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

¹ From the original seal.

² The 'Rhotasgurrh and Rohtâsgarh' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 37' N.; Long. 83° 55' E.

³ The 'Sahasrâm, Sahseram, and Sasseram' of maps.—The name is understood to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *sahasra-grâma*, 'the (circle of a) thousand villages'

The inscription simply records the name of the *Mahāsāmanta*¹ Śaśāṅkadēva. The age of the characters would justify us in identifying him with the Śaśāṅka (*She-shang-kia*), king of Karnaśuvārṇa (*Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*) in Eastern India,—the contemporary and murderer of Rājyavardhana II. of Kanauj,—who is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang as a persecutor of the Buddhists.² And, if this identification is accepted, it will refer the inscription to just about the commencement of the seventh century A.D.

TEXT.³

- 1 Śrī-mahāsāmanta-
- 2 Śaśāṅkadēvasya

TRANSLATION.

Of the illustrious *Mahāsāmanta* Śaśāṅkadēva.

No. 79; PLATE XLIII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRAKATADITYA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a stone that was discovered by General Cunningham at Sarnāth,⁴ close to Benares. It has now, I think, been sent to the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 2' 0½" broad by 1' 6" high, has suffered a great deal of injury; especially towards the bottom, where the first halves of lines 12 to 16 are now quite illegible; and I have to acknowledge some very appreciable assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in respect of some of the more pointedly damaged passages. In addition to its being so worn, the extant record is only a remnant of what was originally engraved. Nothing is lost at the top and bottom; but parts of the original stone have been cut away at the sides, evidently in order to adapt it to some building purpose; and the verse commencing in line 3 and ending in line 4, shews that at least eighteen letters have been destroyed in this way, between the last that is legible in line 3 and the first in line 4; the general run of the inscription seems to shew that nearly the whole of what was thus cut away, came at the ends of the lines. Also, as may be seen in the lithograph, two round holes were drilled in the stone for some purpose or other, about half-way down.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, except that the Kuṭila characteristic is only discernible in a few places, *e.g.* in *nitarāṁ nishkampah*, line 7, they are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Aphaṣṭ inscription of Ādityasena,

¹ *Mahāsāmanta*, *lit.* 'a great chief of a district,' is a technical official title which, as noted above (page 15, note 4), seems to denote the same rank as *Mahārāja*.—Next below the *Mahāsāmanta* came the *Sāmanta*. This latter title is of equally frequent use, in its technical value, in other inscriptions. In the present series, however, it is only used in a general way, to denote 'feudal chiefs'; *e.g.* in line 5 of No. 33 (see page 148 above, note 1), and in line 1 of No. 80 below, page 288.

² See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 210 ff., and Vol. II. pp. 42, 91, 118, 121.

³ From Mr. Beglar's rubbing; so also the lithograph.

⁴ See page 281 above.

No. 42 above, page 200, Plate xxviii.—The language is Sanskrit. The last line seems to be in prose; and the rest of the inscription, in verse throughout; though the metres cannot in every instance be recognised.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *puttrêna*, line 16; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout; e.g. in *vâlditya*, and *lavdha*, line 3.

The inscription is one of a king named **Prakāṭaditya**, whose capital appears to have been **Kāśī**, i.e. **Benares**, which is mentioned in the first line. It is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the seventh century A.D. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and the object of it is to record the building of a temple of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Muradvish, and some provision, the details of which are lost, for the repairs of it.

The chief interest attaching to this inscription, consists in its mentioning at least two kings of the name of **Bālāditya**. One of them was the father of **Prakāṭaditya**. The other was an ancestor of the same name; and, as he himself is called "another" **Bālāditya**, the presumption is that the name of the still earlier ancestor, who was mentioned in the passages that have been destroyed in lines 2 and 3, was also **Bālāditya**. And the probability is, that the first **Bālāditya** is the one who is so well known in connection with the history of **Mihirakula**.

TEXT.

- 1 dē(?)vō(?) || **Kāśī**-Iti-
vikhyātaṁ puram kâ(?)mē(?)na bhūshitam |
2 [11] [Pu]raṁdara i[va] pataty=ahō(?) ||
T[u]ṅga-ta(?)raṅga(?)va.. śāstra-vidō taṭanām | kari
3 rān^a=madhya-da .. mśam=ānitaḥ | tad-vamśa-sambhavō=nyō **Vā(bā)lā-**
dityō nripaḥ prityā || Tad-gōtra-lavdha(bdha)-janmā **Vā(bā)lādityō**
.....
4 patiḥ || Tasya^a **Dhaval**=ēti jāyā pati-vratā Rōhiṇ=iva
chandrasya | Gaur=iva Śūlapāṇēr=L[1]akshmīr=iva Vāsu[dēvasya ||]
.....
5 [pra]tāpa-tapt-āmitra-vadhū-sindhu-śō[sha] | ti-vinayā
dvaya-bhri(?)taṁ bhakti-dharm-aiḥa-śakti-satata-prathita
6 nu(?)ḥ suta-vatsala sutaḥ śauryya-
vinaya-sampannāḥ | śrīmān=**Prakāṭadityō**
7 [dvi]jja^a-vara-nikar-āśrayaḥ pravri(?)ddha(?)-guṇaḥ | *kalpa-druma iva
nitarām nishkampāḥ prakāṭa-mūlō=pi ||
8 [1] dvija^a-gaṇa-sēvyaḥ sa[tata]ṁ vidvat-samuḍaya-vihita-ruchiḥ ||
Nir[ji]ta-[du]rjaya-śat[tru]s=tri
9 pū(?)rvāḥ Kārttikēya iva || Yasya va .. nirgata
ludha(bdha)-hriṣṭa-bhramad-bhrama[ra] vi
10 ta^a-dinam prithu-pushkarinyaḥ || Ye(?)na(?)^a ripu-sundarīṇam
malināni kṛitāni v[i]pu[la]

¹ From the ink-impression.^a Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).² Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.⁴ Metre, Āryā.³ Metre, Āryā.⁵ Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.⁷ Metre, apparently Vasantatilaka.⁶ Metre, probably Āryā.

- 11 naśa(?)na(?)-dvija-guru ॥ kâritam-étad-
bhavanam Muradvishô ra.....
- 12 yâbhâ(?)su(?)
yutâyâmikâ prakāṭa.....
- 13 bahu-matô dhaṁma-
yaśô-râśi.....
- 14 yah(?) ॥ Khaṇḍa¹-
sphuṭita-saṁskāra.... dhû
- 15 haṁsa-bha praśastih
svâ..... ta(?)h ॥
- 16 R[ā]machandra-
[pu]ttr[ê]ṇa Dêvakēna ॥

TRANSLATION.

This inscription is too fragmentary for a connected translation to be offered. But we have to note the following points. Line 1 mentions the city of Kâśi; and line 2 apparently the god Puramdara, in connection with it. The passage lost between the last legible letter in line 2 and the first in line 3, contained the name of a king, in connection with whom we perhaps have, at the commencement of line 3, a mention of the **Madhyadêśa** or Central Country. In his lineage, there was born "another" king **Bâlâditya** (l. 3). In the family of the latter, there was born yet another **Bâlâditya** (l. 3). His wife was **Dhavalâ** (l. 4), who is compared with Rôhini, the wife of the Moon, Gaurî, the wife of Śūlapâni, and Lakshmi, the wife of Vâsudeva. Their son was the glorious **Prakâṭaditya** (l. 6), whose virtues and prowess, including a comparison of him with the god Kârttikēya (l. 9), are described in lines 7 to 10, apparently without the introduction of any further historical matter. Line 11 mentions the building of a temple of the god Muradvish. Line 14 contained some provision for the repairs of this temple. And line 16 gives us the name of Dêvaka, the son of Râmachandra, apparently as the engraver of the inscription.

No. 80; PLATE XLIV.

NIRMAṆD COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHAŚAMANTA AND MAHARAJA SAMUDRASENA.

THIS inscription has been known, to General Cunningham, since 1847 or 1848, but was not brought to notice till 1879, when Major W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction in the Pañjâb, having obtained and forwarded the plate on which it is engraved, Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVIII. Proceedings, p. 212 ff.

Nirmand¹ is a village, near the right bank of the Satlaj, twenty-one miles north-east of **Plach**,² the chief town of the Plach Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Kullô³ Division of the Kângra District in the Pañjâb. The inscription is on a copper-plate, which belongs to a

¹ Metre, probably Ślôka (Anushtubh).

² The 'Nirmand' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 47. Lat. 31° 25' N.; Long. 77° 38' E.

³ The 'Plach' of maps.

⁴ The 'Kullu and Kulu' of maps.

temple of the god Paraśurāma at this village; and, in accordance with the custom of the country, it is kept nailed up on one of the walls of the temple. I obtained the original plate, for examination, through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Dane, B.C.S.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, is of rather irregular shape, the extreme measures being about 1' 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The edges of it are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Three of the four corners are more or less damaged; but nothing has been lost thereby; except in the upper proper right corner, where, unfortunately, the name of the family of the *Mahārāja*, whose grant is recorded, has been broken away at the commencement of line 1. The rest of the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plate is rather thin; and the letters, though not very deep, shew through on the reverse side throughout; they were also engraved with such force as to destroy entirely the original smoothness of the plate, and thus to give the majority of them rather a blurred appearance in the lithograph. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the majority of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—At the top of the plate, in the centre, there is a hole, which seems to have been made originally for a ring, with a seal attached to it; but it has been broken through to the edge, and the ring and seal are not forthcoming. There is another hole in the bottom of the plate; this was probably made later, in order to nail the plate up on to the wall of the temple.—The weight of the plate is about 1 lb. 12 oz.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{6}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. In the combination of *r* with a following *y*, the *r* in this inscription is written on the line, with only a single *y* below it; e.g. in *paryantā*, line 8, and *kurydt*, line 11. The characters include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 6, and 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 12 to 14, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvāmālīya* and *upadhmanīya*, in *yugalaḥ=kratu*, line 2; *duḥkha*, line 6; *anudhyātāḥ=parama*, lines 2, 3, and 4; *utpannaḥ=pitṛā*, line 2; and *dayāluḥ=parama*, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vaṇśa*, line 1; (3) the occasional doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *samatikkṛānta*, line 1; and *attra* and *vaddittra*, line 15; and (4) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *lavdha*, line 3; *vvali*, line 7; *kuṭumvind*, lines 8 and 9; and *kuṭumva*, line 9.

The inscription is one of a *Mahāśmanta* and *Mahārāja* named *Samudrasēna*. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year six, and the eleventh solar day of the bright fortnight of the month *Vaiśākha* (April-May). There is nothing to indicate any particular era to which the date should be referred. On palæographical grounds, we might very well refer it to the *Harsha era*, with the result of A.D. 612-13. But I feel rather doubtful as to the probability of the years of Harshavardhana's reign having been constituted an era, of general acceptance, quite so soon after his accession. And I am inclined to look upon the date of this inscription as referring only to the years of the authority of *Samudrasēna*, himself, as in the *Āraṅ* grant of the *Rāja* Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, the *Rāy*pur grant of the *Rāja* Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41 above, page 196, and the *Chammak* and *Siwani* grants of the *Mahārāja* *Pravarasēna* II., Nos. 55 and 56 above, pp. 235 and 243. And, in that case, all that can be said about the period of the present inscription, is, that it belongs roughly to about the seventh century A.D.¹ The object of

¹ Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 120 ff.) has referred this inscription to *Vikrama-Samvat* 1227 (A.D. 1160-61); but on grounds which will not stand for a moment. It is quite

the inscription is to record the allotment of the village of Sûlisagrâma by Samudrasêna, to a body of Brâhmanas who studied the Atharva-Vêda at the agrahâra of Nirmanḍa, for the purposes of the god Tripurântaka or Śiva, who, under the name of Mihirêşvara, had been installed by his mother Mihiralakshmi at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of Kapâlêşvara. It is therefore a Śaiva inscription; but the occurrence of the word mihira, 'the sun,' as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites.

TEXT.¹

- 1 -bhikhyâta - narapati - vaṅśa - jas = sama²bhavach = chatur - udadhi-samatikkrânta-kīrtitṛ=anêka-sâmant-ôttamâṅg-âvanata-mukuta - maṇi - mayûkha-vichchhurita-charaṇâravinda-⁴
- 2 yugala³h = krâtu-yâjī mahâsâmanta-mahârâja-śrī-Varuṇasênas-Tasya putras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ = paramadêvyâp(m) = Pravâ(bâ)likâ-bhat[⁵]*ârikâyâm = utpannaḥ = pitr=aiva tulyô gunair=mma-
- 3 hâsâmanta-mahârâja-śrī-Sañjayasênas-Tasya putras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ-parama-dêvyâṁ Śikharasvâmini-bhat[⁵]*ârikâyâm=utpannas=samara-śata-jaydha(bdha)-jayas=tyâgī ma-
- 4 hâsâmanta-mahârâja-śrī-Ravishênas=tasya putras=tat-p[⁵]*d-ânudhyâtaḥ-parama-dêvyâṁ śrī-Mihiralakshmi-bhat[⁵]*ârikâyâm=utpannaḥ=śarad-amala-sakala-rajanikara iva prâṇi-

true that the alphabetical characters of that part of the country are of an extremely conservative type; but not to anything like such an extent as to enable us to refer the present record to within several centuries of so late a period. The more important point, however, is, that his reading of the date is completely wrong. Overlooking altogether the numerical symbol that stands after the word *samvat*, he has obtained his reading of the date by interpreting, among the words that precede *samvat*, *arka* as 'twelve,' and *gaṇa* as 'twenty-seven.' According to the numerical-word system, *arka* certainly does stand for 'twelve,' and *gaṇa* might possibly be used for 'twenty-seven,' though I can find no authority for it. But, in the present passage, *arka* is simply the second component of the name of the writer of the grant; and, whatever *gaṇa* may mean here, it is most certainly not used as a numerical word. The date is recorded, in the usual way, in the numerical symbol that stands immediately after *samvat*; and that symbol is a 6.—Gen. Cunningham found some corroboration of his interpretation, in the fact that the accepted genealogy of the 'Mandī' and 'Suket' families contains a *Samudrasêna*, whose date, reckoning backwards at the rate of thirty years to the generation from A.D. 1500, would be about A.D. 1140 to 1166, and who might, therefore, on his interpretation of the date, be identified with the *Samudrasêna* of this inscription. But this identification cannot be accepted for a moment; it is wholly impossible to accept the names of *Vīrasêna*, *Savâhanasêna*, *Kanavâhanasêna*, and *Naravâhanasêna*, which precede him in the genealogy, as being identical with, or even intended to represent, the *Ravishêna*, *Sañjayasêna*, and *Varuṇasêna*, of the inscription.

¹ From the original plate.

² Four letters, or perhaps five, are broken away and lost here. A small part of the last of them, immediately preceding the first legible syllable, *bhi*, is visible; but it is impossible to say what the entire letter may have been.

³ The mark over this *ma* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

⁴ The mark between the *vi* and the *nda* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

⁵ The upper parts of these three letters are broken away and lost; but enough remains to shew distinctly what they were.

- 5 nām . samāhlādana-karas=samutkhāt-aśēsha-ripur-aśavatām=aprārthita-phala-pradō.
dīn-ānāth-ātura-dayālūḥ=paramamahēśvarō=ti-vra(bra)hmanyah=parārthty(rtth).
alka-ratō mahāsāmanta-
- 6 mahārāja-śrī-Samudrasēnō janani-śrī-Mihiralakshmyā dharmm-ārttham
bhagavatas=Tripurāntakasya lōk-ālōka-karasya prānat-ānukampinas=sarvva-
duhkhā-kshaya-karō¹ Kapālē-
- 7 svarē² janani-pratishṭhitasya śrī-Mihirēśvarasya Kapālēśvara-vva(ba)li-charu-
sat[³]ra-srag-dhūpa-dīpi(pa)-dānāya satatam śirṇṇa-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-
sādhana-ya cha Ni-
- 8 rmmāṇ-āgrāhār-Ātharvva-vrā(bra)hmaṇa-stōmāya Sūlisagrāma-navavaidila-
karmm-ānta-Vakkhalika-kuṭumvi(mbi)nā dvēsa-bhūmi-paryantā . paribhūta-
nāmna Phakkaś=cha Tālāpura-
- 9 ka-kuṭumvi(mbi)nā dvēsa-bhūmi s-ōdraṅgā sa-sīm-ānta-paryantā
Sulabhaka-kuṭumva(mba)-Dinna-kuṭumva(mba)ś=cha I Kapālēśvara-dēvasya
pūrva-pratishṭhāyām mahārāja-Śarvvavarmmēna⁴ bhūmi dattā I
Sūlisagrāmasya śrī-Mihi-
- 10 ralakshmyā dattasya sam-audaka-jaṅgala-bhūmi-samētam-aśēśham sa-prativāsi-
jana-samētam s-ōdraṅga[m*] sva-sīmā-triṇa-kāśṭha-prasravaṇa-yūti(ti)-
paryantam dēvāgrāhāratvēm=ā-cha-
- 11 ndr-ārka-tārā-samakāllnam pratipādayati sma [11*] Vidity=aitad=rājabhis-
tad-āśrī(śrī)tajanēm-ādihkrit-ānadihkritēna hitam=ichchhatā pratipālantiā [1*]
yō=nyathā kuryāt=paripanthanam=apaha-
- 12 raṇa-plḍ-ōpadravam vā sa pañchabhir=mmahāpātakair=upapātakaiś=cha
samyuktas=syāt II Uktaiś=cha [1*] Va(ba)hubhir⁵=vvasudhā bhuktā
rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhi[h*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
tadā
- 13 phalam [11*] Shasṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-dah
āchchhētā ch-ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [11*] Sva-
dattām para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām shasṭi-varsha-
- 14 sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyate kṛimir=iti II Dūtō=tra Nihilapati-
Kusālaprakāśāś=cha I lēkhakō=tra Udyōta-arkkaś⁶=cha gaṇa-
srōstha⁷ [11*] Samvat 6 Khē⁸ śu di 10 I [11*]
- 15 Rāshṭra-samētasy-ā(e)yam datti[h*] paripālyā II Ai(?)ṅgi(?)k=ātra
udyā(?)na(?)-sthāvara-vādittira-ka(?)viśva-sa(?)hadra upalava⁹
- 16 kagalalañcha(?)ṭika dva¹⁰ya(?) Miht(hi)ralakshmi(kshmi)-pratipād[i*]ta iti [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Born in the lineage of the famous kings there was the *Mahā-
śmanta* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Varuṇasēna*, whose fame stretched out over the

¹ Read *kārasya*.² Read *śarvvavarmmaṇā*.³ Metre, Ślōka (Anusṭubh); and in the following two verses.⁴ Read *udyōtārkkas*.⁵ This seems to be intended for *gaṇa-srōstha*.⁶ This is what is engraved. But of course it is a mistake for *vai*, i. e. *vaiśḍkha*; and it is easy to see how the engraver made the mistake in copying from the draft before him.⁷ The mark that follows this *va* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.⁸ The mark before this *dva* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

four oceans; the waterlilies of whose feet were covered over with the rays of the jewels in the bowed-down tiaras on the heads of many feudal chiefs; (and) who celebrated sacrifices.

(Line 2.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was verily equal to (his) father in virtuous qualities, (was) the *Mahāśmanta* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Samjayasēna*, begotten on the *Paramadēvī*, the *Bhaṭṭārikā* *Prabālikā*.¹

(L. 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who attained victory in a hundred battles, (and) who was full of liberality, (was) the *Mahāśmanta* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Ravishēna*, begotten on the *Paramadēvī* *Śikharasvāmī*.

(L. 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahāśmanta* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Samudrasēna*,—who was begotten on the *Paramadēvī*, the *Bhaṭṭārikā*, the illustrious *Mihiralakshmi*; who, like the spotless full-moon of autumn, causes the delight of (all) living creatures; who has uprooted all enemies; who confers upon the expectant rewards that are not (even) sought for (by them); who is tender to the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) *Mahēśvara*; who is extremely friendly to *Brāhman*s; (and) who is entirely intent upon the supreme good,—for the sake of the religious purposes of (his) mother, the illustrious *Mihiralakshmi*, has allotted, as an *agrāhāra* of the god, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun and the stars, to the body of *Brāhman*s who study the *Atharva-Vēda* at the *agrāhāra* of *Nirmaṇḍa*,—for the purpose of giving, at (the temple of the god) *Kapālēśvara*, the *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, garlands, incense, and lights, of the holy (god) *Mihirēśvara*, who is the divine *Tripurāntaka*, the maker of the visible and invisible world, compassionate to those who worship (him), the destroyer of all sorrows, (and) who was established by (his) mother at (the temple of the god) *Kapālēśvara*; and for the purpose of always repairing whatever may become worn-out and broken and torn,—the whole of the village of *Sālisagrāma*, that was granted by the illustrious *Mihiralakshmi*, together with the level and marsh and forest lands; together with the inhabitants; with the *udrāṅga*; (and) including all its boundaries, grass, timber, and springs,—(viz.) (the land) including the *dvēṣa*-land² (that had been given) by the cultivator *Vakkhalika*, (whose holding was) on the edge of the newly-constructed *vaidīla*³ of the village of *Sālisagrāma*; and the *dvēṣa*-land, with the *udrāṅga* (and) including the edges of (its) boundaries, (that had been given) by a cultivator of the town of *Tālāpura*,⁴ who under a nick-name (was called) *Phakka*,⁵ and the holding of *Sulabhaka* and the holding of *Dinna*; (and) the land that had been given by the *Mahārāja* *Śarvavarman* at the former installation of the god *Kapālēśvara*.

(L. 11.)—(This grant) should be preserved by (future) kings, becoming aware of it; (and) by the people, whether holding office or not holding office, dependent on them, who

¹ *Paramadēvī*, lit. 'supreme goddess,' was a technical title of the wives of *Mahārājas*. The more usual title, however, was *Mahādēvī* (see page 16 above, note 2).

² *dvēṣa*.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of this word, which is probably a local term. Dr. R. Mitra translated it by 'grazing-ground,' but quoted no authority for this.—The purport of the passage from *Sālisagrāma-nava*, line 8, down to *bhāmi dattā*, line 9, is not quite clear. But it seems to specify certain previous grants which make up the *aiśham* or 'entirety' of *Sālisagrāma*, as now bestowed by *Samudrasēna*.

³ *vaidīla*.—This is another word of which I have not been able to obtain any explanation.

⁴ Or perhaps *Tālāpura*, with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable.

⁵ lit. 'the cripple.'

are desirous of welfare! Whosoever (*acting*) otherwise, may cause obstruction or the annoyance of the pain caused by confiscation,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins!

(L. 12.)—And it has been said :—“The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years.

(L. 14.)—And the *Dāta*¹ in this matter (*is*) the *Nihilapati*² *Kuśalaprákāśa*; and the writer in this matter (*is*) Udyōtārka, the leader of the assemblage (?).³ The year 6; (the month) Vaiśākha; the bright fortnight; the day 10 (*and*) 1.

(L. 15.)—This grant, which is one of the whole assembly of (*the people of*) the country, should be preserved!

No. 81; PLATE XLV.

RAJIM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA TIVARADEVA.

THIS inscription was discovered about 1785 by a Marāṭhā chief named Hanmantrao Maharik, and was first brought to notice in 1825, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 499 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. R. Jenkins, a lithograph of it was published (*id.* Plate xiv.), accompanied by a version of the text by a Jain scholar named Srivarmasuri, and a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—Subsequently General Cunningham obtained the original plates again, and, in 1884, published a fresh lithograph in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 17, and Plates vi. vii. and viii.

Rājim⁴ is a town on the right bank of the Mahānadi river, about twenty-four miles to the south-east of Rāypur,⁵ the chief town of the Rāypur District in the Central

¹ *Dāta*; see page 100 above, note 3.—An Ujjain grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1192 (Colebrooke's *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 273; and *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 51, line 13) gives an instance of more than one original *Dāta* or *Dātaka* being employed for one and the same grant,—*vis*: “the *Purūṣhita*, the *Thakkura*, the illustrious Vāmanasvāmin; the *Thakkura*, the illustrious Puruṣhottama; the *Mahā-pradhāna*, the *Rājaputra*, the illustrious Dēvadhara; and others,”—without any such circumstances as those indicated in No. 30 above, page 134, which necessitated the despatch of a second *Dātaka* to authorise the insertion of additional privileges in the charter.

² *Nihilapati*.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the first component of this official title.

³ *gaya-trīśṭha* (?).—If this is the proper intended reading, the word must have some technical meaning; but its exact purport is not apparent.

⁴ The passage commencing with *ai(?)ngi(?)k=dtra*, in line 15, is too corrupt to be capable of translation. But it appears to record two other grants made by Mihiralakshmi; and it mentions a park, some immovable property, and some musical instruments.

⁵ The ‘Rajam and Rajim’ of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 20° 58' N.; Long. 81° 55' E.

⁶ The ‘Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor’ of maps &c.; see page 196 above, and note 1.

Provinces. The plates containing the inscription were discovered in digging for stones to build a house in this town, and are now in the possession of the priests of the temple of the god Rājīvalôchana. I obtained them, for examination, through the District Authorities.

The **plates**, of which the first and last are engraved on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $8\frac{7}{8}$ " by $5\frac{1}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are rust-eaten in a few places; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation. They are of fair thickness; but the letters shew through on the reverse sides of the first and last plates, so clearly that most of them can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right side of each plate, about the centre, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant came under my notice, is circular, about $1\frac{7}{8}$ " thick and $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are secured, in the usual way, in the lower part of a seal. The top of the seal is circular, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. It has, in relief on a rather deep countersunk surface, across the centre, a **legend**, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; in the upper part, a figure of Garuḍa, facing full-front, depicted with the head of a man and the body of a bird, with his wings expanded, with, apparently, human arms hanging down between the wings and the feet, and with a serpent, with expanded hood, standing up in front of and over each shoulder; on the proper right of this, a *chakra* or discus, the emblem of Viṣṇu; and on the proper left, a *śaṅkha* or conch-shell; in the lower part, a floral device.—The **weight** of the three plates is about 2 lbs. 15 oz., and of the ring and seal, about 2 lbs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total, 5 lbs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about $1\frac{7}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include the separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *ḍ*, e.g. in *vḍḍavḍnala*, line 6, and *gḍḍḍ*, for *gḍḍhḍ*, line 10. They give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety, peculiar to Central India, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include, in line 36, a form of the **numerical symbol**¹ for 7, and also of the **decimal figure**² for 8.—The **language** is Sanskrit, except for the three vernacular terminations in the record of the date in the last line. The legend on the seal is in verse. The inscription itself, except for one verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 25 to 35, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *nistrīṣṇa*, line 4; *vaṇṣa*, line 16;

¹ This sign is, perhaps, rather an intermediate form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure, as it differs a little from the symbol for 7 which we have in the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahānāman, No. 71 (see page 274 above, note 2); but it approximates much more closely to the symbol, than to the figure.—Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 17) interpreted it as 6; probably on account of its resemblance to the modern Bengālî form of 6. This will not stand; because of the southern type of the characters of this inscription.—There might possibly be a doubt, whether it represents 7 or 9. But I think, on the whole, that it is intended for a 7.

² Here we have a fully developed decimal figure, and of the southern type, as shown by the slight bend to the left in the vertical stroke; it is also explained by the ordinal adjective *ashṭamu*, 'the eighth'.—This mixture of a numerical symbol and a decimal figure, is rather unusual. But a still more marked example occurs in the date of the Shêrgaḍh Buddhist inscription of the *Sāmanāta* Dêvadata of Vikrama-Samvat 879, where the 800 is expressed by the decimal figure 8 in combination with a form of the numerical symbol for 100 (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 351 f.)

and *nriśaṃsa*, line 27; (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vahala*, line 5; and (3) the use of *b* for *v*, in *byavasthā*, line 8; *bapushi*, line 9-10; *abhibhiddhaye*, line 22; *pratibastavyam*, line 25-26; *byāsa*, line 30; and *bd*, line 34.

The inscription is one of the *Rāja Tivaradēva*, of the *Pāṇḍuvamśa* or lineage of *Pāṇḍu*. In line 18, he has also the name of *Mahāśiva-Tivararāja*; and, according to the legend on the seal, he was the lord of the *Kōśala* country. The charter recorded in it is issued from the town of *Śīrpura*, which is evidently the modern, *Śīrpur*, about forty miles east by north from Raypur. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by *Tivaradēva*, to a *Brāhman*, on the twelfth lunar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Jyēṣṭha* (May-June), of the village of *Pimparipadraka* in the *Penthāma bhukti*.¹ The last two lines record, partly with a numerical symbol,² and partly with a decimal figure coupled with the ordinal adjective, a second and fuller date; *vis.* the seventh year of the reign, and the eighth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Kārttika* (October-November). This is evidently the date of the writing or assignment of the charter. And the 'reign' referred to, is probably the government of *Tivaradēva*.

Tivaradēva's paramount sovereign is referred to in line 11. But his name, or lineage, is not mentioned. Nor does the inscription contain any distinct information as to the period to which it is to be referred. This latter point, however, appears capable of determination from other sources. *Tivaradēva* was the adopted son³ of *Nannadēva*, who was the son of *Indrabala*. *Nannadēva* and his father *Indrabala* are mentioned again in an inscription at *Śīrpur* itself, discovered by Mr. Beglar, and brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 25 f. and Plate xviii A.; and from this we learn that *Indrabala's* father was *Udayana*, of the *Śavara* lineage. The *Śīrpur* inscription contains no date; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. And it seems extremely probable that this *Śavara* king or chieftain, *Udayana*, is the one who was conquered, captured, and released again, by the Later Pallava king *Pallavamalla-Nandivarman*.⁴ Mr. Foulkes⁵ has allotted *Nandivarman* to the century from A.D. 800 to 900; his exact date still remaining to be fixed, in accordance, to a certain extent, with the date of the *Chōla* king *Koppara-Kēsari-varman*, whose name appears in a *Tamiḷ* addition to *Nandivarman's* grant. These points remain for further investigation. But they indicate the period to about which the present inscription of *Tivaradēva* may be referred. And, though the archaic forms of the characters might lead us, at first sight, to allot it to an earlier period, such a conclusion is negatived by the vernacular terminations occurring in the last line, and by the use of a decimal figure in the record of the date. General Cunningham, indeed,⁶ has arrived at the specific date of A.D. 425 for *Tivaradēva*. But this is based upon his identification of *Nannadēva's* great-grandson *Śivagupta* with a certain *Śivagupta* of the *Sōmavamśa*, a king of *Kaṭak*, who, according to the *Orissa*

¹ *bhukti*, *lit.* 'enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which remains to be determined.

² See page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.

³ *tanaya-prāpta*, line 16; *lit.* 'acquired as a son.'—*Nannadēva's* son by birth was *Chandragupta*, as recorded in line 5 of the *Śīrpur* inscription referred to in this paragraph.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 278, 282 f.; and *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. pp. 360, 364.

⁵ *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. XVII. p. 203.

⁶ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 17 f.

palm-leaf records, was reigning in the time of Yayāti or Yayātikēśarin; and upon his acceptance of Stirling's date of A.D. 474 to 526 (or 473 to 520) for Yayātikēśarin, as correct. I shall discuss the matter at length hereafter. It is sufficient to say, here, that the date of Yayātikēśarin, derived from the Orissa records, is altogether unreliable, and is too early by at least about four centuries; and that, if the identification of the two Śivaguptas is correct, it leaves no doubt whatever that Tivaradēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800.

TEXT¹

The Seal.

- a Śrīmat²-Tī³varadēvasya Kōsal-
ādhīpatē-idaṁ
b śāsanam dharmma-vṛiddhy-arttha[m]
sthīram-a-chandra-tāraṁ [11*]

First Plate.

- 1 'Om [11*] Jayatī⁴ jagat-[t*]raya-tilaka[h*] kṣhitibhṛit-kula-bhavana-
maṅgala-sūtra[h*] śrīi(śrī)mat-Ti(ti)varadēvō dhaurēya[h*] sa-
2 kala-puṇyakṛitām [11*] Sta(sva)sti Śrīi(śrī)purāt-śamadhigatapañcha-
mahāśabd-ānēka-nata-nṛpati-kiri(rī)ṭa-
3 kōṭi-ghṛipta(śṭa)-charaṇa-nakha-darpaṇ-ōdbhāsītō=pi kaṇṭhad-unmukha-prakaṭa-
ripu-rāja-lakṣmi(kṣmi)-
4 kēśapās-ākaraṣaṇa-durlalita-pāpīpalla[vō*] nīśita-nistṛi(stri)ñśa-ghana-ghāta-pātīt-
āri-dvirāda-ku-
5 mbha-maṇḍala-galad-va(ba)hala - śōṇita - sad - āsikta - muktāphala - prakara - maṇḍita-
raṇāṅgaṇa-
6 dvi(vi)vidha-ratna-sambhā⁵ra-lābha-lōbha-vijrimbhamān-āri - kṣhārayāri - vāḍavānalaś-
chandr-ōdaya iv=ākṛita-
7 kar-ōdvēgaḥ kṣhi(kṣhī)rōda iv=ādvi(vi)rbhūt-ānēk-ātīśāyi-ratna-sampat
Garutmān=iva bhujāṅg-ōddhāra-chatura[h*]
8 parāmrīṣṭa-ga(śa)tru-kalatra-nētr - āmjana - kōmala - kapōla - kuṅkumapatra - bhaṅgat
śīṣṭ-āchāra-bya(vya)vasthā-
9 parīpālan-aika-datta-chitta[h*] [1*] api cha prāktanē tapasi yāśasi
rahasi chētasi chakshushi ba(va)p[u]-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 shi cha pūjītō janēn-ākliṣṭatayā nītāntam=a-vitriptō gūḍō(dhō) gāḍa(dha)-
svachchha-prasanna-ya(va)da-

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

³ The vowel is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to say whether *i* was engraved, or *ī*. In lines 1 and 18, the short vowel is used in this name; and, in fact, *i* is used for *ī* throughout the greater part of the inscription; but the metre of line 1 shews that, in this name, the long vowel *ī* is the correct one.

⁴ Metre, Āryā; but one short syllable is wanting in the second *pāda*.

⁵ The vowel *ā* is partly destroyed by the ring-hole of the plate.

- 11 nēna ch-ālaṅkṛita[h*] svāmi-bhavan[ā*]=py-a-bahu-lapanō=n-ujjhitaḥ ku-trishṇō-
pi nitānta-tyā-
12 gi(gī) ripujana-prachandō=pi sō(sau)mya-darśanō bhūti-vibhūshaṇō=py-a-
parushaḥ svabhāva[taḥ*] ki-
13 ch-ā-santushtō dharm-arjanēna sampal-lābhē svalpa-krōdhēna prabhāvē
lubdhō yaśasi na pa-
14 ra-viś-āpahārē sa(śa)k[l]aḥ subhāsi(shi)tēshu ha kāmī(nī)-kṛī(kṛī)ḍasu
pratāp-ānala-dagdh-āśēsha-
15 ripu-kula-tōlarāśis=tuhinaśilāśaila-dhava-la-yaśō-rāśi-prakāśita-diganta[h*] kānta[h*]
prakṛityā
16 śrī(śrī)mad-Indrabala-sūnōr=alaṅkṛita-Pāṇḍuvaṇśasya śrī(śrī)-Nannadēvasya
tanaya-prāptaḥ sva-punya(ṇya)-
17 sambhāra-prasa(śa)mit-āśēsha-jagad-upadravaḥ sva-prajñā-sū(sū)chi-samuddhrit-
ākḥila-kaṇṭakaḥ para-
18 mavaishṇavō mātāpitri-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī(śrī)-Mahāśiva-Tira'rājāḥ
kuśali II Penthāma-bhuktīya-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 19 Pimparipadrakē brāhmaṇām(n) , samṇjya prativāsinah samājñā-
payati [I*] Vidadam=astu
20 bhavatām yath-āsmābhir=ayam grāmō yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirapa-pratihata-
ghōr-āndhakāram ja-
21 gad=avatiśṭhatē tāvad=upabhōgya[h*] sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ¹=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa².
pravēś[ō*] dā-
22 radraṇaka-sarva-kar-ādāna-samētō mātā³pitror=ātmanaś=cha puny-ābhi-
bri(vri)⁴ddhayē Bhā-
23 radvājasagōtra - VājasanēyaMādhyandina - bhaṭṭaGauridattaputra - bhaṭṭa-
24 Bhavadatta-bhaṭṭaHaradattābhyām Jyēsthā-dvādaśyām=udaka-pūrvam prati-
pādita i-
25 ty=avagamya bhavadbhir=yath-ōchitam=asmai⁵ bhōga-bhāgam=upanayadbhiḥ
sukham=prati-
26 vastabya(vya)m=iti II Bhāvinaś=cha bhūmipālān=uddiśy=ēdam=abhidhiyātē [I*]
Bhūmī⁶-pra-
27 dā divi lalanti patanti hṛi(ha)nta hṛitvā mahi⁷ nripatayō narakē
nṛi-śaṁsāḥ

Third Plate.

- 28 ētaḍ=[d*]vaya[m*] parikalayya chālāñ=cha lakshmi(kshmti)m=āyus=tathā
kuruta yad=bhavatām=abhi(bhī)shṭa[m] [II*]

¹ Read *stvara*. The engraver first cut the *rd*, of *rājāḥ*, omitting both *va* and *ra*; and then, partially cancelling the *ā*, he omitted to insert the *va*.

² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³ Read *s-ōpanidhir*.

⁴ The engraver first formed *va*, and then corrected it into *ja*.

⁵ The engraver first began to form *pitro*, and then corrected it into *mātā*.

⁶ The engraver first formed *brii*, and then partially cancelled the superscript *i*.

⁷ Read *dhyaṁ*.

⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁹ Read *mātmā*.

- 29 Api cha [*] Raksh'-āpālanayōs-tāvat-phalaṁ su-gati dur-gati kō nāma
svargam-uchchhṛi(tsi)jya
30 narakaṁ pratipadyatē [II*] Byā(vyā)sa-gi(gf)tāms=ch=ātra ślōkān-udāraharanti [I*]
Agnēr^a=a[pa*]tyaṁ prathamam
31 suvarṇam, bhūr=vaishṇavi(vī) sūrya-sutās=cha gāvaḥ dattā[s*]=trayas=
tēna bhavanti lōkā yaḥ kañchanam . gā-
32 ñ=cha mahī(hī)ñ=cha^a dadyā[t*] [II*] Shashṭī^a-varsha-sahasrāṇi^a svargē
mōdati bhūmi-dah akshēptā
33 ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [II*] Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā
rājabhiḥ . Sagar^a-ādibhiḥ
34 yasya . yasya yadā . bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [II*] Sva-
dattām para-dattām bā(vā) yatnād=raksha
35 Yudhishṭhirah^a mahi^a mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānā śrēyō^a-nupālanam=
iti || Pravarddhamāna-
36 vijayā-rāja-samvatsaru^a 7 Kārttika divasu ashṭha(ṣṭa)mu 8 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

This charter, which is for the sake of the increase of religion, of the illustrious **Tivaraḍēva**, the supreme lord of (the country of) **Kōsala**, shall endure firmly as long as the moon and the stars !

The Plates.

Om! Victorious is the illustrious **Tivaraḍēva**, the ornament of the three worlds; the auspicious thread of the palaces of the race of kings; the most energetic of all those who do works of religion !

(Line 2.)—Hail! From the town of **Śrīpura**;—He who verily is made resplendent by the mirror of the nails of (*his*) feet, that is polished by a crore of diadems of the many kings, bowing down (*before him in the act of performing obeisance*), who have attained the *pañchamahāśabda*;^a—whose fingers are discourteous in pulling the flowing tresses of

^a Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

^a Metre, Indravajrā.

^a This *ñcha* is imperfect in the lower part. It was repeated, and formed completely; but the greater part of the second *ñcha* was then destroyed by the ring-hole.

^a Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following two verses.

^a Read *yudhishṭhira*.

^a Read *mahiṁ*.

^a Read *dāndch=chhṛdyō*.

^a Here, and in *divasu* and *ashṭamu*, we have evidently a vernacular termination.—As regards the interpretation of the year and the day, see page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.

^a *pañchamahāśabda*; *lit.* 'five great sounds'—This is a technical expression, the meaning of which remained for a long time in doubt.—In Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, *mahāśabda* is given as meaning 'an official title beginning with the word *mahā* ('great'); and *pañchamahāśabda*, in accordance with this, would denote five titles of rank and honour, such as *Mahārāja*, *Mahāmāyādevāra*, *Mahāśamanta*, &c. This explanation was adopted by me (*Your. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 307*, note), in preference to a suggestion previously made to me (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 307, note), that the term was identical with the *pañchamahāmantra* of the Jains, and denoted the five titles of *Arhat*, *Siddha*, *Āchārya*, *Upādhyāya*, and *Sarvasiddhu*. And, finding the five titles of *Mahāśamanta*,

the goddess of the fortunes of hostile kings, mourning, and looking up in anxious expectation (of even further ill-treatment), and exposed in public;—who is a very submarine

Mahāpratihāra, *Mahādandanāyaka*, *Mahākārtākritika* and *Mahārāja*, twice applied to Dhruvasena I. of Valabhi, in lines 13 f. and 29 f. of his grant of (Gupta)-Samvat 207 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105), Dr. Bühler (*id.* p. 106, note) accepted the same explanation. Also, the same rendering has been given by Professor Kielhorn, in his translation of line 3 of the Kanheri inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. and his Śilāhāra feudatory Kapardin II., dated Śaka-Samvat 775 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 135).—Meanwhile, Mr. Sh. P. Pandit (*id.* Vol. I. p. 81, note), while accepting the same explanation, added, though without quoting his authority, that it had been usual to accept the term as referring to the sounds of five musical instruments. Taking up this idea, Sir Walter Elliot (*id.* Vol. V. p. 251 f.) quoted two passages from *Ferishtah*, and one from the nineteenth book of Chand's *Prithidj-Rasa*, which speak of the *naubat* or 'imperial band' being played at the courts of kings five times daily; and expressed his opinion that this was the custom to which the expression under notice referred. In commenting on this, Mr. Growse (*id.* Vol. V. p. 354 f.) pointed out that the passage in Chand refers to "a noise of the five kinds of music playing every day," rather than to "song and music playing five times a day;" quoted a line from the *Rāmāyana* of Tulsidās, book i., which speaks of "the noise of the five kinds of music, and auspicious songs;" and also gave, from a commentary on the same poem, a Hindī couplet which explains the five kinds of music as being the sounds of the *tantri* or lute, the *tāl* or bell-metal instrument played with a stick, the *jhānjh* or cymbals, the *naḡāra* or kettle-drum, and a wind-instrument. And finally, Mr. K. B. Pathak (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 95 f.) quoting an Old-Kanarese passage from a Jain author, descriptive of a royal procession, which mentions the sounding of the *pañchamahāśabda* and auspicious drums, stated that the *Lingāyat Vivākhachintāmaṇi* enumerates the five musical instruments as being the *śrīṅga* or trumpet, the *tamraṇṇa* or tambour, the *śaṅkha* or conch-shell used as a horn, the *bhēṛī* or kettle-drum, and the *jayaghanṭā* or gong.—The last two contributions to the discussion leave no doubt whatever that the expression *pañchamahāśabda* denotes the sounds of five musical instruments, the use of which was allowed, as a special mark of distinction, to persons of high rank and authority.—Some of the inscriptions mention certain specific musical instruments, which, if they are to be classed among the customary and technical five instruments, remain to be identified with those enumerated in the *Vivākhachintāmaṇi*. Thus, the Baḷagāṃve inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1102 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 46, line 4) gives to the Kalachuri king Bijjala the epithet *damaruka-tūrya-nirghōṣhaṇa*, 'he who has (played before him) the sound of the musical instrument called *damaruka*' (a double drum, shaped like an hour-glass). So, also, the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum had the epithet *trivāṇi-tūrya-nirghōṣhaṇa*; e.g. in the case of Lakshmidēva, in the Saundatti inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1151 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 268, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 113, line 62). And the Kādambas of Goa had the epithet *permaṭṭi-tūrya-nirghōṣhaṇa*; e.g. in the case of Śivachitta-Permaḍi, in the Venkaṭāpur inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1080 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 273, line 7 f.).—Occasionally, instead of *pañcha-mahāśabda*, 'the five great sounds,' we have *aśeṣa-mahāśabda*, 'all the great sounds;' e.g. in line 41 of the Barōda grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa chieftain Karka II. of Gujarāt, dated Śaka-Samvat 734 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160), and in line 24 of the Barōda grant of the chieftain Dhruva II. of the same family, dated Śaka-Samvat 757 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 199). But, that this had no wider meaning, is shown by the double expression *aśeṣa-pañcha-mahāśabda*, 'all the five great sounds' which occurs in line 1 of the Ambarnāth inscription of the Śilāhāra chieftain Māmvāpi, dated Śaka-Samvat 782 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329), and in line 2 of the Anjanēri inscription of the Yādava chieftain Sēṇa-dēva, dated Śaka-Samvat 1063 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 126).—The epithet *samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda*, 'one who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*,' is of very constant occurrence in inscriptions, in connection with the names of feudatories, and even of *Mahākumāras* or heirs-apparent. But the only instances that I can quote, in which it is applied to paramount sovereigns, are the cases of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I., in line 6 f. of his Śirūr inscription, dated Śaka-Samvat 788 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 218); of another Rāshtrakūṭa king named Kakka, in line 22 of his Chhārōḷī grant, dated Śaka-Samvat 679 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 108); and of Dēvapāla of Dhārā, in line 5 f. of the 'Chārwa' inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1275 (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 111).—The only instance known to me, in which any reference is made to the source of this mark of distinction, *vis.* to its being bestowed upon a feudatory

fire to the salt water of (*his*) enemies, gaping with the greedy desire to acquire a multitude of various jewels in battle-fields which are decorated with numbers of pearls that are-always besprinkled with the thick blood that trickles down from the foreheads of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, struck down with the crushing blows of (*his*) sharp sword;—who has not caused distress by (*his*) taxes, just as the rising moon does not cause distress by (*its*) rays;—who, like the sea of milk, manifests a wealth of many¹ most excellent jewels;—who, like *Garutmat*, is skilful in eradicating the serpents; ¹—who breaks the saffron-leaves on the cheeks, soft with the collyrium (*washed down by the tears*) from (*their*) eyes, of the violated wives of (*his*) enemies;—whose thoughts are solely given to the establishment and protection of virtuous behaviour;—

(L. 9.)—Who, moreover, is not too much puffed up with satisfaction, (*though he is*) unweariedly worshipped by mankind, in (*respect of his*) religious austerity (*and*) fame (*and*) secrecy (*and*) intellect (*and*) faculty of sight and (*beauty of*) form resulting from (*good*) acts done in a former life;—who is reserved, and is decorated with an impenetrable, pure, and complacent countenance;—who, even in the palace of (*his*) lord, is never at a loss (*for words*), though he does not talk too much;—who, though he is thirsty for (*the acquisition of*) land, is yet exceedingly liberal;—who, though he is fierce to (*his*) enemies, is yet mild of aspect;—who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet not harsh;—who, moreover, is by nature never quite satisfied in accumulating religion in the acquisition of wealth, (*and*) in (*displaying only*) mild anger in (*spite of all his*) power;—who is greedy for fame, (*but*) not for the appropriation of the wealth of others;—who is affable in excellent conversations, (*but*) not in the dallies of wanton women;—who has burned with the fire of (*his*) prowess all the heap of cotton that is the race of (*his*) enemies;—who has irradiated the ends of the quarters of the world with the mass of (*his*) fame that is as white as the rocky mountain of snow;—(*and*) who is by nature beautiful;—

(L. 16.)—(*He*), the illustrious **Mahāsiva-Tivrarāja**,—who is the adopted son² of the illustrious **Nannadēva**, who was the son of the illustrious **Indrabala**, (*and*) who adorned the lineage of **Pāṇḍu**; who has allayed all the troubles of the world with the abundance of his religious merit; who has extracted all thorns with the needle of his wisdom; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) **Vishṇu**; (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents,—being in good health, (*and*) having done worship to the **Brāhmapas** at (the village of) **Pimparipadraka** belonging to the **Peṇṭhāma bhukti**, issues a command to the residents:—

(L. 19.)—"Be it known to you, that this village is given by Us, with libations of water, on the twelfth lunar day of (the month) **Jyēṣṭha**, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, to the **Bhaṭṭa Bhavadatta** and the **Bhaṭṭa Haradatta**, sons of the **Bhaṭṭa Gauridatta**, of the **Bhāradvāja gōtra** and the **Vājasaneyā-Mādhyam-dina (śākhā)**,—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness

by the reigning paramount sovereign, is in the **Dēḍgaḍh** inscription of **Bhōjadēva** of **Gwālīor**, dated **Vikrama-Saṃvat 919** and **Śaka-Saṃvat 784**, in which (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxiii. No. 2, l. 3) the **Mahāśmanta Vishṇu** (?) has the epithet *tat-pradatta-pañchamahāśabda*, "possessed of the *pañchamahāśabda* conferred by him, i.e. by **Bhōjadēva**."

¹ This possibly contains an allusion to the well-known **Nāga** family or tribe.

² *tanaya-prāpta*; *lit.* 'acquired as a son'; see page 293 above, note 3.

dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars ; together with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits ; not to be entered by the regular or the irregular troops ; (and) accompanied by (the right of) receiving the *ddradraṇaka*¹ and all the taxes.

(L. 24.)—" Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, rendering to them, in a proper manner, (*their*) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 26.)—And for the guidance of future kings, this is said,—" Those kings who bestow land, enjoy pleasure in heaven ; (*but*) alas ! those who confiscate land (*that has been given*), and (*thus*) work injury to mankind, fall into hell : bearing in mind these alternatives, and also that fortune (*and*) life are transient, do that which pleases you !" Moreover,—" The reward of protection ensures a fortunate condition, and of omission to protect, a state of misfortune ; who, indeed, will (*willingly*) disregard heaven and obtain hell ? "

(L. 30.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa :—Gold is the first offspring of fire ; the earth belongs to (the god) Viṣṇu ; and cows are the daughters of the sun : therefore the three worlds are given by him, who gives gold, and a cow, and land ! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years ; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*) ! O Yudhiṣṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another ; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant !

(L. 35.)—The year 7 of the increasing victorious reign ; (the month) Kārttika ; the eighth day, (*or in figures*) 8.

¹ *ddradraṇaka* is a fiscal term that requires explanation. The dictionaries give *dāra*, in the sense of 'a cleft, gap, hole ; a ploughed field ; a wife ;' but they do not give *draṇaka*, or any root by means of which it can be explained. The term may refer either to some agricultural cess, or to a marriage-tax of the kind spoken of in line 6 ff. of the Daṇḍapur inscription of Jagattuṅga II., dated Śaka-Samyat 840 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 223 f.)

INDEX.

(The figures in thick type refer to the Introduction and Appendices.)

- abdapa*, a conventional term for the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, both apparent and mean, 145, 146;—the figures for the *abdapa*, obtained by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, are for the apparent *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, 145, 147;—and they give the week-day and time, on and at which it occurred, 146, 147;—the annual variation in the *abdapa* is 1 day, 15 *ghaṭis*, 31'5 *palas* 147
- / *a-bhaṭa-chchhātra-pravṛtṣya*, a fiscal term 98 n., 242, 249
- Abhayadatta, a minister of Vishnudevārhanā of Mālava 157
- abhigamika guṇāḥ*, certain attractive qualities 169 and n., 181
- Abhijit, the name of a *mukhūrta*, 95, 182;—also of an additional *nakṣatra*, in excess of the usual number of twenty-seven, the space of which is taken partly from *Uttarā-Ashādhā* and partly from *Śravana* 166, 167
- Abhira, or Ābhira, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta 14
- Achalasingha, engraver of the Āraṅg grant of Jayarāja 195
- Achalavarman, a proper name 71
- Āchārāṅkīkā*, a Jain commentary by Śīlāchārya, in the date of which a curious confusion is made between the Gupta and Śaka eras 32 n.
- Āchārya*, 'a spiritual guide or teacher' 248, 249, 259, 270, 271, 282
- a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravṛtṣya*, a fiscal term 299
- a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravṛtṣya*, a fiscal term 98 and n., 105, 109, 120, 128, 132, 138, 195, 199
- Achyuta, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 12, 13
- Ādēya, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 170 and n., 189
- ādhirājya*, a derivative from the feudatory title *Adhirāja*, but not used in a technical sense 142 and n.
- Adhvaryu*, the title of a particular class of priests, whose ceremonial is performed with the *Yajur-Veda* 248
- ādikartṛi*, 'an originator,' an epithet of the Jain *Tīrthamkaras* 68 and n.
- Adityasāna, Ādityasēṇadēva (Gupta of Magadha), 14, 134 n., 187, 207, 208, 210, 212, 213 n., 214 n., 217;—in the Māndār Hill inscriptions, he has the paramount titles, 211, 212;—but not in the Shāhpur image inscription, 210;—nor in the Dēś-Baraṇāṅk inscription of Jivitagupta II., 217 and n.;—his wife was Kōṇadēvī, 208, 212, 217;—mention of his son-in-law Bhōgavarman the Maukharī, and his daughter's daughter Vatsadēvī, 187, 15 n.;—his Aphaṣa inscription, 200;—his Shāhpur image inscription of 'the (Harsha) year 66, . . . 208;—his Māndār Hill inscriptions, 211;—a late inscription at 'Deoghar' in the 'Santā' Parganās, mentioning him 212 n.
- Ādityavardhana, *Mahārāja*, an ancestor of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, 232;—his wife was Mahāsēnaguptā 232
- Ādityavarman, *Mahārāja* (Maukharī), 221;—his wife was Harshaguptā 221
- Agastya, an ancient sage 184
- agnihōtra*, a particular sacrifice, 71 and n.;—mentioned as one of the five great sacrificial rites 170, 190
- agnishōṭma*, a particular sacrifice 241 and n., 248
- Agnisvāmin, a proper name 105
- agrahāra*, *agrahāra*, a village or other allotment of land, granted to gods or Brāhmins, 51, 104, 109, 123, 206, 210, 257, 290;—*dēv-āgrahāra*, 'an *agrahāra* of the god' 123
- Āgrahārīka*, an official title . . . 52 and n., 257
- ahan*, 'a day,' used to denote the solar, or more properly civil, day 87
- dhāra*, a territorial term 95 n., 173 and n., 189
- Airāvata, the elephant of Indra; alluded to 76
- Airikiṇa, the ancient name of Ēraṇ in the Sagar District, 18 and n., 21, 161;—and the chief town of a *vishaya* of the same name 161
- Ajagarādāsa, a grantee 123
- Ajapura, an ancient town in Bihār 52
- ajjaka*, a Prākṛit word meaning 'a grandfather' 187 n.
- Ajjhitadēvī, wife of Vyāghra of Uchchakalpa . . . 119 and n., 123, 128, 131, 138
- ājñā*, 'order, command,' a technical expression connected with giving the order for the drawing up of a charter; standing alone, it indicates the office of *Dātaka*, and the synonym *Ājñādāpaka* occurs for *Dātaka*, 100 n.;—in composition with *sva-mukha*, it implies that a *Dātaka* is not employed 100 n., 115,

- Ākhaṇḍalāmītra, a grantee 190
Ākshapañjalādhikṛita, an official title
 190 n., 257 and n.
akshaya-nīti, 'a perpetual endowment'
 182 n., 33 n., 52, 262
 Alarka, an epic king 147, 149
 Alḥarūnī, the Arabic historian; his statements regarding the Gupta and other eras, as rendered by M. Reinaut, 23;—by Prof. Sachau, 24;—and by Prof. Wright, 27;—his statements regarding the Lōkakāla of Kāśmīr and other parts of the country 26 n.
 Alīnā or Alīṇā, a village in the Kaira District; the grant of Śīlāditya VII. of the (Gupta-Valabhī) year 447 171
 Allahābād, mentioned under the ancient name of Prayāga, 206;—the posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta I
 Allahābād District, inscriptions from the
 1, 36, 39, 40, 45, 264, 266, 267, 271
 alphabets used in this series of records:—
 of the northern class . . . 3, 26, 34, 37,
 39, 41, 43, 46, 48, 53, 66, 69, 88, 91,
 94, 101, 106, 110, 112, 117, 121, 125,
 130, 133, 135, 140, 145, 149, 151, 159,
 161, 201, 209, 211, 214, 219, 222,
 224, 226, 228, 231, 250, 251, 253,
 255, 258, 263, 264, 266, 267, 269,
 271, 272, 273, 274, 278, 280, 281,
 282, 283, 284, 287
 of the southern class . . . 18, 22, 30, 57,
 72, 80, 164, 172, 192, 196, 233, 236,
 244, 260, 279, 292
 of the so-called Kuṭīla type . . . 201, 209, 211, 214
 of the 'box-headed' type . . . 19, 192,
 196, 233, 236, 244, 292
 of the 'nail-headed' type . . . 19, 22, 106
Amānta, the technical name for the scheme of the lunar months in Southern India, according to which arrangement the months end with the new-moon day, and the bright fortnights precede the dark, 70;—in astronomical works, it is always this arrangement that is actually taken for calculations, 148 n.;—even in Southern India, this arrangement was not applied to the Śāka years, for the civil reckoning, till between A.D. 804 and 866, 79 n.;—on the other hand, even in Northern India, this arrangement was used in Nēpāl with the years of the Nēwār era, 75, 76;—but it was abandoned there, when the Nēwār era was followed by the Vikrama era in its northern variety . . . 76
Amātya, an official title . . . 100 and n., 120, 124, 190
 Amblōda, apparently the ancient name of Bhumarā 110, 111
 Amōghavarsha I. (Rāshtrakūṭa); examination of the date of his Śīrūr inscription of the Śāka year 788, which proves that the *Amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śāka years, in Southern India, between A.D. 804 and 866 79 n.
 Āmradvīpa, an ancient name of Ceylon 275, 278, 279
 Amrakārdava, or Āmrakārdava, apparently an officer of Chandragupta II. 32
 Amrarāta, or Āmrarāta, a proper name 33
 Amśuvarman, *Mahāsāmanta*, and afterwards king (Thākuri of Nēpāl), 134 n., 177, 178, 179, 180, 188, 190, 191;—mentioned with the feudatory title, 177, 178, 179;—with the paramount title, 180;—as king, by Hiuen Tsiang, 96, 184;—and by Ma-twan-lin, 190;—mention of his sister Bhōgadvī, his brother-in-law Śūrasēna or Śūrasēna, his nephew, Bhōgavarman, and his niece Bhāgyadvī, 180;—his dates, 189;—the value of his dates, in the Harsha era, in proving the use of the Gupta era in Nēpāl, 96, 184;—notice of his inscription of the (Harsha) year 34, . . 178;—of another of the same year, 179;—of another, of the year 39, . . 179;—and of another, of the year 44 or 45 180
 Āmuka, apparently an ancient village or district in Baghelkhand 125
 Ānand, a town in the Kaira District; mentioned under the ancient name of Ānandapura 173, 180, 190
 Ānandapura, ancient name of the modern Ānand 173, 180, 190
 Ananta, an abbreviation of the name of Anantavarman 226, 228
 Anantagupta, or Anantaguptā, a proper name 265
 Anantasēna, a proper name 51
 Anantasvāmin, the god Viṣṇu as 'the eternal lord,' or as 'the lord of the serpent Ananta or Śēsha' 268
 Anantavarman (see also Ananta), a Maukhari chief, 223, 225, 226, 228;—his inscriptions in the Barābar and Nāgarjunī Hill caves 221, 223, 226
 Andhaka, an epic family or tribe 156
 Andhra, a tribe or dynasty; mentioned as defeated by a Maukhari king and taking refuge in the Vindhya mountains 230
 Animuktakakōṇaka, apparently an ancient village or district in Baghelkhand 105
 Antaka, the god Yama, as 'the dealer of death' 14, 21, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257
 Antaratrā, an ancient village in Kāṭhiawād 170
 Antarvēdi, the country between the Ganges and the Jamnā; mentioned as part of the dominions of Skandagupta 69 and n., 71
 Anu, an epic king 224 and n., 225
 Apsad, or Apsand, a village in the Gayā District; the inscription of Adityasēna 200
 aptōryāma, a particular sacrifice 241 and n., 248
 Arā (Shāhābād) District, an inscription from the 283

- Āraṅg**, a village in the Rāypur District; the grant of Mahā-Jayarāja . . . 191
Ardhanārīśvara, the god Śiva, combined with his wife Pārvatī; a probable early instance of an image of this form . . . 224
Arha, a title in the Jain hierarchy . . . 68
arī-śaṭṭvarga, or *gri-śaṭṭka*, 'the collective six enemies of religion' 156 and n., 259, 260, 264
Arjunadēva (Chaulukya); examination of the date of his Verāwal inscription of the Valabhi year 945 . . . 84
Ārjunāyana, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta, 14; — the name perhaps denotes early kings of the Kalachuri dynasty . . . 10
Āryabhaṭa, the first, an astronomer; he was born A.D. 476, . . . 143 and n.; he is the author of the *Āryabhaṭīya* or *Ārya-Siddhānta*, the date of which is A.D. 499-500, . . . 156 n.; — and this is the text-book of the Āryapaksha school of astronomers, 145 n.; — his rule for determining the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the mean-sign system . . . 169
Āryabhaṭa, the second, an astronomer; he is the author of the work which is usually called the *Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta*, and the date of which is between A.D. 628-29 and 1150-51 . . . 156 n.
Āryabhaṭīya, or *Ārya-Siddhānta*, an astronomical work by the first Āryabhaṭa, written A.D. 499-500, . . . 156 n.; — this is the text-book of the Āryapaksha school of Hindu astronomers . . . 145 n.
ārya-saṅgha, 'the community of the faithful'; a Buddhist expression . . . 31, 32, 262
Ārya-Siddhānta, a name applied sometimes to the *Āryabhaṭīya* of the first Āryabhaṭa, and sometimes to the *Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta* of the second Āryabhaṭa . . . 156 n.
Āryāvarta, a name of Northern India, 13 and n.; — list of the kings conquered therein by Samudragupta . . . 13
Aśtādgh, a hill-fort in the Nimād District; the seal of Śarvavarman (Maukhari) . . . 219
Āśramaka, an ancient village on the Tamasa . . . 128
astronomers, Hindu; the starting-point used by them for reckoning the places of heavenly bodies, coincided, in their opinion, with the equinoctial point, about A.D. 522-23, . . . 146; — the three schools are the Āryapaksha, Brāhmapaksha, and Saurapaksha, based on respectively the *Ārya-Siddhānta* of the first Āryabhaṭa, the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, and the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* . . . 145 n.
astronomical terms, explanation of . . . 145 to 153
śvamedha, a sacrificial ceremony which centred in a horse, 28 and n., 241, 248; — after being long in abeyance, it was revived by Samudragupta, 28 and n., 44, 51, 54, 257; — and there is an allusion to this in the epithet *śvamedhah-pardhrama* on coins which are attributed to him . . . 28 n.
Āśvapati, an official title . . . 260 and n.
Atharva-Vēda (see *Vēda*); a mention of the study of it . . . 290
ati-brahmanya; translated by 'extremely friendly to Brāhmaṇs'; but perhaps more properly a sectarian title (compare *parama-brahmanya*, 28 n.) . . . 290
ātirātra, a particular sacrifice . . . 241 and n., 248
atithi (see also *satthi*); one of the five great sacrificial rites . . . 176 n., 170, 190
Ātmabhū, the god Viṣṇu, as 'the self-existent one' . . . 230 and n.
Atri, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Rishiputra, and through him by Utpala, for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter . . . 170
atyantabhagavadbhakta, a Vaiṣṇava sectarian title . . . 28 n., 90, 160
atyantamāhāśvara, a Śaiva sectarian title . . . 28 n., 240, 248
atyantasvāmimāhābhairavabhakta, a Śaiva sectarian title . . . 28 n., 241, 248
aulikara-crest, a term requiring explanation . . . 151 and n., 155
Avamukta, a town or country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Nīlarāja . . . 13
Avantivarman, a king, probably of the Maukhari tribe or dynasty . . . 215, 218
drāṭa, a fiscal term, requiring explanation . . . 138 and n.
Ṭvāva, 'revenue,' a fiscal term . . . 138 and n.
ayanāṁśas, 'the degrees of precession of the equinoxes' . . . 146
Ayōdhya, the modern Audh or 'Oude' or 'Oudh'; represented, in a spurious grant, to have been a camp of Samudragupta . . . 255, 257
Āyuktaka, an official title . . . 169 and n.
ba, an abbreviation of *bahula*, 'the dark fortnight'; used in connection with *di* (see under *ba di*), 92 n., 93; — used by itself . . . 171
Bādāmi, a town in the Kalādgi District; the value of the cave inscription of Maṅgalīśa, of Śaka-Samvat 500 expired, in proving that the historical starting-point of the Śaka era is the commencement of the reign of some particular king or kings of the Śaka tribe . . . 142, 143
ba di, or *va di*, and *śu di*, are simply abbreviations of separate words (see *ba*, *di*, *śu*, and *va*), and not words in themselves (*badā*, *vadi*, *śudi*) meaning 'the

- dark fortnight' and 'the bright fortnight;' they denote the fortnight, and the solar or more properly civil day in the fortnight or in the month . . . 85 n., 92 n.
- Baghēlkhāṇḍ, inscriptions from . . . 93,
100, 106, 110, 112, 121, 125, 129, 132, 135
- bāhulēya*, 'a bull' 157 and n.
- Balādhikṛita*, an official title . . . 109 n., 210 and n.
- Bālāditya, a *birudā* or second name of Dhruvasēna II. of Valabhi 41, 182
- Bālāditya, a king of Kāśī, and apparently not the first of that name, 285, 286;—another king of Kāśī, of the same name; his wife was Dhavalā 256
- Bālāditya, Bālādityadēva, an early king of Magadha, who is mentioned by Huien Tsiang in connection with Mihirakula, 215, 218;—there is probably an allusion to him in the Sarnāth inscription 286
- Balavarman, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
- Balavarman *parichchhēda*; an ancient territorial division in Baghēlkhāṇḍ 105
- bali*, one of the five great sacrificial rites 116 and n., 124, 129, 132, 170, 190, 290.
- Bali, a demon, whose power was overthrown by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as a dwarf 62
- Bandhuvarman, a Mālava feudatory of Kumāragupta (Early Gupta), 7, 80, 86;—the Mandasār inscription, which gives for him the date of the Mālava year 493, 79;—the value of this record, in proving that the Gupta era runs from an epoch in or very close to A.D. 319-20 65
- Bandhuvatsavāmin, a grantee 199
- ḅappa*, a Prākṛit word meaning 'a father' 186 n., 188, 189
- Bāppadēva, a *Sēnāpati* of Pravarasēna II. 249
- Bāppārya, a grantee 243
- Bappasvāmin, a grantee 105
- Barābar Hill, in the Gayā District; mentioned under the ancient name of Pravaragiri, 222, 223;—the cave inscription of Anantavarman 221
- ḅāva*, a Prākṛit word denoting 'a relative of the same generation with a father;' i.e., generally, 'an uncle' 185, 186 n.
- Bayley, Sir E. Clive; the views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters, with the result that he selected the epoch of A.D. 190-91 33, 58
- Beal, the Rev. S.; certain points in his translation of the Travels of Huien Tsiang, which may be made more clear through the Early Gupta chronology 40
- Benares mentioned under the ancient name of Kāśī 286
- Benares District, an inscription from the 284
- Bendall, Mr. C.; the importance of his discovery of the Gōlmādhīṭṭī inscription of Śivadēva I. of the (Gupta) year 316, which proves the use of the so-called Gupta era in Nēpāl, and fixes the chronology of the early rulers of that country 96
- Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, an inscription from the 200
- Bengal Presidency, inscriptions from the 47, 200, 208, 211, 212 n., 213, 221, 223, 226, 234, 274, 278, 280, 281, 283
- Bennākārapara *bhāga*, an ancient division in the territory of the Vākātaka *Mahārājās* 248
- Berars, an inscription from the 235
- Bhadra, a proper name 259
- Bhadrāryā, a proper name 51, 52
- bhāga*, a territorial term 248
- Bhāgabhāga*, 'royalties,' a fiscal expression 120 and n., 124, 129, 132, 138, 254 and n.
- Bhagadatta, the name of a king, or of a family of kings; a Nēpāl inscription allots Harsha of Gauḍa, Kalinga, Kōśala, Ōdra, &c., to the Bhagadatta lineage, 187;—intermarriage of this family with the Thākuri rulers of Nēpāl 187
- Bhāgalpur District, an inscription from the *bhagavadbhakta*, a Vaiṣṇava sectarian title 271
- Bhagavadśośa, a proper name 156
- bhagavat*, in the sense of 'divine,' denotes the god Viṣṇu, if not connected with any other specific name, 28 n.;—thus used (see also some of the sectarian titles quoted under Vaiṣṇava inscriptions), 40, 41, 123, 124, 129, 269, 270;—applied to Buddha, 28 n., 47, 262;—to Kārttikēya, 28 n., 44;—to Jinēndra, 28 n.;—to Śiva, 28 n., 36, 290;—to the Sun, 28 n., 71, 218;—to Viṣṇu, 28 n., 56, 78, 90, 115, 142, 161;—applied to priests, in the sense of 'venerable,' 28 n.;—and to Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas 28 n., 98, 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 171
- Bhāgavata*, a Vaiṣṇava sect 28 n., 123
- bhagavati*, feminine of *bhagavat*; applied to the goddess Pishāpurī or Pishāpurikā 116, 132, 138
- Bhagratha, an epic hero 77
- Bhāgrathī, the river Gāṅgā, as 'belonging to Bhagratha,' with reference to the legend of his bringing down the river from heaven to earth 241, 248
- Bhagraha, or Bhāgraha; the *Dātaka* of the grants of Hastin of the (Gupta) years 156 and 163 100 and n., 105
- Bhagwanlal Indrajī, Dr.; remarks on, and rectification of, the historical results deduced by him from the Nēpāl inscriptions 95, 96 and n., 177 to 191
- Bhāgyadēvi, daughter of Bhōgadēvi and Śūrasēna or Śūrasēna 180
- Bhairava, see Svāmi-Mahābhairava 241, 248

- Bhāṇḍak**, a village in the Central Provinces; it is not to be identified with *Vākātaka* as the supposed name of a place 234
- Bhandarkar**, Dr. R. G.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters 48, 63
- Bhānugupta**, a king, perhaps of the Early Gupta stock, 7, 17, 92, 93, 152;—the Eran pillar inscription, which gives for him the date of the (Gupta) year 191, . . . 91;—a note on the details of the date 77 n.
- Bhānuguptā**, wife of Ravikīrtti . . . 152, 156
- Bharadvāja gōtra** included the *Parivrajaka Mahārājas* 115
- Bhārāsiva**, a tribe or dynasty, connected by marriage with the *Vākātaka Mahārājas* 241, 248
- Bharata**, an epic hero 77, 147.
- Bharatpur State**, inscriptions from the . . . 251, 252
- Bhartṛisārman**, a grantee 243
- Bharukachchha**, an intermediate ancient name of the modern Broach 95 n.
- Bhāskarāchārya**, an astronomer; the author of the *Siddhānta-Sirōmani*, the date of which is A.D. 1150-51, . . . 156 n.;—his rendering of the rule of the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, for one of the unequal-space systems of the *nakshatras* 166
- Bhāskaradatta**, a grantee 97
- bhaṭa**, 'regular troops,' in composition with *chāḍa* and *chhāḍra*, 98 and n., 105, 109, 120, 128, 132, 138, 169, 195, 199, 242, 249, 299;—used alone . . . 98 n., 241, 248
- Bhatārka**, *Sēnāpati* (of Valabhi), 41, 167, 180;—he overthrew a tribe or dynasty named Maitraka 13, 167, 180
- Bhaṭṭa**, a title of respect attached to the names of learned Brāhmins . . . 52, 190, 298
- Bhaṭṭāraka**, a regal title, properly applied to feudatory *Mahārājas*, 177, 178, 180, 181, 17 n.;—but sometimes applied to paramount sovereigns, 180, 17 n.;—applied to a *Yuvarāja*, 181;—used without anything to shew the status of the person whom it qualifies, 182;—in the sense of 'worthy of worship, sacred,' applied to gods, 17 n.;—thus, to the Sun, 129, 218;—in the sense of 'reverend,' applied to priests 17 n.
- Bhaṭṭārikā**, feminine of *Bhaṭṭāraka*, a title of the wives of *Mahārājas* and *Mahāśmantas* 17 n., 221, 290
- Bhaṭṭisōma**, a proper name 67
- Bhau Daji**, Dr.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters 41, 44
- Bhava**, a Buddhist teacher 277
- Bhavadatta**, a grantee 298
- Bhavanāga**, *Mahārāja*, of the Bhārāsiva tribe or dynasty; his daughter was the wife of Gautamiputra 241, 248
- Bhavanī**, the goddess Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva, in her pacific and amiable form . . . 228
- bhava-srij**, 'the creator of existence,' an epithet of the god Śiva 155 and n.
- Bhavasvāmin**, a grantee 97
- Bhēlsā**, a town in Scindia's Dominions; inscriptions in its neighbourhood . . . 21, 34
- Bhikshu**, 'a Buddhist mendicant,' 33, 34, 47, 262, 281;—mention of Śākya *Bhikshus* 272, 279, 280, 282
- Bhikshunī**, feminine of *Bhikshu*; mention of a Śākya *Bhikshunī* 274
- Bhīmadēva**, a Hindu king of Kābul; remarks on some of his coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era 57 to 60
- Bhīmavarman**, *Mahārāja*, 266;—his Kōsam image inscription of the (Gupta) year 139 266
- Bhitari**, a village in the Ghāziṭpur District; the pillar inscription of Skandagupta . . . 52
- bhōga**, a territorial term 112 and n.
- bhōgabhāga**, 'share of the enjoyment,' a fiscal term 189, 195, 200, 299
- Bhōgadēvi**, sister of Aṃśuvarman, and wife of Śūrasēna or Śūrasēna 180
- Bhōgavarman** (Maukhari), son-in-law of Adityasēna of Magadha . . . 177 n., 187, 15 n.
- Bhōgavarman**, son of Bhōgadēvi and Śūrasēna or Śūrasēna, and nephew of Aṃśuvarman 177 n., 180
- Bhōgavarman**, *Svāmin*, the *Dātaka* of the inscription of Śivadēva I. of the (Gupta) year 316; perhaps to be identified with the nephew of Aṃśuvarman . . . 177 and n.
- Bhōgika**, an official title 100 and n., 105, 109, 120, 124, 129, 134
- bhōgya-tiṭhi**, 'the portion of a *tiṭhi* that is still to run' 152
- Bhōjadēva** of Kanauj; examination of the date of his *Dēogadh* inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 919 and Śaka-Samvat 784, which proves that one or other, or both, of the unequal systems of the *nakshatras* continued in use up to A.D. 862 107
- Bhōjaka**, the title of a class of priests 218 and n.
- Bhōjakadēvārya**, a grantee 243
- Bhōjakāṭa**, a kingdom subject to the *Vākātaka Mahārājas* 241
- Bhōpāl State**, inscriptions from the, 29, 260, 279;—remarks on the spelling and derivation of the name of Bhōpāl . . . 29 n.
- Bhrukuṇṭhasiṇha**, a proper name 71
- Bhujamgādāsa**, a proper name 116
- bhukta-tiṭhi**, 'the elapsed portion of a *tiṭhi*' 152
- bhukti**, a territorial term 100 n., 218 and n., 293 and n., 298
- Bhumarā** a village in the Nāgaudh State; the pillar inscription of Hastin and Sarvanātha 110

- Bhumbusapadraka, the name of some land in the village of Vajragrāma . . . 170
- bhūmi*, a particular land-measure . . . 241 and n.
- bhūmichchhidra*, a fiscal term . . . 138 and n., 170, 190
- bhūta*, a fiscal term, requiring explanation . . . 170 and n., 189
- Bhūtapati, the god Śiva, as 'the lord of beings' . . . 225
- Bihār, a town in the Patnā District; mentioned under the ancient name of Vihāra, and as the city of Yaśovarman, 47 n.;—the pillar inscription of Skandagupta . . . 47
- Bijayagadh, a hill-fort in Rājputāna, near Byānā; the fragmentary inscription of the Yaudhēyas, 251;—the pillar inscription of the Varikā Vishpūvardhana, of the (Mālava) year 428 . . . 252
- Bilsad, or Bāsand, a village in the Etā District; the pillar inscription of Kumāragupta of the (Gupta) year 96 . . . 42
- bird-standard on the Early Gupta coins; there is evidently an allusion to it in the mention of the Garuḍa-tokens, i.e. coins or banners bearing representations of Garuḍa, that were given by feudatories to Samudragupta . . . 14 and n.
- Blochmann, Mr.; his proposal for amending the translation of Alberūnī's words regarding the origin of the Gupta era . . . 28 n.
- Bōdhi-Gayā, a Buddhist site near Gayā; the inscription of Mahānāman of the (Gupta) year 269 (the date of which, however, should perhaps be referred to the Kalachuri era), 274;—the image inscription of Mahānāman, 278;—the image inscription of Dharmagupta and Daṁshtrāsena . . . 281
- Bōdhi-maṇḍa, the miraculous throne under the *bōdhi*-tree at Bōdhi-Gayā, or its site . . . 275, 278
- Bōdhivarmaṇ, a proper name . . . 272
- Bombay Presidency, an inscription from the . . . 56
- hoppa*, a Prākṛit word meaning 'a father' . . . 188 n.
- bōla*, or *vōla*, a termination of names . . . 31 n.
- Bōtaka, a proper name . . . 170
- 'box-headed' characters . . . 18, 192, 196, 233, 236, 244, 292
- Brahmadēvasvāmin, a grantee . . . 195
- Brahmagupta, an astronomer; he was born A.D. 598, . . . 172;—he is the author of the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, the date of which is A.D. 628-29, . . . 156 n., 165 n.;—and this is the text-book of the Brāhmapaksha school of astronomers, 145 n.;—his rule, as rendered by Bhāskarāchārya, for one of the unequal-space systems of the *nakshatras*, 166;—his rule for determining the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the mean-sign system . . . 169
- Brahman, the god, 'the creator' of the Hindu triad (see Svayambhū, Vēdhas, Vidhātṛi; and, for his wife, see Sarasvatī), 155 n., 208;—mentioned as the creator, preserver, and destroyer, subject to the direction of Śiva . . . 155 and n.
- Brahmanya, an epithet of the god Kārttikeya . . . 45
- Brahmapūraka, a village in the Beṇṇākārapara *bhūga* . . . 248
- Brahmaputra, the river; mentioned under the name of Lauhitya, 145, 148;—and of Lohitya . . . 206
- Brahma-Siddhānta*, an astronomical work by Brahmagupta; it was written A.D. 628-29, . . . 156 n., 165 n.;—and it is the text-book of the Brāhmapaksha school of astronomers . . . 145 n.
- Brihaspati, the regent of the planet Jupiter, and the preceptor of the gods 170, 76, 86, 90 n., 157
- Brihaspati, an astronomer, quoted by Dādabhāt, in the *Kirāṇḍavali*, in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter . . . 170
- brīhaspatīsava*, a particular sacrifice 241 and n., 248
- Brīhat-Samhitā*, an astrological work by Varāhamihira; its statement for the naming of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter according to his heliacal rising in particular *nakshatras*, 161;—and for the grouping of the *nakshatras* for that purpose . . . 162
- Broach (Bharuch, or Bharōch), the chief town of the Broach District; mentioned under the ancient name of Bharukachchha . . . 95 n.
- Buddha (see also Buddhas, and Sugata), the founder of the Buddhist religion, 262;—mentioned as 'the teacher' or 'the teacher of mankind,' 277, 278, 281;—as 'the saint,' 'the chief of saints,' and 'the great saint,' 277, 278;—and as 'the chief kinsman of the Śākya,' 277;—inscribed images of Buddha 45, 278, 280, 281
- Buddhagupta, a king of Magadha, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang; he is not to be confused with the Buddhagupta of the Eraṇ pillar inscription . . . 46 and n.
- Buddhamitra, a proper name . . . 47
- Buddhas, mentioned as four in number, 262 and n.;—invoked in the plural 47 and n.
- Buddhist inscriptions (for another instance of Buddhist worship, see *paramasaugata*) 182, 29, 45, 260, 262, 271, 272, 273, 274, 278, 280, 281
- Buddhists spoken of under the sectarian title of *Paramasaugata* . . . 232 and n.
- Budhagupta, a king, perhaps of the Early Gupta stock, 7, 17, 89, 90;—he is not to be confused with the Buddhagupta, king of Magadha, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, 46 n.;—his Eraṇ pillar inscription

- tion of the (Gupta) year 165, .. 88;
— examination of the date 80
- Bühler, Dr. G.; quoted as inclined, subject, however, to further consideration, to identify *Tu-lu-k'o-po-tu* with Śīlāditya VII. of Valabhi 51
- Bulandshahr District, an inscription from the 68
- bull-emblem on seals . . 164, 219, 231, 282, 283
- Bundēlkhaṇḍ; mention of this part of the country under the ancient name of Dabhāla or Dahāla, 113, 114 116;— inscriptions from Bundēlkhaṇḍ . . . 233
- Calcutta Imperial Museum, inscriptions in the . . 18, 36, 39, 40, 264, 267, 274, 280, 281, 284'
- castes; mention of the castes and stages of religious life, 185, 221, 232;—castes mentioned in this series of records:— Brāhmaṇ; by the name Brāhmaṇa, 38, 39, 71, 97, 104, 105, 109, 116, 120, 123, 128, 132, 138, 170, 218, 241, 242, 249, 252, 257, 265, 290, 298;—by the word *brahman*, in *brahma-dāya*, *brahma-dāya*, *brahma-ghna*, *brahma-katyā* and *brahm-arshi*, 34, 84, 171, 185, 190, 242;—by the words *dviya* and *dviḍāti*, 64, 67, 71, 72, 78, 163 and n., 185, 195, 200, 206;—and by the word *vipra*, alone and in *vipr-arshi*, 71, 85, 90, 160;—Kshatriya; by the name Kshatriya, 71, 129;—and by the words *kshattra* and *kshāṭṭra* 223, 225, 227, 251
- cave-inscriptions . . . 21, 34, 221, 223, 226, 258
- Central India, inscriptions from . . 21, 29, 34, 72, 79, 93, 100, 106, 110, 112, 121, 125, 129, 132, 135, 142, 149, 150, 233, 258, 260, 279
- Central Provinces, inscriptions from the . . 18, 88, 91, 117, 158, 191, 196, 219, 243, 291
- Ceylon, mentioned under the name of Simhala, and as conquered by Samudragupta, 14;—mentioned under the name of Amradvipa, 278, 279;—and of Laṅkā, 277, 278;—its early history and dates require to be rectified in accordance with the Bōdh-Gaya inscription of Mahānāman (or may be adjusted by it, if the date of it should be in the Kalachuri era) 16, 275
- chakra*, 'a discus' as an emblem on seals 292
- Chakrabhrit, the god Vishṇu, as 'the wielder of the discus' 65
- Chakradhara, the god Vishṇu, as 'the holder of the discus' 78 n., 221
- Chakrapālita, the governor of the town of Girinagara in the time of Skandagupta 63, 64, 65
- Chakrapāṇi, the god Vishṇu, as 'holding the discus in his hand' 240, 248
- Chakravartin*, a title of paramount sovereignty 41, 134 n., 183 and n.
- Chammak, a village in the Llichpur District; mentioned under the ancient name of Charmāṅka, 236, 241;—the grant of Pravarasēna II. 235
- Chandra, an emperor of Northern India, 12, 142;—he may perhaps be identified with the Early Gupta king Chandra; gupta I., or he may possibly be the younger brother of Mihirākula, mentioned, but not named, by Hiuen Tsiang, 12, 149 n.;—he may possibly have had also the name of Dhāva; but this is hardly borne out by the construction of the record, 142 n.;—his Mēharauli posthumous pillar inscription 130
- Chandragupta I. (Early Gupta), 17, 18, 16, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;—he seems to have had the *birudas* or second names of Vikrama and Vikramāditya, 18;—his wife was Kumārādēvi, of the Lichchhavi tribe or clan, 16, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;—he may perhaps be identified with the Chandra of the Mēharauli pillar inscription 12, 140 n.
- Chandragupta II. (Early Gupta), 17, 18, 25, 28, 32, 33, 35, 38, 44, 51, 54;—spoken of as 'the accepted son' of Samudragupta, 27, 51, 54;—this seems to indicate that he was specially selected by his father to succeed him, 12 n.;—he had the *birudas* or second names of Vikrama, Vikramāditya, and Vikramāṅka, 18;—he may possibly have had the title of Dēvarāja; but it has not been found on his coins, and it is more probably the name of one of his ministers, 33 n.;—his wife was Dhruvadēvi, 44, 51, 55;—he visited Udayagiri on a tour of conquest, 36;—his Udayagiri inscription of the (Gupta) year 82, .. 21;—his Mathurā inscription, 25;—his Sāñchi inscription of the year 93, .. 29;—his undated Udayagiri inscription, 34;—his Gadhwā inscription of the year 88. 36
- Chandrāpura, an ancient town 71
- Chandrarman, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
- Chandrarman, *Sāmanta*, mentioned in the inscription of Jishnugupta of the (Harsha) year 48 180
- charana*, a sect or school studying any particular *sākhā* of the Vēdas 241
- Charmāṅka, the ancient name of the modern Chammak 236, 241
- charu*, one of the five great sacrificial rites . . 116 and n., 124, 129, 132, 170, 190, 290
- chāṭa*, 'irregular troops,' in composition with *bhāta* . . 98 and n., 105, 109, 120, 128, 132, 138, 169, 195, 199, 290
- chaturdaśa-vidyāsthāna*, 'the fourteen sections of science' 115 and n.
- chatur-udadhi-satit-ārvāḍita-yāśas*, an epithet of Samudragupta, 27, 44, 51, 2 Q 2..

54, 257;—applied also to Vijayarāja (Chalukya of Gujārāt) 14 n.
Chaturvēdin, 'a Brāhmaṇ acquainted with the four Vēdas' 71, 190, 242
chaura-varjām, a fiscal term which is explained by *chōra-danda-varjyam* 109
Chaurōddharāṇiki, an official title 218 and n.
Chēdi era; see *Kalachuri* or *Chēdi* era 8, 9, 10
Chhagajaga, *Mahārājā* (Sanakāṇika) 25
Chhandāpallikā, an ancient village in the *Nāgadēya santaka* 120
chhātra, 'an umbrella bearer,' in composition with *bhaṭa*, 242, 249;—used alone 241, 248
Chhatre, the late Prof. Kero Lakshman; a method of calculating the week-days, ending-times, and English dates, of Hindu *tithis*, with his Tables, explained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, Appendix II., 145 to 159;—the results thus obtained, may sometimes differ from those obtained from the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works; but the difference will not amount to more than 5 or 6 *ghaṭis* 155
Chhōdugōmika, a grantee 132
Chhōdugōmin, a proper name 116
Chirbira, the *Dātaka* of the *Māliya* grant of *Dharasēna* II. of the (Gupta-Valabhī) year 252 171
Chitrakūtasvāmin, the god *Vishṇu*, as 'the lord of *Chitrakūta*' 268 and n.
Chitravarman, a *Sēnāpati* of *Pravarasēna* II. 243
✓*chōra-danda-varjyam*, a fiscal term 98 n., 124
chōra-drōhaka-varjām, a fiscal term which is explained by the preceding 116
✓*chōra-varjām* (see also *chaura-varjām*), an elliptical expression for *chōra-danda-varjyam* 98 and n.
✓*chōra-varjita*, a fiscal expression which is explained by the same word 120, 138
coins; remarks on coins of the Early *Guptas*, 36 n., 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 25 n., 27 n., 28 ns., 46 n.;—of *Samudragupta*, 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 27 n., 28 ns.;—of *Skandagupta*, 25 n., 46 n.;—of the Hindu kings of *Kābul*, 57 to 60;—of the *Kshatrapas* or *Mahākshatrapas* of *Saurāshṭra*, 36 n.;—and of *Tōramāna* II, 12
copper-plate charters are usually denoted by the terms *śāsana*, 99 n., 194, 199, 218, 240, 242, 247, 249, 296;—and *tāmra-śāsana*, 99 n., 109, 116, 128, 132, 138, 195, 199;—an exceptional instance, in which such a charter is denoted by the term *prāśasti*, 87 n.;—an illustration of functions connected with a copper-plate charter, 99 n.;—the edges of copper-plates are sometimes left smooth, 68, 101, 106, 112, 121, 191, 196, 235, 243, 254, 292;—sometimes fashioned thicker, to serve as rims to protect the writing, 68 n., 117, 125, 130,

133, 135, 172;—and sometimes beater up, to make raised rims for the same purpose 68 n., 164
cows spoken of as 'the daughters of the sun,' 195 and n., 200, 299;—cow-and-calf-sculpture, with a tree, on an inscription stone 274 and n.
cremation of widows, an epigraphical instance of 92 and n., 93
Cunningham, Gen. Sir A.; the views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters, with the result that he finally selected the epoch of A.D. 166-67 32, 33, 38, 45, 48, 51, 53, 61
current and *expired* years (see also *expired* years); the proper method of the interpretation of the years in recorded dates, irrespective of the question of the application of the years for calculation, 22 n.;—current years can come to be ordinarily superseded by expired years, only in the case of eras that are actually applied by astronomers for astronomical purposes, 143;—a distinct instance of the use of a current year, after the quotation of the preceding expired year, 129, 22 n.;—instances of the use of regnal years, which are naturally to be interpreted as current years, 24 n., 159, 161, 192, 197, 236, 244, 287, 293;—instances of the use of years, of eras, which, not being specified as expired, are naturally to be interpreted as current, 80, 85, 91, 93, 95, 104, 120, 114, 117, 22, 30, 37, 41, 43, 46, 57, 58, 66, 70, 89, 92, 95, 102, 107, 113, 118, 121, 126, 133, 135, 165, 173, 209, 255, 261, 263, 266, 268, 273, 274;—instances of the use of years, of eras, which apparently are to be interpreted as current, but which have to be applied as expired for calculation, 80 n., 85, 107 n.;—instances of the use of both current and expired years of the *Kaliyuga*, *Vikrama*, and *Śāka* eras, in Hindu almanacs 138 to 141

d, lingual; a special and unique form of it, from which the modern *Dēvanāgarī* form is derived 72 and Plate
Dabhāla, or possibly *Dahāla*, the name of the hereditary kingdom of *Hastin*, the modern *Bundēlkhand* 113, 114, 116
Dacca (*Dākā*), a Division, District, and town in the Bengal Presidency; perhaps mentioned under the ancient name of *Dāvāka* 9 n., 14
Dādābhāt, author of the *Kirandvali*, a commentary on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; his quotation of *Bṛihaspati* in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170;—his comments on a verse of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* in the same connection 171 n.

Dahālā, a possible reading instead of **Dabhlā** 113, 114, 116 n.
Daivaputra, a dynasty or tribe, conquered by **Samudragupta** 14
Dakṣa, a proper name 157, 158
dakṣiṇāpatha, 'the region of the south,' a technical name for Southern India, 13 and n.; — list of the kings conquered therein by **Samudragupta** 13
Damaṇa of **Ēraṇḍapalla**, a king in Southern India, conquered by **Samudragupta** 13
Dāmōdara, the god **Vishṇu**, as 'wearing a cord round the belly' 206
Dāmōdaragupta (**Gupta** of **Magadha**), 206; — he defeated the **Maukharis** 206
Dāmōdaragupta, ***Mahārāja*** (**Parivrajaka**) 97, 104, 109, 115
Damshtrasēna, a proper name 282
Dandapāsika, or ***Dāṇḍapāsika***, an official title 170 and n., 210
Dāṇḍika, an official title 218 and n.
dāradraṇaka, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 299 and n.
Dāraṇḍala, apparently an ancient district in **Baghēlkhaṇḍ** 125
daś-śpardha, 'the ten offences' 189 and n., 218
Daśapura, the ancient name of the modern **Daśor** or **Mandasor** . 79 and n., 84, 86
Daśor, the popular and more correct name of **Mandasor** 79 and n.
dates (see also **eras**) in this series of records, in the other **Gupta-Valabhī** records quoted for calculation, and in the **Nēpāl** inscriptions, recorded in — decimal figures 85, 91, 97
 decimal figures combined with numerical symbols 292 n., 293
 numerical symbols 81, 93, 95, 114, 117, 119, 177 to 184, 22, 30, 37, 41, 46, 89, 92, 107, 110, 118, 165, 173, 192, 197, 209, 236, 255, 261, 263, 266, 273, 274, 287, 293
 words 81, 97, 104, 110, 114, 117, 22, 43, 58, 66, 70, 73, 80, 89, 92, 95, 102, 107, 113, 118, 121, 126, 133, 135, 151, 159, 161, 173, 236, 244, 258, 263, 268
Dattadēvī, wife of **Samudragupta**, 21 n., 27, 44, 51, 54; — a reference to her, without mention of her name 21
Dāvaka, a country, perhaps the modern **Dacca** (**Dākā**); **Samudragupta** either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it 9 n., 14
days of the week, names of the, as used in the only three instances that occur among the **Gupta-Valabhī** dates: —
 Ravi, i.e. **Ravivāra** (**Sunday**) 85
 Sōma, i.e. **Sōmavāra** (**Monday**) 91
 Surugurūdivasa (**Thursday**) 81, 90
days, lunar (see also ***tithi***); special expressions, of occasional use, connecting them with the solar or more properly

civil days, are, *asyām divasa-pūrvāyam*, 38, 40, 41, 44 and n., 97 and n., 104, 120, 265; — *asyām divasa-māsa-samvatsar-ānupūrvāyam*, 97 n., 210; — *asyām samvatsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvāyam*, 97 n., 108, 115; — and *ēlasyām pūrvāyam*, 160, 254; — and another method, in the **Nēpāl** inscriptions, is the use of *dīd* in composition with the *tithi*, 85 n., 178, 189 to 184; — lunar days mentioned in dates of this series, in the other **Gupta-Valabhī** dates used for calculation, and in the **Nēpāl** inscriptions: —

bright fortnight: —
 first 95, 182, 183
 second . 93, 110, 179, 180, 183, 87, 104
 third 104, 183, 97
 fifth 191
 seventh 184
 ninth 184
 tenth 178, 180, 182
 eleventh 25
 twelfth 81, 90, 248
 thirteenth 117, 183, 115, 243

dark fortnight: —
 third 114, 108
 seventh 93
 fifteenth 254
 fortnight not specified: —
 twelfth 298

days, solar, or more properly civil, denoted by *ahan*, and by *dina*, or *divasa*, or their abbreviations *di* and *diva*, and mentioned in dates of this series, in the other **Gupta-Valabhī** dates used for calculation, and in the **Nēpāl** inscriptions: —

bright fortnight: —
 second 91
 fifth 97
 seventh 210, 278
 eleventh 291
 thirteenth 77, 87

dark fortnight: —
 seventh 93
 thirteenth 85
 fifteenth 171

fortnight not specified: —
 third 114, 109
 fourth 34
 fifth 259, 262
 sixth 64, 139
 seventh 267
 eighth 299
 ninth 200
 tenth 40, 129, 160, 257
 fourteenth 120
 eighteenth 47
 nineteenth 119, 112
 twentieth 134, 263
 twenty-first 268

- twenty-second 124
 twenty-fifth 195
 twenty-seventh . . . 117, 116, 274 n.
 'decimal figures (see also dates); the earliest epigraphical instances of the use of them, 209 n.; — instances of the use of them in the Verāwal and Mōrbī records, 85, 91, 97; — instances of the mixture of them with numerical symbols, 292 and n.; — forms of decimal figures illustrated in this series of Plates:—
 eight 292
 Delhi District, an inscription from the . . . 139
 Deś-Baraṇārka, a village in the Shāhābād District; mentioned under the ancient name of Vāruṇikā, 214, 215, 218; — the modern name is from Dēva-Varuṇārka, 215; — the inscription of Jvitagupta II. 213
 Deśgadhi, a village in Central India; examination of the date of the inscription of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, of Vikrama-Samvat 919 and Saka-Samvat 784, which proves that one or other, or both, of the unequal systems of the *nakshatras* continued in use up to A.D. 862 . . . 107
 'Deoghar,' a village in the 'Santāl' Parganās; a late inscription at this place, mentioning Ādityasēna of Magadha . . . 212 n.
 Deōriyā, a village in the Allahābād District; a Buddhist inscription . . . 271
 Dērabhaṭa (of Valabhi) 41, 184
 dēśa, a territorial term 32 and n.
 Dēva, a proper name 71
 Dēvadāngiras, a grantee 105
 Dēvādhyā, *Mahārāja* (Parivṛājaka) 97 and n. 104, 109, 115
 Dēvagupta, Dēvaguptadēva (Gupta of Magadha), 15, 215 n., 217, 240, 247; — his wife was Kamaladēvi, 217; — his daughter Prabhāvatiguptā was the wife of Rudrasēna II. 15, 240, 247
 Dēvaka, a proper name 286
 Dēvakī, the mother of Kṛishṇa 55
 Dēvāmītra, a grantee 105
 Dēvanāga, a grantee 105
 Dēvapattana, an ancient name of the modern Verāwal 91
 Dēvarāja, possibly a 'title of Chandragupta II.; but it has not been found on his coins, and it is more probably the name of one of his ministers . . . 33 and n.
 Dēvarāshṭra, a country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Kubēra 13
 Dēvārya, a grantee, 242; — another of the same name 242
 Dēvaśarman, a grantee, 243; — another of the same name 248
 Dēvaśarmārya, a grantee 243
 Dēvasvāmin, a grantee, 105; — another of the same name 109
 Dēvatā, a proper name 263
 Dēvaviṣṇu, a proper name 71
 dēvatī, a title of wives of *Mahārājas* (used also as a termination of the names of wives of both paramount sovereigns and feudatories; see under names, proper) . . . 221 and n., 232
 Dēvi, the goddess Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva, as 'the (principal) goddess,' 225, 227; — a mention of her defeating the demon Mahishāsura 227
 Dēvi, daughter of a supposed Mahāditya, an imaginary wife of Samudragupta . . . 18, 19
 dēya-dharma, 'an appropriate religious gift'; a formula used in certain donative inscriptions . . . 25 and n., 210, 263, 272, 273, 274, 279, 280, 282
 Dhanada, — the god Kubēra, as 'the giver of wealth' 14, 21, 28, 44, 51, 54, 237
 Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Antaka-sama, an epithet of Samudragupta, 14, 21 n., 28, 44, 51, 54, 237; — applied also to Vijayarāja (Chalukya of Gujārāt) . . . 14 n.
 Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
 Dhanēsa, the god Kubēra, as 'the lord of wealth' 169, 181
 Dhānyavāhika, an ancient village in Baghēlkhāṇḍ 124 and n.
 Dhanyaviṣṇu, younger brother of the *Mahārāja* Mātṛiviṣṇu . . . 89, 90, 160, 161
 Dhārā, a city, the modern Dhār in Central India; reference to the defeat of a king of this city by a Maukhari chief . . . 230
 Dharapattā, *Mahārāja* (of Valabhi) . . . 41, 168
 Dharasēna I., *Sēndapati* (of Valabhi) . . . 41, 168
 Dharasēna II., *Mahārāja* (of Valabhi) 41, 169, 171, 181; — his Māliya grant of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 252 . . . 164
 Dharasēna III. (of Valabhi) 41, 182
 Dharasēna IV. (of Valabhi), 41, 134 n., 183; — he was the first paramount sovereign in the Valabhi family; and his power was perhaps more extensive than that of his successors, 134 n.; — examination of the date in his Kaira grant of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 330 . . . 93
 dharmachakra, the Buddhist 'wheel of religion,' as an emblem on inscription stones 263, 269
 Dharmadāsa, a proper name 280
 Dharmadēva (Lichchavi of Nēpāl), 182, 186, 189; — his wife was Rājyavatī . . . 182
 Dharmāditya, a *biruda* or second name of Śilāditya I. of Valabhi, 41, 181; — and of Kharagraha II. of Valabhi . . . 41, 184
 Dharmadōsha, a minister of Viśhṇuvar-dhana of Mālava 157
 Dharmagupta, a proper name 282
 Dharmārya, a grantee, 243; — another of the same name 243

- Dhāva, possibly another name of the emperor Chandra; but this interpretation is hardly borne out by the construction of the record . . . 142 n.
- Dhavalā, wife of the second Balāditya mentioned by name in the Sārāth inscription . . . 286
- Dhavyashandikā, an ancient village in Baghelkhand, 123; — another of the same name, or perhaps the same village, in the Vōṭa *santika* . . . 130, 132
- Dhiniki, a village in Kāthiāwād; examination of the date in the grant of Jāika-dēva, purporting to be in the Vikrama year 794, with the result that this grant must be held to be spurious . . . 62 n.
- Dhritiśvāmika, the *Dātaka* of the grant of Sarvanātha of the (Gupta) year 214 . . . 139
- Dhrūbhata, a metrical abbreviation of the name of Dhruvabhata . . . 41, 172 n., 189
- Dhruvabhata, a *biruda* or second name of Śīlāditya VII. of Valabhi, occurring in the abbreviated form of Dhrūbhata, 41, 172 n., 189; — it has been supposed to be represented by the Chinese *T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu*; but the Chinese name certainly cannot denote the seventh Śīlāditya . . . 40
- Dhruvabhūti, *Mahāīānandāyaka* . . . 16
- Dhruvadatta, *Bhōgika* . . . 120
- Dhruvadēva, *Mahārāja* (Lichchhavi of Nēpāl), 180, 181, 189, 190, 191; — he had the epithet of 'the banner or glory of the Lichchhavikula' . . . 181
- Dhruvadēvi, wife of Chandragupta II. 44, 51, 55
- Dhruvādīkaranika*, an official title 169, 170 n.
- Dhruvasārman, the person who caused the Bilsāḍ inscribed pillars to be set up . . . 45
- Dhruvasēna I., *Mahārāja* (of Valabhi) . . . 41, 168
- Dhruvasēna II., *Mahārāja* (of Valabhi), 41, 182; — he had the *biruda* or second name of Balāditya . . . 41, 182
- Dhruvasēna III. (of Valabhi) . . . 41, 184
- dhvaja*, 'a banner or standard,' as distinguished from *lāṅchhana*, 'a crest,' 151 n.; — used to denote the Mēharaul pillar, 140, 142; — *dhvaja-stumhha*, 'a flag-staff,' used to denote the Eraṅ pillar . . . 89, 90
- di*, an abbreviation of *dina*, *dinē*, *divasa*, or *divasē*, 85 n., 92 n.; — used in connection with *su*, 91, 97, 210, 277, 291; — used in connection with *ba* or *va*, 85, 93; — used by itself . . . 114, 117, 34, 47, 109, 116, 120, 257, 262, 263
- Dighwā-Dubaul, a village in the Sāran District; the value of the grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla, of the (Harsha) year 155, towards proving the epoch of the Harsha era . . . 178 n.
- Dikshit, Mr. Shankar Balkrishna; his calculations of dates, 34, 35, 62, 75, 76, 77, 80 to 124, 127, 128, 129, 141; — his exposition of a method of calculating the week-days, ending-times, and English dates, of Hindu *tithis*, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Appendix II., 145 to 159; — his exposition of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, Appendix III. 161 to 176
- Dikshita*, a Brāhmaṇical title . . . 120 and n., 124
- dina* (see also *di*, and *divasa*), 'a day;' 146, 92 n.; — used to denote the solar or more properly civil day . . . 64, 77, 87, 259
- dināra*, a particular gold coin, or weight of gold . . . 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 262, 265
- Dinē . . . māśvara, a proper name . . . 273
- Dinna, a proper name . . . 124 n., 290
- diva*, an abbreviation of *divasa* or *divasē*; used to denote the solar or more properly civil day . . . 267
- divā*, 'by day,' an indeclinable used in some of the Nēpāl inscriptions in composition with words denoting *tithis* or lunar days . . . 85 n., 178, 180 to 184
- Divākaradatta, a grantee . . . 97
- Divākarasvāmīn, a grantee . . . 105
- divasa* (see also *di*, *dina*, and *diva*) a day, 146, 92 n.; — used for the week-day, instead of the usual term *vāra*, 81, 90; — used to denote the solar or more properly civil day, 119, 32 n., 38, 40, 44, 97, 104, 112, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 160, 263, 268, 299; — used in connection with words denoting *tithis* or lunar days . . . 97, 104, 108, 115
- Divira*, an official title . . . 123 and n.
- Dombhigrāma, an ancient village in Kāthiāwād . . . 170
- Dōshakumbha, a proper name . . . 157
- Drāṅgika*, an official title . . . 169 and n.
- drishṭam*, 'sight has been attained'; an invocation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 240 and n., 247; — it is the remnant of some such expression as *drishṭam bhaguvatā* . . . 25 n., 240 n.
- Drōṇasimha, *Mahārāja* (of Valabhi) . . . 41, 168
- Drōṇasingha, the engraver of the Rāypur grant of Sudēvarāja . . . 200
- Dudika, a proper name . . . 71
- duplicate inscriptions . . . 42, 142, 149
- Durdharamitra, a grantee . . . 218
- Durgamaṇḍala, apparently an ancient district in Baghelkhand . . . 124
- Durlabha of Multān, an astronomer quoted by Al-Bērūnī; his method for converting Lōkakāla dates into Śāka dates shews that the Lōkakāla reckoning was introduced, at Multān, in A.D. 926 . . . 26 n.
- Dūta*, an occasional substitute for *Dātaka*, 100 n., 291; — used in the sense of an ordinary message-carrier or postman 217 and n.
- Dūtaka* (see also *ājñā*, *Dūta*, and *svamukh-djñā*), the technical title of an officer, in connection with charters usually recorded on copper-plates but in a few instances on stone, whose duty it was to carry the king's orders to the local officials by whom the charter was

then drawn up and delivered, 100 and n.;—instances of *Dūtakas* for charters recorded on copper-plates, 100, 105, 109, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 190, 291;—and for charters which, following more or less the same form, are recorded on stone, 177 to 184;—an instance of a second *Dūtaka* for additional orders, 100 n., 134;—an instance of more *Dūtakas* than one for the original orders 291 n.

dvāśa-land, a term requiring explanation 290 and n.

Dyūta-Gōpasvāmin, *Ākṣapaṭalādihikri-ta*, the official under whose orders the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta purports to have been written 257

earth; the earth spoken of as 'belonging to Vishnu, or as being Vaishnavi, the female energy of Vishnu,' 195 and n., 200, 299;—spoken of as resting on a hood of the serpent Śeṣha, 208;—its marriage-string is the verge of the four oceans, 86;—its breasts are the mountains Kailāsa and Sumera, 86 and n.;—the Vindhya mountains, 185;—the Vindhya and Sahya mountains, 184;—and the mountains Vindhya and Himālaya 86 n.

Eastern Country, or Pūrvarāṣṭra, an ancient name for part of the Central Provinces; the territory of Jayarāja and Sudēvarāja 192 and n., 195, 199

eclipse of the sun, mentioned in the Mōrbi grant of Jāinka 97

elephants, in connection with the goddess Lakṣmī, on the seals of grants 191, 196

emblems on the seals of grants and at the top or bottom of stone inscriptions 72, 125, 164, 191, 196, 219, 231, 255, 263, 269, 274, 282, 283, 292

English dates; a method of calculating the English dates of Hindu *tithis*, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's 'Tables, Appendix II. 158, 159

epoch; this word is used as the most convenient term for the year 0 of an era, as required for comparison and calculation, and as contrasted with its commencement or first current year passim

Ēraṇ, a village in the Śāgar District; mentioned under the ancient name of Airikina, 18 n., 21, 161;—the inscription of Samudragupta, 18;—the pillar inscription of Budhagupta, of the (Gupta) year 165, . . . 88;—the posthumous pillar inscription of (Bhānugupta and) Gōparāja of the (Gupta) year 191, . . . 91;—the boar inscription of Tōra-māna 158

Ēraṇḍapalla, a town in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Damana 13
eras used in this series of records, in the other Gupta-Valabhi records quoted for calculation, and in the Nepāl inscriptions:—

Gupta 81, 95, 97, 104, 110, 114, 117, 119, 178, 182, 183, 184, 23, 30, 37, 41, 43, 46, 57, 58, 66, 70, 88, 92, 95, 102, 107, 113, 254, 258, 260, 262, 266, 267, 273

Gupta; hitherto treated as such, but perhaps Kalachuri or Chēdi 118, 121, 126, 133, 135, 274

Gupta-Valabhi, i.e. belonging to the period when the Gupta era may have begun to be called the Valabhi era 93, 165, 173

Harsha 178 to 184, 209, and perhaps 287

Hijra 85

Mālava; i.e. Vikrama 66 n., 73, 80, 151, 253

Śiṃha 85

Valabhi; i.e. belonging to the period when the Gupta era had come to be called the Valabhi era 85, 91

Vikrama 85

Ēṭā District, an inscription from the 42

expired years (see also current and expired years); they can come to be ordinarily used, instead of current years, only in the case of eras that are actually applied by astronomers for astronomical processes, 143;—instances of the use of expired years distinctly specified as such, 79 n., 97, 129, 22 n., 73, 80, 151, 253;—instances of the use of years, which are not distinctly specified as expired, but which have to be applied as such 80 n., 85, 107 n.

feet of a person or god, used for respectful mention of that person or god himself 16, 71, 123 and n., 124, 128, 268, 269, 270

Fergusson, Mr. J.; the views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters, with the result that he selected the epoch of A.D. 318-19, . . . 32, 46, 54;—this result is correct within one year; the error being due to certain special considerations connected with the Sixty-year Cycle of Jupiter, which do not really apply 33

fire; gold spoken of as 'the first offspring of fire' 195 and n., 200, 299

forest countries, all the kings of the, were subdued by Samudragupta 13 and n.

forest kingdoms, the eighteen, mentioned as part of the territory of the *Mahārāja* Hastin 13 n., 113, 116

fortnights, lunar (see *Amānta*, *Pārṇi-mānta*, days, lunar, and intercalary months); an instance of a lunar fortnight of only thirteen solar or civil days 89 n.

Gadādhara, the god Viṣṇu, as 'the bearer of the club or mace' 78 n.

Gadhwa, a village in the Allahābād District; the inscription of Chandragupta II. of the (Gupta) year 88, . . . 36; — an inscription of Kumāragupta, 39; — the inscription of Kumāragupta of the year 98, . . . 40; — a fragmentary inscription, perhaps of the time of Kumāragupta, 264; — a miscellaneous inscription of the (Gupta) year 148 267

Gallu, *Sāmdhivigrahika*, writer of the grant of Jayanātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 177 124

Gaṇapatiṇa, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13

Gaṇārya, a grantee 242

gaṇa-śrēṣṭhika, 'a leader of an assemblage' (?) 291 and n.

Gandharva, a class of celestial beings; the musicians of heaven 84, 85

Gaṇēśa Daivajña, an astronomical writer; his *Graha-lāghava* was written A.D. 1520-21 146 n.

Gaṅga, a grantee 123

Gaṅgā, the river Ganges (see also Bhāgirathi, Jāhnavi, and Mandākinī), 16, 56, 148, 156; — mentioned as flowing through the matted hair of the god Siva 16

Gaṅgdhār, a village in the Jhāṇsād State; the inscription of Viśvavarman of the (Mālava) year 480 72

Garga, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Utpala for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170; — and for a variation from the usually accepted grouping of the *nakṣatras*, 163 n.; — Utpala's quotation of his rule in the *Garga-Samhitā*, for one of the unequal-space systems of the *nakṣatras*, 164; — and of a verse by him, which seems to refer to the mean-sign system of the cycle 172

Gargārā, the ancient name of the river on which the village of Gaṅgdhār stands 72 n., 77

Garga-Samhitā, an astronomical work by Garga; Utpala's quotation of its rule for one of the unequal-space systems of the *nakṣatras* 164

garta, or gartā, 'a boundary-trench,' 97 and n., 124, 125; — *garta* as the termination of names of villages, in Kōrparagarta, 107; — and in Vālugarta 109

Garuḍa (see also Garutmat), a supernatural being, half a man, half a bird, the

vehicle of Viṣṇu, and the enemy of the serpent race, 62 and n.; — mentioned as the ensign on the banner of Viṣṇu, 90; — Garuḍa-tokens, i.e. coins or banners bearing representations of Garuḍa, were given by feudatories to Samudragupta, 14; — Garuḍa as an emblem on seals of grants 255, 292

Garutmat, another name of Garuḍa 14 n., 298

Gauda, a country, and an inhabitant of it 208

Gaulmika, an official title 52 and n.

Gaupta, 'of or belonging to the Guptas,' an adjective which may possibly be used in the date of the Mōrbi grant of Jainika; but it does not seem probable 21, 98, 58 n.

Gaurī, a name of the goddess Pārvatī 286

Gauridatta, a proper name' 298

Gautamiputra, or Gautamiṣputra (Vākātaka); his wife was the daughter of Bhavanāga 237 n., 241, 248

Gaya District, inscriptions from the 201, 221, 223, 226, 254, 274, 278, 281

Gaya *visahaya*, an ancient territorial division in Bihār 257

ghaṭi, *ghaṭi*, *ghaṭikā*, 'the sixtieth division of a mean solar, or more properly civil, day and night,' equal to twenty-four English minutes 147

Ghaṭōtkacha, *Mahāśāja* (Early Gupta), 17, 16, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257; — the coins that bear the name of Kācha cannot belong to him, 27 n.; — he is not mentioned in the Tusām inscription 270

Ghāzipur District, inscriptions from the 52, 249

gold spoken of as 'the first offspring of fire' 195 and n., 200, 299

Gōmādhītāl, a village or hamlet near Khātmandu in Nēpāl; notice of the inscription of Sivadēva I. of the (Gupta) year 316, . . . 177; — the value of this record in proving the use of the so-called Gupta era in Nēpāl, and in fixing the chronology of the early rulers of that country 96, 177, 184

Gōmatikoṭṭaka, a camp of Jivitagupta II. 215, 217

Gōmikasvāmin, a grantee 109

Gōṇḍasārman, a grantee 243

Gōpa, a village in Kāthiāwād, perhaps mentioned under the ancient name of Gōpta 98 n., 58 n.

Gōpa, the ancient name of the hill on which stands the fortress at Gwālior 162, 163

Gōparāja, a chieftain, 93; — his posthumous pillar inscription of the (Gupta) year 191, . . . 91; — a note on the details of the date 77 n.

Gōpasvāmin, a grantee, 97; — another of the same name 257

Gōpasvāmin, or Dyūta-Gōpasvāmin, the *Akṣhapāṭalādhiṣṭhita* under whose orders the spurious Gaya grant of Samudragupta purports to have been written 257

<i>gôpathasara</i> , perhaps meaning 'a cattle-path'	125 and n.
Gôpta, apparently an ancient name of a village, and perhaps represented by the modern Gôp	98 and n., 58 n.
Gôrakhpur District, an inscription from the	65
Gôrisvâmin, a grantee	105
Gôsarman, a proper name	259
Gôśūrasimhabala, a proper name	280
<i>gôtra</i> , 'a family or clan' (see also <i>Bharadvāja</i> and <i>Vishṇuvriddha</i>); names of <i>gôtras</i> mentioned in this series of records:—	
Âtrēya	243
Aupamanyava	109
Bharadvāja	105, 115
Bhāradvāja	242, 243, 257, 298
Bhārgava	105
Gautama	243
Gôtama	271
Kāṇva	120
Kāśyapa	243
Kauṇḍinya	195, 199, 243
Kautsa	36, 97, 105
Maudgalya	248
Parāśarya	242
Śaṅḍilya	243
Śākarākshi	190
Śāsātanēya (?)	123
Śātyāyana	242, 243
Varshagana	71
Vāsula	105
Vatsa	170, 199
Vātsya	242, 243
Vishṇuvriddha	241, 248
Gôvardhana, or more fully Gôvardhanadhara, the god Kṛishṇa, as 'holding up the mountain Gôvardhana'	91
Gôvinda, the god Vishṇu	65
Gôvinda, the engraver of the Mandasor pillar inscriptions of Yaśôdharman, and of the Mandasor inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana of the Mâlava year 589	148, 150, 158
Gôvinda III. (Rāshtrakūṭa); examination of the date in his grant of the Śaka year 726, which proves that, up to A.D. 804, the <i>Pûrnimānta</i> arrangement of the lunar fortnights was used with the Śaka years, even in Southern India, and also the mean-sign system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter	79 n.
Gôvindasvâmin, a grantee	109
Gôyindā, a proper name	40
<i>Graha-Laghava</i> , an astronomical work, written A.D. 1520-21, by Ganēśa Daivajña, from which, with the <i>Tithi-Chintamani</i> , Hindu almanacs are now prepared in the Dekkan and some other parts	146 and n.
<i>Grāmika</i> , an official title	112 and n.

<i>grihapati</i> , 'a householder'	120 and n., 124
Guha, <i>Pratinartaka</i> and <i>Amātya</i> , the writer of the Allā grant of Śilāditya VII. of the (Gupta-Valabhī) year 447	190
Guhasarman, a grantee	242
Guhasēna, <i>Mahārāja</i> (of Valabhī)	41, 168, 180
Guhilasvâmin, a proper name	52
Guñjakirtti, <i>Bhōgika</i> , the writer of the grant of Jayanātha of the (Gupta- or Kalachuri) year 174	120
Guṇṭhaka, a grantee	105
Gupta, <i>Mahārāja</i> (Early Gupta), 17, 15, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;—indications that his name really was simply Gupta, and not Śrīgupta, 8 n.;—he is not to be identified with the <i>Mahārāja</i> Śrīgupta who is mentioned by I-tsing	8 n.

Gupta era, a convenient name for the era, commencing in A.D. 320, used by the Early Gupta kings and their successors; the nomenclature of the era, 19 to 23;—there is no ancient authority for connecting the name of the Guptas with the era, as the establishers of it, or for accepting the early existence of any such appellations for it as *Guptakāla*, *Gupta-samvat*, and *Gupta-sam*, 19, 22;—in the date of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta, the mention of the Guptas only shews that the date was being recorded in an era new to that part of the country, 19, 20, 57 n.;—in the date of the Mōrbi grant of Jāinika, the adjective *Gaupta*, 'of or belonging to the Guptas,' may possibly exist, but it does not seem probable. 21, 98, 58 n.;—the reasons for which the era would come to be popularly known as the Gupta era, 19, 33 n., 125;—and as the Valabhī era, 33 n., 126;—instances of its being mentioned by the expressions *Valabhī-sam* and *Valabhī-samvat*, 84, 91;—it is convenient to speak of it as the Gupta era, the Valabhī era, and the Gupta-Valabhī era, 23;—Albérûnī's statements regarding the Gupta and other eras, 23, 24, 27;—he speaks of both the Gupta era and the Valabhī era, 25;—but he distinctly shews that he is referring to one and the same era under these two names, 31;—his illustration of the method of converting *Lôkakāla* dates into Śaka dates through the Gupta reckoning, 26 n.;—his statements do not really include the assertion of the existence of an era dating from the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty, 28;—this idea is due only to Prinsep's rendering of the date in the Kāhām pillar inscription of Skandagupta, and its endorsement by Reinaud in his translation of Albérûnī, 25, 26;—Albérûnī's words only shew that the Gupta era continued in use after the extinction of the



Gupta sovereignty, 31; — a curious instance of confusion, by the Jain writer Śīlāchārya, between the Gupta and the Śāka eras, 32 n.; — the epochs of the Gupta era, based, by previous writers, on Reinaud's translation of Albérūt; *vis.* by Mr. Thomas, the Śāka epoch, A.D. 77-78; by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, A.D. 166-67; by Sir E. Clive Bayley, A.D. 190-91; and by Mr. Fergusson, A.D. 318-19, . . 31 to 33; — examination of these theories, 33 to 65; — remarks on the Mandasār inscription of the Mālava year 529, . . 65 to 68; — it proves that any statement that the Early Gupta sovereignty was extinguished in or about A.D. 319, is wrong; and that the era used by the Early Gupta kings runs from an epoch in or very close to that year, 68; — the determination of the exact epoch of the era, with the result of A.D. 319-20, equivalent to Śāka-Samvat 241 expired, 69; — the scheme of the years of the era, 69, 71; — it included the *Pāṇinimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, 77, 85; — proof that the Gupta year did not commence with the months Kārttika or Mārgaśīrṣa, 86, 87, 90, 108, 111, 115, 118; — the treatment of it as a northern Śāka year, gives satisfactory results for every recorded date, except two which are capable of explanation, 84, 90, 97, 99, 104 n.; — and it is almost certain that it soon became identical in all respects with the northern Śāka year, having Chaitra śukla 1 as its initial day, 79; — the calculation of recorded dates, the results of which answer to the above conditions, 80, 84, 95, 97, 104, 110, 114, 117, 119; — the Eran pillar inscription of Budhagupta of the (Gupta) year 165, proves that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhī and current Śāka years is two hundred and forty-two years; and that, in following Albérūt and adding two hundred and forty-one, what we obtain is the last Śāka year expired before the commencement of the current Śāka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhī year, 84; — the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadeva of the Valabhī year 945, proves that the original *Pāṇinimānta* arrangement was preserved with the Gupta year, in Kāthiāwād, up to A.D. 1264, . . 90; — the two exceptional dates are those in the Verāwal inscription of the Valabhī year 927, and in the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the (Gupta-Valabhī) year 330, the results for which answer to a year commencing with the month Kārttika preceding the true commencement of the Gupta year, 90, 93; — the explana-

tion of this difference, 72, 73, 92, 93, 95; — proof as to the epoch afforded by the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in records of the Early Gupta period, 101 to 124; — summary, of the results, which prove A.D. 319-20 as the epoch of the era and A.D. 320-21 as its first current year, 124 to 127; — proof that the years in Gupta-Valabhī dates are to be interpreted as current years, unless the contrary is distinctly specified, 127 to 130; — inquiry as to the origin of the era, 130 to 137; — its epoch, or its commencement, was not determined by the expiration, from the epoch or the commencement of the Śāka era, of an even number of Cycles of Jupiter, either of the Twelve-Year or of the Sixty-Year system, or by any other astronomical considerations, 33, 130; — but its origin must be found in some historical event, which occurred actually in A.D. 320, . . 130; — it was not established by any member of the Valabhī family, 130; — nor by the *Mahārāja* Gupta, the founder of the Early Gupta family, 130; — it cannot run from the accession of Chandragupta I., the first paramount sovereign in the family, 131, 132; — it was adopted by the Early Guptas from some extraneous source, 132; — the reasons for which they would not adopt any era then in use in India itself, 132 to 134; — the so-called Gupta era was in use, outside India, in Nēpāl, by the Lichchhavi rulers of that country, 95, 96, 134, 184; — further instances of this, 178, 182, 183, 184; — the antiquity and power of the Lichchhavis, and the friendly relations, including intermarriage, between them and the Early Guptas, would dispose the latter to adopt any Lichchhavi era, 135; — and in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era, dating either from the general establishment of monarchy among the Lichchhavis, or from the commencement of the reign of the Lichchhavi king Jayadeva I. in Nēpāl 136

Gupta-kāla, an expression used by Albérūt for the Gupta era; it is a perfectly justifiable term, but there is no authority for the early existence of it . . 19,

22, 24, 25, 30

Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktāu, a technical expression in the grants of the Parivrajaka *Mahārājas*, shewing that at certain dates the Gupta sovereignty was still continuing . . 42, 43, 50, 101, 104, 110, 114, 117, 95 and n., 96,

104, 108, 115

Gupta-Valabhī era; a convenient name for the Gupta era during the period when, through its use by the Kings of Valabhī, it may have begun to be called the Valabhī era 23

Guptas, the Early, 7 n.; — the actual dates of their records extend from A.D. 401 to 466, . . . 7; — but the records of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* prove that the Gupta dominion continued to A.D. 528, . . . 8; — their final overthrow was accomplished by Mihirakula, 10; — their genealogical tree, 17; — there is nothing to support the supposition that they belonged to the Solar Race, 19, 1; — their family mentioned as the Guptavamśa, 20, 55, 67; — and as the Gupta-vamśa, 259; — mention of them in the plural, as a family or dynasty, 19, 20, 63, 65, 67; — mention of them as the Gupta-kings, 104, 110, 114, 117, 96, 104, 108, 115; — mention of them, in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription, in connection with the reckoning of an era, 19, 20, 21, 22, 57 n., 63, 65; — but there is no ancient authority for connecting their name with the Gupta era, as the establishers of it, 19; — remarks on some of their coins (for the legends on their silver coins, see *Ind. Ant.* XIV. 65), 36 n., 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 25 n., 27 n., 28 ns., 46 n.; — allusions to a temporary obscuration of their power between the reigns of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, 55; — a further indication of this is perhaps given by Kumāragupta having only the title of *Mahārāja* in the Mankuwar inscription, 46; — mention of them in Yasōdharman's pillar inscription . . . 146, 148

Guptas of Magadha, 7 n., 14, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 212, 213 n., 217; — the family was an offshoot of the Early Gupta stock; and the founder of it, Krishnagupta, came very shortly after Skandagupta, 14; — intermarriages of this family, with the Maukharis, 14, 187; — with the Kings of Kanauj, or more properly of Thāṇṣar, 15, 232; — and with the Vākātaka *Mahārājas* . . . 15, 240, 247

Guptasya kāla, 'the time or era of Gupta;' an expression supposed, but quite wrongly, to exist in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, 19, 44, 57 n.; — and in abbreviated forms on certain Kābul coins . . . 19, 57 to 60

Gwālīor (Gwālīhēr), the capital of Scindia's Dominions; the hill on which the fortress stands, mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Gōpa, 162 and n., 163; — the modern name of Gwālīor is derived directly from Gōpālikhēra, 162 n.; — the inscription of Mihirakula . . . 161

which proves that up to A.D. 612, the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights was used with the Śaka years, even in Southern India . . . 79 n.
Hālārī year; a year with Āshāḍha śukla 1 as its initial day, used in the western part of Kāthiawād . . . 79 n.
halirākara, a fiscal term requiring explanation . . . 134 n.
Hall, Dr. F. E.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters . . . 42
Hamsamitra, a grantee . . . 218
Hanumat, the chief of the monkeys, mentioned as 'the son of the Wind,' and with a reference to his leap through the air from the mountain Kōśavardhana . . . 205
Hara, the god Śiva, as 'the seizer or despoiler' . . . 87, 206, 208
Haradatta, a grantee . . . 298
Hari, the god Viṣṇu . . . 156
Haribala, a proper name . . . 272
Haribhaṭa, a proper name . . . 78
Harigupta, a proper name . . . 281
Hariśarmārya, a grantee . . . 243
Harishēṇa, *Sāmdhivigrahika*, *Kumārā-mātya*, and *Mahādāṇḍānyaka*, the composer of the Allāhāḍ posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta . . . 16
Harisvāmīni, a proper name . . . 262
Haritrāta, a proper name . . . 71
Harivarman, *Mahārāja* (Maukhari), 221; — his wife was Jayasvāmīni . . . 221
Harivishṇu, a proper name . . . 90, 160
Harsha, also called Vikramāditya, a king of Ujjain, mentioned in the *Rājatarangīni*, allotted by Mr. Fergusson to the sixth century A.D., and held by him to be the real person in commemoration of whom the Vikrama era was invented and named . . . 47, 55, 56
Harsha of Gauda, Kālīṅga, Kōśala, Ōdra, &c.; in a Nēpāl inscription, he is mentioned as belonging to the Bhagadatta family, 187; — his daughter, Rājyamati, was the wife of Jayadēva II. of Nēpāl . . . 187
Harsha, or Harshavardhana, of Kanauj, or more properly of Thāṇṣar, 15, 232; — mentioned under the name of Harshadēva, 207; — his name was simply Harsha or Harshavardhana, and not Śrīharsha or Śrīnarshavardhana, 207 n.; — Hiuen Tsiang gives him the *biruda* or second name of Ślāditya, 39, 40; — his accession, as determined by the commencement of the Harsha era, is to be placed in A.D. 606, . . . 178 n.; — his Sōnpat seal . . . 231

Harsha era; an early era of this name, commencing in or about B.C. 457, is mentioned by Alberūnī, 23, 24, 30; — but there is no other evidence of its existence, 23 n.; — the only proved era of this name, is that which runs from

Haidarābād in the Dekkan; examination of the date of the grant, of the Śaka year 534 expired, of Pulikēśin II.,

- the accession of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, or more properly of *Thāṇṣar*, 23 n.;—as far, as it can be determined by means of the Dighwā-Dubauli grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla, this era commenced in A.D. 606, with the epoch of A.D. 605-606, . . . 178 n.;—an instance of the use of this era in India, 210;—another possible instance, 287;—it was adopted in Nēpāl, by the *Thākuri* rulers of that country, 96, 184, 189;—instances of the use of it by them, 178 to 184;—the fact of its introduction there is mentioned, in a mistaken manner, in the Nēpāl *Vamśāvali* 185
- Harshadēva, a variant of the name of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, or more properly of *Thāṇṣar* . . . 207 and n.
- Harshagupta (Gupta of Magadha), 205;—Harshaguptā, wife of Adityavarman, was probably his sister . . . 14
- Harshaguptā, wife of Adityavarman, 221;—she was probably a sister of Harshagupta of Magadha . . . 14
- Harshavardhana (see also Harsha or Harshavardhana) of Kanauj, or more properly of *Thāṇṣar* . . . 15, 232
- Hastin, *Mahārāja* (Parivrājaka), 97, 104, 109, 111, 115;—he had the hereditary kingdom of Dabhālā, and the eighteen forest kingdoms, 13 n., 116;—his Khōh grant of the Gupta year 156, . . . 93;—his Khōh grant of the year 163, . . . 100;—there is no necessity to alter the date of this record from 163 to 173; and, in fact, the alteration is not justifiable, 110 to 114, 102 n.;—his Majh-gawāh grant of the year 191, . . . 106;—his Bhumarā pillar inscription, 110;—examination of the dates of these records . . . 104, 110, 114, 119
- Hastivarman of Veṅgt, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
- Hembaṭa, a proper name . . . 190
- Hijra era, a Musalmān era, commencing in A.D. 622, and dating from the flight of the prophet Muḥammad; an instance of this era being quoted in a Hindu epigraphical record . . . 85
- Himālaya (see also Himavat), the mountain; mentioned as the father of the goddess Pārvatī, 147;—as the mountain of snow, 148, 205, 230;—as the king of mountains . . . 169, 181
- Himavat, a name of Himālaya . . . 156
- Hisār or Hissār District, an inscription from the . . . 269
- Hoernle, Dr. A. F. R.; view expressed by him on the Gupta era . . . 65
- Hōṇa, a tribe; a mention of them in Yaśō-dharman's pillar inscription, 146, 148;—mentioned as defeated by Skandagupta, 56;—and by the Maukharis . . . 206
- Ijjādēvi, wife of Vishvuguptadēva . . . 217
- Illichpur District, an inscription from the images, inscriptions on the pedestals of 45, 208, 262, 266, 271, 272, 273, 278, 280, 281
- Indiana, a proper name, . . . 112
- India, Northern; mentioned, under the name of Āryāvarta, 13 and n.;—Southern India mentioned under the name of *dakṣiṇāpāṭha*, . . . 13 and n.
- Indōr, a deserted village or mound in the Bulandshahar District, mentioned under the ancient name of Indrapura or Indrāpura, 71;—the grant of Skandagupta, of the (Gupta) year 146 . . . 68
- Indra, the god of the sky (see also Maghavan, Purandara, and Śakra; and, for his wife, see Śachi), 14, 28, 44, 50, 51, 54, 93, 195, 199, 257, 278;—mentioned as 'the lord of the gods,' 10, 62, 76, 77, 195;—as the elder brother of Vishnu, 50, 182 n.;—as 'the thousand-eyed,' 225;—mention of the mountain Sumēru as his abode, 278;—mention of the *kalpa*-tree in his paradise, 168, 228;—a reference to his elephant, Airāvata, 76;—deceased kings are described as going to the abode of Indra, conquering the realms of Indra, or obtaining a seat on the lap of Indra, 10 and n.;—and grants were made to secure this result . . . 195, 199
- Indrabala, of the Pāṇḍuvamśa, 298;—his father was Udayana, of the Śavara lineage or tribe . . . 293
- Indrapura, Indrāpura, the ancient name of Indōr in the Bulandshahar District . . . 68, 71
- Indravishṇu, a proper name . . . 90, 160
- inscriptions on copper are usually denoted by the terms *śāsana*, 99 n., 194, 199, 218, 240, 242, 247, 249, 296;—and *lāmra-śāsana*, 99 n., 109, 116, 128, 132, 138, 195, 199;—and those on stone, by the term *prāśasti*, 87 n.;—an exceptional instance in which the term *prāśasti* is used to denote a copper-plate charter . . . 87 n.
- intercalary months; the present arrangement of the intercalated fortnights in Northern and in Southern India, 88;—a verse attributed to the *Brahma-Siddhānta* indicates a more ancient arrangement of a different kind, 88 n.;—intercalated months are inauspicious, and the performance of ceremonies in them is prohibited, 88 n.;—but the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV., of the (Gupta-Vaibabhi) year 330, shews an exception to this rule, 94;—note on a mistake which runs all through Cowasjee Patell's

- Chronology*, Table I., in respect of the intercalations for the southern Vikrama years, 87 n.;—instances of intercalation of the month Mārgaśīrṣa, which is usually held to be not liable to intercalation, 93;—and of the month Pausa, though, the same rule is held to apply 179
- Īśa, the god Śiva as 'the lord, the powerful one' 87
- Īśagadh District, inscriptions from the 21, 34, 258
- Īśavarman (Maukhari), 14, 206, 220, 221;—his wife was Lakṣmīvatī, 221;—he was conquered by Kumāragupta of Magadha 206
- Īśvara, the god Śiva, as 'the lord, the powerful one' 180
- Īśvaradāsa, the writer of the grant of Saṁkshobha of the (Gupta) year 209 116
- Īśvaraśarma, a grantee 243
- Īśvaraśarmārya, a grantee 243
- Īśvaravarman, *Mahārāja* (Maukhari), 221, 229, 230;—his wife was Upaguptā, 221;—his Jaunpur inscription 228
- Īśvaravāsaka, an ancient village or allotment granted to the great *Stīpa* at Sāñchi 35
- Jabalpur District, an inscription from the 117
- Jahnvi, the river Gaṅgā, as 'the daughter of Jānu' 163, 181
- Jāikadēva, a king of Saurāṣṭra, not to be identified, if his Dhiniki grant is genuine, with the Jāinka of the Mōrbi grant, 61, 62;—examination of the date in his grant, purporting to be in the Vikrama year 794, with the result that this grant must be held to be spurious 62 n.
- Jain inscriptions 65, 258
- Jain sect or religion; proof of its existence in the fourth century A.D. is furnished by the *Kahāṁ pillar* inscription of Skandagupta 16, 66
- Jāinka, a chieftain in Kāthiāwad; remarks on the reading and interpretation of the date of his Mōrbi grant of the (Gupta) year 585 'expired, 21, 98, 58 n.;—examination of the details of the date, 97;—he is not to be identified with the Jāikadēva of the Dhiniki grant, if the latter is a genuine record 62
- Jāmbavatī, wife of the god Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Kṛishṇa 270
- Janādāna, the god Viṣṇu, as 'exciting or agitating men' 90, 189
- janendra*, 'a lord of a people or tribe,' contrasted with *navādhipati*, 'a chief ruler of men' 151 n.
- Jāś State, an inscription from the 233
- Jaunpur, the chief town of the Jaunpur District; the inscription of Īśvaravarman 228
- Jayabhaṭṭa, a proper name 274
- Jayadēva I., the first historical person in the family of the Lichchhavis of Nēpāl, 185, 186, 189, 191;—calculating back from the recorded date for Mānadēva, his initial date is about A.D. 330, . . . 191;—and this needs but little adjustment to place him in 'A.D. 320, and to make the so-called Gupta era run from the commencement of his reign 135
- Jayadēva II., *Rāja* (Thākuri of Nēpāl), 183, 184, 187 to 191;—he had the *biruda* or second name of Parachakrakāma, 184, 187;—his wife was Rājyamati, 187;—notice of an inscription of the (Harsha) year 145, which is probably one of his records 183;—and of his inscription of the year 153 . . . 183, 185 to 188
- Jayadēva, *Rājaputra*, the *Dākaka* of the inscription of Sivadēva II. of the (Harsha) year 119 182
- Jayanātha, *Mahārāja* (of Uchchakalpa), 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Murugadēvi or Murugdasvāminī, 128, 132, 138;—his Kārtilālī grant of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 174, . 117;—his Khōh grant of the year 177 121
- Jayarāja, or Mahā-Jayarāja, *Rāja* (of Sarabhapura), 194;—his Araṅg grant *jaya-skandhavāra*, 'a victorious camp' 180, 217, 257
- Jayasvāmin, *Mahārāja* (of Uchchakalpa), 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Rāmadēvi 119, 123, 128, 131, 138
- Jayasvāminī, wife of Harivarman (Maukhari) 221
- Jayasvāminī, wife of Kumāradēva of Uchchakalpa 119, 123, 128, 131, 138
- Jayavarman, a proper name 182
- Jayēśvara, a *linga* form of the god Śiva 182
- Jhālāwad State, an inscription from the 72
- Jina, a class of deified Jain saints 259
- Jishnugupta (Thākuri of Nēpāl), 180, 181, 189, 190, 191;—notice of his inscription of the (Harsha) year 48, . . . 180;—and of two others, the dates of which are lost 181
- jitam bhagavatā*, 'victory has been achieved by the Divine One;' an invocation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 25 n., 40, 41;—*jitam Vishnund* 270
- Jivanta, a proper name 71
- Jivita, a proper name 116
- Jivitagupta I. (Gupta of Magadha) 205
- Jivitagupta II., Jivitaguptadēva (Gupta of Magadha), 217;—his Dēś-Baraṅg inscription 213
- Julien, M. Stanislas; certain points, in his translation of the Life and Travels of Hiuen Tsiang, which may be made more clear through the Early Gupta chronology 39

Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, of the Gupta years 136, 137, 138, 56
 Junāgaḍh State, inscriptions from the . 56, 164
 Jupiter, the planet; its regent mentioned under the names of Āngiras, 170;—the son of Āngiras, 170;—Bṛihaspati, 'the lord of prayer,' 170, 76, 86, 157;—Guru, 'the preceptor,' 169, 170, 171 and n.;—Ijya, 'the teacher,' 170;—Jīva, 'the living being,' 170;—Suraguru, 'the preceptor of the gods,' 81, 90, 157;—Surējya, 'the teacher of the gods,' 173;—the counsellor of (Indra) the lord of the gods (*dēvapatimantrin*), 161;—the counsellor of the gods (*sura-mantrin*), 162 n.;—and the preceptor of the gods (*sura-guru* and *tridaśa-guru*)

157, 169, 181

Jupiter, the planet; exposition of the Twelve-Year Cycle based on his heliacal risings, with reference to his apparent longitude, in particular *nakṣatras*, Appendix III., 161 to 176;—the authorities for this system of the cycle, with the rule for naming the years of it, according to the order of the lunar months, commencing with Kārttika, 161 and n., 170, 171;—the length of each year of the cycle, by this system, is roughly 400 days, 162;—a practical illustration of two cycles of this system, 167;—the years of this cycle that are liable to be omitted, and to be repeated, 168;—this is evidently the original system of the Twelve-Year Cycle, 172;—instances of the later and modern use of it, 173 and n., 175;—the heliacal risings of Jupiter are still noted in *Pañchāṅgs*, for religious purposes, 173 n.;—there are indications that the Sixty-Year Cycle also was originally regulated by the same system, 170 and n., 173, 174;—the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle, by this system, mentioned in records of the Early Gupta period, are, Mahā-Āsvayuja, 110, 117, 104, 115;—Mahā-Chaitra, 114, 108;—Mahā-Māgha, 119, 112;—and Mahā-Vaiśākha, 104, 96;—examination of the dates of these records, 101, 104, 110, 114, 117, 119;—the Pausa and Vaiśākha years of a Twelve-Year Cycle are mentioned in early Kādamba records (the absence of the prefix *mahā* possibly indicates that they are of the mean-sign system), 106 n.;—the proof that the epoch of the Gupta era was not determined by the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the heliacal-rising system 34, 35

Jupiter, the planet; incidental remarks on the Twelve-Year Cycle based on his passage, with reference to his mean longitude, among the signs of the zodiac, 162, 169, 170;—the rule, as given by the first Aryabhata and by Brahmagupta, for determining the

years of this cycle by this system, 169;—the years commence with the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle by the same system; and the length of each year, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is 361 days, 1 *ghaṭī*, 36 *palas*, 170;—(instances of the use of the cycle, by this system, indicated by the absence of the prefix *mahā*, are possibly to be found in early Kādamba records, 106 n.);—the proof that this is not the system of the cycle used in records of the Early Gupta period, 103, 108, 111, 115, 118, 121;—and that the epoch of the Gupta era was not determined by it 34, 35

Jupiter, the planet; incidental remarks on the Sixty-Year Cycle based on his passage, with reference to his mean longitude, among the signs of the zodiac, 162, 169, 170;—the rule of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* for determining the years of this cycle by this system, 170;—the length of each year of this cycle, by this system, according to the same authority, is 361 days, 1 *ghaṭī*, 36 *palas*, 170;—a verse by Kāśyapa seems to indicate that the years of this cycle also were originally determined by the heliacal-rising system, 170 and n.;—Varāhamihira gives the rule that Prabhava, the first year of this cycle, commences when Jupiter comes to Dhanishṭhā and rises in Māgha, 173, 174;—comments on this rule, which is not correct for the mean-sign system, but is nearly so for the heliacal-rising system, 173 n., 174;—the Sixty-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, was current in Southern, as well as in Northern, India, at least up to A.D. 804. . . 80 n.;—the proof that the epoch of the Gupta era was not determined by this cycle 34

Jupiter, the planet; the use of the Sixty-Year Cycle, according to the southern luni-solar system, seems to have been introduced between A.D. 804 and 866, . . 80 n.;—and the epoch of the Gupta era cannot have been determined by this cycle 33, 34
 Jyēṣṭhāśarmāya, a grantee 243
 Jyōtiṣhadarpana, an astrological work; its date is A.D. 1557-58, . . 175;—a quotation from it in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 170

ka, an affix from which certain modern declensional suffixes are derived 69, 113, 117, 121, 125, 126, 130, 135, 197, 201
 Kābul, the Hindu kings of; remarks on some of their coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era 57 to 60

- Kācha**; the name of two chieftains mentioned in an inscription in the Ajanta caves, 27 n.;—the name also occurs on certain gold coins which have always been attributed to Ghaṭōt-kacha; but, if they are Early Gupta coins, as seems probable, they must be attributed to Samudragupta, and Kācha must be his *biruda* or second name. 18, 27 n.
- Kācharapallika**, an ancient village in the Maṇināga *pēṭha* 138
- Kahāum**, a village in the Gōrakhpur District; mentioned under the ancient name of Kakubha or Kakubhagrāma, 66, 67;—the pillar inscription of Skandagupta 65
- Kailāsa**, a mountain in the Himālaya range; 78, 85, 86;—mentioned as one of the breasts of the earth 86 and n.
- Kailāsakūṭabhavana**, the palace of the Thākurl rulers of Nēpāl . 178 to 182, 189, 190
- Kaira** (Khēḍā), the chief town of the Kaira District; mentioned under the ancient name of Khēṭaka, 95 n., 173, 189;—examination of the date in the grant of Dharasēna IV. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 330 93
- Kaira District**, an inscription from the 171
- Kāka**, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta 14
- Kākanāda**, the ancient name of Sāñchi in the Aśoka period 31
- Kākanādabōta**, the name of the great *Stūpa* at Sāñchi in the Gupta period 31, 32, 262
- Kakka**, a proper name 148, 150
- Kakubha**, Kakubhagrāma, the ancient Sanskrit name of Kahāum 66, 67
- kāla**, 'time, a space of time,' may be used in the sense of 'an era,' and is so used in respect of the Vikrama and Śaka eras; but there is no ancient authority for the early existence of the term *Gupta-Kāla* for the Gupta era 19, 22
- Kalachuri**, a dynasty of kings in Central India; their dynastic name occurs under the Sanskritised form of Kalatsūri, in a record of the sixth century A.D.; and they are perhaps mentioned, under the name of the Arjunāyanas, in the Allahābād pillar inscription 10
- Kalachuri or Chēdi era**, an era used by the Kalachuri kings of Central India; early instances of the use of it are perhaps to be found in the records of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa, which, however, would seem to require for the era an epoch about twenty-five years later than the epoch of A.D. 249-50 proposed by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, 8, 9, 10;—also in the grants of the Traikūṭaka *Mahārājas*, 9 n.;—(and possibly in the Bōlh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, the date of which has been referred in this volume to the Gupta era, 16, 275);—Prof. Kielhorn quoted as having fixed the commencement of the era in A.D. 249, with the epoch of A.D. 248-49 10
- Kali age** (see also Kaliyuga era), the last and worst of the four Yugas or ages of the world; the one in which we now are 156, 168, 182
- Kāliṇḍī**, the river Yamunā (Jamnā) 90
- Kaliyuga era**, an era commencing, with the beginning of the Kali age, in B.C. 3102, though usually represented as commencing in B.C. 3101; it is of but rare use in epigraphical records, 69 n.;—quotations of the reckoning of this era, both by current and by expired years, from Hindu almanacs, 138 to 141;—its duration is 432,000 years of men; and we are still only in the *samādhyā* of it, 138 to 141, 139 n.;—it was the original astronomical era of the Hindus; and the substitution of the Śaka era for it, for astronomical purposes, seems to have taken place between A.D. 476 and 587 143
- kalpa-tree**, a fabulous tree in Indra's paradise, granting all desires 168, 228
- Kāmadēva**, the god of love (see also Smara); a mention of his two wives, Prīti and Rati, 85;—a reference to his bow of flowers, 86;—a reference to his destruction by Śiva, 87;—an enumeration of the five flowers that form his arrows, 87;—mentioned as having a banner of flowers 158
- Kamaladēvī**, wife of Dēvaguptadēva of Magadha 217
- Kāmarūpa**, a country, the modern Assam, or its western portion; Samudragupta either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it 9 n., 14 and n.
- Kanauj**, a town in the Farrukhābād District; perhaps mentioned, in connection with Samudragupta, under the ancient name of Pushpapura 5, 12
- Kanauj**, Harshavardhana of, or more properly of Thāgēsar; his genealogy 232
- Kāñchi**, a town in Southern India, the modern 'Conjeveram,' in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Vishugōpa 13
- Kāṇḍārya**, a grantee 243
- Kāngra District**, an inscription from the 286
- Kaṇva or Kaṇvāyana**, a tribe, family, or dynasty; there is no foundation for the supposition that the Kaṇva prince Nārāyaṇa, mentioned in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, is mentioned as the Tushāra king Vishnu, in the Tusām rock inscription 270
- Kapālēśvara**, the god Śiva, as 'the lord who is decorated with a garland of skulls' 290
- Kapila**, an ancient sage 115

- karana*, 'a document' . . . 242 and n.
- Karājjaviraka, or perhaps Karājajichiraka, an ancient river in the Beṇṇākārpāra *bhāga* . . . 248
- Kārtalā, a village in the Jabalpur District; the grant of Jayanātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 174 . . . 117
- kartri*, 'a maker,' a technical term for the composer of a record, as opposed to the person who reduces it to writing. 88, 99 n.
- Kartripura, a town, in the east or north-east; Samudragupta either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it 9 n., 14 and n.
- Kārtikēya, the god of war (see also Brahmanyā, Skanda, and Svāmi-Mahāsēna), 286;—mentioned as the son of Hara and riding on a peacock, 206;—and as having the banner of a peacock, 185;—an ancient temple of this god at Bilsad . . . 43
- Kāśī, one of the ancient names of the modern Benares; apparently mentioned as the capital of Prakāśaditya 285, 286
- Kasiā or Kasyā, a village in the Gōrakhpur District; the inscription on the *nirvāṇa*-statue of Buddha . . . 272
- Kāśmīr; the early history of this country, as deduced from the *Rājatarangīnī*, is to be adjusted by the now settled date of Mihirakula . . . 56
- Kāśyapa, the preceptor of the god Indra 14
- Kāśyapa, an ancient astronomer, quoted by Utpala for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170;—his rule indicates that originally the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle also were determined by the heliacal risings of the planet . . . 170 n.
- Kāthiāwād, inscriptions from . . . 56, 164
- Kāthiāwād province, mentioned under the name of Surāshṭrāḥ, 62, 63;—a tradition of the bards of Kāthiāwād, supposed to have an important bearing on the question of the Gupta era, 49;—but it is of quite recent origin, and of no value whatever, 50;—in the western part of this province, there is used a year, called the Hālārī year, of which the initial day is Āśāḍha śukla 1 79 n.
- Kātyāyanī, a name of the goddess Pārvaṭī . . . 228
- kaubhērachchhanda*, a particular kind of pearl-necklace . . . 45
- Kaudravādēva, a grantee . . . 105
- kaustubha*, a jewel worn on the breast by Viṣṇu . . . 87
- Kay, Mr. H. C.; his proposal for amending the translation of Albernūn's words regarding the origin of the Gupta era . . . 28
- kēndra* (see also *nichōchcha-māsa*, *tithi-kēndra*, *tithi-madhya-mā-kēndra*, and *tithi-spashṭa-kēndra*), or 'anomaly,' of the moon, is taken to be her distance from apogee, from which point it is always reckoned by Hindu astronomers, 149 and n.;—the annual variation in the moon's *kēndra* is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6·2 minutes, or 7 *tithis*, 9 *ghaṭīs*, 42 *palas* 149
- Kēraḷa, a country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Maṇṭarāja . . . 7 n., 13
- Kṛśāva, one of the composers of the Gwālīor inscription of Mihirakula . . . 163
- 'Khadavayaka,' a Hindu king of Kābul; remarks on some of his coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era . . . 57 to 60
- Khādyaṭapākṣika, a tribal or family name, or an official title, applied to the Mahādandanāyaka Harishēpa . . . 16
- Kharagraha I. (of Valabhī) 41, 181, 182 n., 183
- Kharagraha II. (of Valabhī) 41, 184;—he had the *biruda* or second name of Dharmāditya . . . 184
- Kharaparika, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta . . . 14
- Khātmandū, the capital of Nēpāl; notices of inscriptions from its vicinity . 177 to 188
- Khēṭṭaka, an ancient form of the name of Kaira (Khēḍā); mentioned as the chief town of an *dhāra* . . . 173, 189
- Khōḍ, a village in the Nāgaudh State; the grant of Hastin, of the (Gupta) year 156, . . 93;—of Hastin, of the (Gupta) year 163, . . 100; there is no necessity to alter the date of this record from 163 to 173; and, in fact, the alteration is not justifiable, 110 to 114, 102 n.;—of Samkshōḍha, of the (Gupta) year 209, . . 112;—an alteration in the reading of the date of this record, 76 n., 274 n.;—its importance in proving the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement of the fortnights in the Gupta year, 76;—examination of the dates of these records, 104, 110, 117;—the grant of Jayanātha, of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 177, . . 121;—of Śarvanātha, of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 193, . . 125;—of Śarvanātha, without date, 129;—of Śarvanātha, of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 197, . . 132;—and of Śarvanātha, of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 214 . . . 135
- Kielhorn, Prof. F.; quoted as having fixed the commencement of the Kalachuri or Chēḍi era in A.D. 249, with the epoch of A.D. 248-249 . . . 10
- Kiṇīhikhēṭṭaka, an ancient village in the Beṇṇākārpāra *bhāga* . . . 248
- Kinnara, a class of supernatural beings . . . 84
- kīrtti*, used, like *kīrtana*, in the special meaning of 'any work which renders the constructor of it famous' 212 and n., 213 n.
- Kisōravātaka, an ancient village in Bihār, near Dēō-Baranark . . . 218

klṛipta, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 242, 249
 Kollapūraka, an ancient village in the Beṇṇākārjara *bhḍga* 248
 Kōṇadēvi, wife of Adityasēna of Magadha, 208, 212, 217;—mentioned with the paramount titles, 212;—called Kōshadēvi in a late inscription 213 n.
 Kōṇḍarāja, a proper name 241
korāṣa, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 248 and n.
 Kōrparagartā, an ancient village, or a boundary-trench, in Baghēlkhand 105
 Kōrparika, an ancient *agrāhāra*, in Baghēlkhand 104
 Kōśala, a country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Mahēndra, 13;—Tivarādēva had the title of 'supreme lord of Kōśala', with reference to the more northern country of the same name 296
 Kōśam, a village in the Allahābād District, the modern representative of the ancient Kauśāmbī; the Allahābād column, containing the Aśoka inscriptions and the posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, may possibly have stood originally at this place, 2;—the image inscription of Bhīmavarman of the (Gupta) year 139 266
 Kōśavardhana, a mountain from which the monkey-king Hanumat took a leap through the air 205 and n.
 Kōshadēvi, used by mistake, in a late inscription, for Kōṇadēvi 213 n., 214 n.
 Kōṭa, a family, tribe, or dynasty, conquered by Samudragupta, and perhaps holding the city of Pushpapura at that time 6, 12
 Kōṭṭhā on the hill, a town in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Svāmīdatta 7 n., 13
 Kramāditya, a *biruda* or second name of Skandagupta 18
 Kṛishṇa, the god Viṣṇu incarnate as the son of Vasudēva and Dēvakī, 55, 223;—mentioned under the name of Vāsudēva, 286;—mention of his wife Jāmbavatī, 270;—an image of Kṛishṇa was set up in the Barābar Hill cave by Anantavarman 223
 Kṛishṇagupta (Gupta of Magadha), 205;—he came very shortly after Skandagupta 14
kṛita, 'accomplished,' i.e. 'completed,' (years) 73 n., 254
 Kṛita age, the first of the four Yugas or ages of the world, characterised by truth and virtue; 'the golden age' 45, 181, 240, 248
 Kṛitānta, the god Yama, as 'the one by whom death is accomplished' 28, 44, 51, 54, 157, 257

Kṛitānta-parāṣu, an epithet of Samudragupta, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;—it occurs also on his coins 28 n.
 Kshatrapas or Mahākshatrapas of Saurāshtra; the family or dynastic name of 'Sah' or 'Sāh' which has been allotted to them, is only based on the custom of omitting superscript vowels in the legends on their coins 36 n.
 Kubēra, the god of wealth, mentioned under the names of Dhanada, 14, 21, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257;—and Dhanēśa 169, 181
 Kubēra of Dēvarāshtra, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
kul-ākhyā, 'a family appellation' 36
kulaputra, 'high-born' 190, 244, 248
 Kumārādēva, a grantee 105
 Kumārādēva, *Mahārāja* (of Uchchakalpa), 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was Jayasvāminī 119, 123, 128, 131, 138
 Kumārādēvi, daughter of Lichchavi or of a Lichchavi prince, and wife of Chandragupta I. 16, 44, 51, 54, 257
 Kumārādēvi, wife of Ōghadēva of Uchchakalpa 119, 123, 128, 131, 138
 Kumārāgupta (Early Gupta), 7, 17, 40, 41, 44, 47, 50, 51, 55, 80, 86;—he had the *biruda* or second name of Mahēndra or Mahēndraditya, 18;—in the Mankuwar inscription he has only the feudatory title of *Mahārāja*, 46, 47;—a half illegible reference to his wife, 50;—his Gadhwā inscription, date lost, 39;—his Gadhwā inscription of the (Gupta) year 98, . . 40;—his Bilsad pillar inscriptions of the year 96, . . 42;—his Mankuwar image inscription of the year 129, . . 45;—the Mandasor inscription, which gives the date of Mālava-Samvat 493 for his feudatory Bandhuvrman, 79;—the value of this record, in proving that the Gupta era runs from an epoch in or very close to A.D. 319-20, . . 65;—the Sāñchi inscription of the (Gupta) year 131, which may belong to his time, 260;—a fragmentary inscription at Gadhwā, which may belong to his time 264
 Kumārāgupta (Gupta of Magadha), 206;—he conquered Śśānavarman 206
Kumārāmṛtīya, an official title, 16 and n., 52, 170, 218;—used in connection with *Mahādāṇḍantya* and *Sāmdhivigraha* 16
 Kumārānāga, a grantee 128
 Kumārasarmāya, a grantee, 242;—another of the same name, 243;—and a third of the same name 243
 Kumārasēna, a grantee 105
 Kumārasvāmin, a grantee 138
 Kuru, the land of the Northern 260 and n.
 Kuśalaprakāśa, *Nihilapati*, the *Dātaka* of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of Samudrasēna 291

kusalin, 'being in good health,' used in the preamble of grants . 119 and n., 123, 128, 132, 138, 169, 217, 298

Kuṣṭhalaputa, a town in Southern India; in the title of Samudragupta, its king was Dhanamjaya 13

Kuṣṭhā, a conventional name for a particular variety of the northern alphabet . 201

ḷ, a southern letter; instances of its use in northern inscriptions 4, 269

Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta, the customary name of the Siddhānta by the second Āryabhaṭa; the date of it is between A.D. 628-29 and 1150-51 156 n.

Lāhōr, the chief town of the Lāhōr District; the seal of the *Mahārāja* Mahēśvaranāga 282

Lāhōr Provincial Museum, an inscription from the 25

Lakshmā, a proper name 40

Lakshmi, wife of the god Viṣṇu, and goddess of wealth and fortune (see also Śrī), 61, 286;—mention of a form of this goddess, at Mānapura, under the name of Piṣṭhapuri or Piṣṭhapurikādēvi, 113 and n., 116, 132, 138;—Lakshmi and elephants, on seals of grants . 191, 196

Lakshmivati, wife of Iśānavarman . 220 n., 221

Lambōshṭha, a grantee 105

lāñchhana, 'a crest,' as distinguished from *dhvaja*, 'a banner' 151 n.

Laṅkā, one of the names of Ceylon 275, 277, 278

Lāṭa *viśhaya*, an ancient name of Central and Southern Gujarāt 80, 84

Lauhitya, the river Brahmaputra (see also Lōhitya) 145, 148

lōkhaka, a 'writer' (see also *likhita*), a technical term for the actual drafter or writer of a record, as opposed to the composer of it 88, 291

Lichchhavi, the traditional name of a very early member of the family of the Lichchhavis of Nēpāl 185

Lichchhavi (see also Lichchhivi) the personal or tribal name of the father-in-law of Chandragupta I., 16, 28, 44, 51;—whence the name of 'the Lichchhavis' appears on some of his coins, 135;—and the epithet 'daughter's son of Lichchhavi or of a Lichchhavi' was always applied to his son Samudragupta . 135, 16, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257

Lichchhavi era; this would probably be the more correct name of the so-called Gupta era 136

Lichchhavi-kula-kṣētu, 'the banner or glory of the Lichchhavi family'; an epithet of Śivadēva I. of Nēpāl, 177, 178;—and of Dhruvadēva of Nēpāl . 181

Lichchhavi rulers of Nēpāl; their early traditional genealogy, which is traced back to the god Brahman through Sūrya or the Sun, 185;—in accordance with which, their family is mentioned in the Nēpāl *Vamśāvali* as a Sūryavamśi family, i.e. as belonging to the Sūryavamśa or Solar Lineage, 188;—but, in the code of Mānu, a Lichchhavi or Lichchhivi is defined as the offspring of a degraded Kshatriya, 16 n.;—mention of their family 'under the names of Lichchhavikula and Lichchhavivamśa, 177, 178, 181, 185;—and with the indication that it had originally another name, not now known, 185;—the first historical person in the family is Jayadēva I., 185, 186;—the palace of the Lichchhavi rulers of Nēpāl was Mānagriha, 177, 178, 180, 181, 189, 190;—they used the so-called Gupta era, 96, 184, 188;—instances of this, 178, 182, 183, 184;—the dates of the known members of this family, 189;—they seem to have had the government of the eastern portion of Nēpāl, 190;—the great antiquity of the Lichchhavi clan or tribe, 135;—the connection by marriage between the Lichchhavis of Nēpāl and the Early Guptas, 135;—the so-called Gupta era is probably a Lichchhavi era, dating from the monarchical constitution of the Lichchhavis, or from the accession of Jayadēva I. in Nēpāl . . 136

Lichchhivi, a variant for Lichchhavi; as the personal or tribal name of the father-in-law of Chandragupta I., 54, 257;—and in the code of Mānu . . 16 n.

likhita, 'written' (see also *lōkhaka*), a technical term in connection with the manual drafting or writing of a record, as opposed to the composition and engraving of it . 99 and n., 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 190

liṅga, the phallic emblem, connected with the worship of Śiva . 180 and n., 182, 241, 248

Lōhitya, the river Brahmaputra (see also Lauhitya) 206

Lōkakāla, a method of reckoning by cycles of a hundred years; Albérūnī's illustration of the conversion of Lōkakāla dates into Śaka dates through the Gupta reckoning, 26 n.;—it entails the use of the first current year of the Gupta era, not of its epoch, 27 n.;—according to Kalhana's statement in the *Rājataranginī*, the first year of each Lōkakāla cycle coincided with the forty-eighth current year of each century of the Śaka era, 26 n.;—according to Albérūnī's statements, the first year of each Lōkakāla cycle in Multān and those parts, commenced from one to three years later, 27 n.;—

the method of Durlabha of Multān, as quoted by Albérūni, indicates plainly that the use of the Lōkakāla in that part of the country only dates from A.D. 926, and that it was not introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Guptas 27 n.
Lōkapāla, a regent of one of the quarters of the world 90 and n., 251 and n.

m; the forms of this letter are a useful criterion in classifying alphabets 3
mādsyāta, a word requiring explanation 71 and n.
Mādhava, the god Vishnu, as 'the descendant of Madhu' 206
Mādhava, *Rāja*, father of *Goparāja*; he married the daughter of a *Śarabha* king 93
Mādhavagupta (Gupta of Magadha), 206, 217; — mentioned in connection with Harshavardhana of Kanauj, 207; — his wife was *Śrīmatt* or *Śrīmattdevī* 208, 217
Madhunadī, a river in the *Bhōjakata* kingdom 244
Madhusūdana, the god Vishnu, as 'the destroyer of the demon Madhu' 77
Madhyadēsa, 'the middle country'; an apparent reference to it 286
Madra, the person who caused the *Kāśmīr* pillar to be set up 67
Mādraka, a tribe; conquered by *Samudragupta* 14
Maghārya, a grantee 243
Maghasārman, a grantee 243
Maghavan, the god *Indra*, as 'the distributor of gifts' 156
Mahā-Āśvayuja samvatsara; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 110, 117, 104, 115
Mahābalādhyakṛita, a military title 109 and n., 129, 134
Mahābalādhyaksha, a military title, of the officer who was the superior of the *Balādhyakshas* 179
Mahābhairava (see *Śvāmi-Mahābhairava*) 241, 248
Mahābhārata, the epic poem, mentioned under this name, the verses quoted from it being attributed to *Vyāsa*, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139; — a reference to a section of it, or to the whole poem, under the name of *Satasahasri-Samhitā* 139
Mahā-Chaitra samvatsara; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 114, 108
Mahādaitya, the imaginary name of the father of *Dēvī*, the imaginary wife of 'Samudragupta' 18, 19
Mahādandanāyaka, a military title (for a feminine form of the subordinate title *Dandanāyaka*, see 263 n.), 16 and n.,

17, 218; — used in connection with *Mahākṛitkritika*, *Mahāpratthāra*, *Mahārāja*, and *Mahāsāmanta*, 41, 15 n., 296 n.; — and in connection with 'Ku-māramūlya and *Sāmdhivigrahikā* 16
Mahādēva, a grantee 105
Mahādēva, the god *Śiva*, as 'the great god' '96, 104, 108, 111
Mahādēvī, a title of the wives of paramount sovereigns, 16 and n., 27, 28, 44, 51, 54, 55, 208, 212, 217, 221, 232, 257; — applied also to the wives of feudatory *Mahārājas* 16 n., 119, 123, 128, 131, 132, 138, 208
Mahādēvī, the name of the wife of *Rājyavardhana I.*, as read from the half-illegible *Sōnat* seal (but Dr. Bühler's reading of the grant discovered since then, shews that her name was *Apsarōdevī*) 232
Mahādēvidēva, a proper name 109
Mahādhirāja, a feudatory title 41
Mahā-Jayarāja, see *Jayarāja* 192, 194
Mahākāntara, a country in Southern India; in the time of *Samudragupta*, its king was *Vyāghrarāja* 13
Mahākṛitkritika, an official title; used in connection with *Mahādandanāyaka*, *Mahāpratthāra*, *Mahārāja*, and *Mahāsāmanta* 41, 15 n., 296 n.
Mahā-Kāśyapa, an ancient Buddhist saint 277 and n.
Mahākshapaṭalika, an official title 190 and n.
Mahākshatrapas; see *Kshatrapas* or *Mahākshatrapas* of *Saurāṣṭra* 36 n.
Mahākumārānditya, an official title 190 and n.
Mahā-Māgha samvatsara; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 119, 112
Mahānadī, a river 228 n.
Mahānāman I., a Buddhist teacher 277
Mahānāman II., a Buddhist teacher, 275, 278, 279; — his *Bōdh-Gayā* inscription of the (Gupta or perhaps *Kalachuri*) year 269 274; — his *Bōdh-Gayā* image inscription 278
Mahāpratthāra, an official title, 183, 190 and n., 218; — used in connection with *Mahādandanāyaka*, *Mahākṛitkritika*, *Mahārāja*, and *Mahāsāmanta*, 41, 15 n., 296 n.; — and in connection with *Sarvadandanāyaka* 183
Mahārāja, a feudatory title, 17, 41, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 189, 190, 15 and n., 16, 25, 28, 36 n., 47, 51, 54, 90, 97, 104, 109, 111, 112, 115, 119, 123, 128, 131, 132, 138, 160, 168, 169, 171, 221, 239, 235, 240, 241, 247, 248, 257, 267, 283, 290; — it denotes equal rank with *Mahāsāmanta*, and *Mahāsēndapati*, 15 n.; — used in connection with *Mahāsāmanta*, 289, 290; — in connection with *Mahāsēndapati*, 15 n., 252; — and, with *Mahāsāmanta*, in connection with *Mahādandanāyaka*, *Mahākṛitkritika*, and *Mahāpratthāra*, 41, 15 n., 296 n.; —

- Mahārājās* of Brāhmaṇ descent, and of the Maitrāyaṇya śākhā, 90, 160; — *Mahārājās* allotted to the Bharadvāja gōtra, 115; — and to the Vishṇu-vṛiddha gōtra 241, 248
- Mahārājādhi*, possibly a conventional abbreviation of *Mahārājādhirāja* . 25 and n.
- Mahārājādhirāja*, one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty, 17, 41, 180, 182, 189, 10 and n., 16, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 36 n., 38, 40, 41, 44, 51, 52, 54, 55, 71, 160, 183, 185, 186, 187, 189, 212, 217, 218, 221, 232, 240, 247, 257; — its close connection with *Paramabhātāraka* and *Paramēśvara* 10 n.
- Mahāśāmantā*, a feudatory title, 41, 177, 178, 179, 181, 189, 190, 148 n., 284, 289, 290; — it denotes equal rank with *Mahārāja* and *Mahāśēndapati*, 15 n.; — used in connection with *Mahāśānta*, 239, 290; — and, with *Mahārāja*, in connection with *Mahādāndānyaka*, *Mahākārtakritika*, and *Mahāpratihāra* 41, 15 n., 296 n.
- Mahāśāndhivigrahika*, an official or military title 16 n., 105 and n., 109, 129, 134
- Mahāsarvadaṇḍayaka*, a military title, of the officer next in rank above the *Sarvadaṇḍayakas* 178
- Mahāsiva*-*Tivara*rāja, a fuller name of *Tivara*dēva or *Tivara*rāja 293, 298
- Mahāsēna*, or Svāmi-Mahāsēna, a name of the god Kārttikēya, as 'the commander of a large army' 43, 44
- Mahāsēnagupta* (Gupta of Magadha), 206; — he conquered Susthitavarman, 15, 206; — *Mahāsēnagupta*, wife of Adityavardhana, was probably his sister 15
- Mahāsēnaguptā*, wife of Adityavardhana, 232 and n.; — she was probably the sister of *Mahāsēnagupta* of Magadha 15
- Mahāśēndapati*, a military title, 252; — it denotes equal rank with *Mahārāja* and *Mahāśāmantā*, 15 n.; — used in connection with *Mahārāja* 252
- Mahā*-*Sudēvarāja*, see *Sudēvarāja* 197, 199
- Mahattara*, an official title 169 and n., 170, 218
- Mahā*-*Vaiśākha samvatsara*; one of the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 104, 96, 97
- Mahāvihārasvāmin*, a title of religious office 272 and n.
- Mahāvamsa*, the Pāli history of Ceylon; the dates derived from its details require to be rectified in accordance with the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman (or may be adjusted by means of that record, if the date of it should be in the Kalachuri era) 16, 275
- Mahendra*, or *Mahēndragiri*, a mountain in the Eastern Ghauts, 7 n., 13 n.; — mention of a mountain *Mahendra* in Yaśodharman's pillar inscription at Mandasōr; it may be the mountain in the Eastern Ghauts, or another of the same name in the Western Ghauts 146 and n., 148
- Mahendra* of Kōsala, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta
- Mahendra* of Pishtapura, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 7 n., 13
- Mahendra*, or *Mahēndraditya*, a *biruda* or second name of Kumārāgupta 18
- Mahēndraguptā*, the imaginary name of a supposed son of Skandagupta . 18, 19, 56 n.
- Mahēndrapāla*, *Mahārāja*; the value of his Dighwā-Dubauli grant of the (Harsha) year 155, towards proving the epoch of the Harsha era 178 n.
- Mahēśvara*, the god Śiva, as 'the great lord' 167, 168, 169, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 217, 221, 240, 248, 290
- Mahēśvaranāga*, *Mahārāja*, 283; — his Lāhōr copper seal 282
- Mahēśvarārya*, a grantee 243
- Mahūdēva* (Lichchhavi of Nēpāl) 186, 189
- Mahilābālī*, or *Mahilābālī*, an ancient village in the Khēṭaka āhṛa 189
- mahimat*, *mahimat*, 'a king' 99 and n., 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139
- Mahishāsura*, a demon, defeated by the goddess Pārvatī in her form of Dēvī 227 and n.
- Mahiyar*, a town and State in Baghēlkhand; it is not to be identified with *Mahēndra* or *Mahēndragiri* 13 n.
- Maitraka*, a tribe, conquered by Bhātārka of Valabhi 13, 167, 180
- Maitrēya*, an ancient Buddhist saint 277 and n.
- Maja*, a proper name 33
- Majhagawān*, a village in the Nāgaudh State; the grant of Hastin of the (Gupta) year 191, . . 106; — its importance in helping to prove the *Pūrnimānta* arrangement of the fortnights in the Gupta year, 77, 107 n.; — examination of its date 114
- Mālava*, a country, the modern Mālwa; the Rulers of Mālwa 7, 76, 77, 86
- Mālava*, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta, 14; — references to an era dating from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, 66, 87, 158; — notice of certain ancient coins of the Mālavas 67
- Mālava* era, a convenient name for an era which sometimes is mentioned as dating from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, 66, 87, 158; — sometimes is spoken of as the era of the Mālava lords, 66 n.; — and sometimes is called the *Mālava-kāla* or *Mālava* era, 66 n.; — other dates which are to be referred to it, 73, 74, 253; — it is in reality the Vikrama era, under its original name 68
- Māliyā*, a village in the Junāgaḍh State; the grant of Dharasēna II. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 252 164

Mālwa, inscriptions from 72, 79, 142, 149, 150
 Mānadēva (Lichchavi of Nēpāl), 182, 186, 188, 189, 191; — notice of his inscription of the (Gupta) year 386, 182; — examination of the date, 95; — notice of another inscription of his time 182
 Mānagriha, the palace of the Thākuri rulers of Nēpāl 177, 178, 180, 181, 189, 190
 Mānapura, an ancient town, perhaps the modern Mānpur near the Sōn 136, 138
 Mandākinī, the river Ganges 184
 Mandār, a hill in the Bhāgalpur District; the rock inscriptions of Adityasēna 211
 Mandara, a mountain, used as the churning-stick when the ocean was churned by the gods and demons 206
 Mandasōr, a town in Scindia's Dominions; it is locally known as Dasōr, 79 n.; — mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Dasapura, 79 n., 84, 86; — the inscription of the Mālava year 529, which gives the date of the Mālava year 493 for Kumāragupta and Bandhuvārman, 79; — the value of this record in proving that the Gupta era runs from an epoch in or very close to A.D. 319-20, 65; — the pillar inscriptions of Yaśōdharman, 142, 149; — the inscription of Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, of the (Mālava) year 589 150
 Māndhātṛi, an epic king 147, 149
 Maṅgalīśa (Early Chalukya); the value of his Bādāmi cave inscription, of Saka-Samvat 500 expired, in proving that the historical starting-point of the Saka era is the commencement of the reign of some particular king or kings of the Saka tribe 142, 143
 Maṇināga pēṭha, an ancient division, partly in the territory of the Parivrajaka Mahārājās, 116; — and partly in that of the Mahārājās of Uchchakalpa 138
 Mankuār, a village in the Allahābād District; the image inscription of Kumāragupta, of the (Gupta) year 129 45
 Manōratha, Mahāsāmudhivijrahika, the writer of the grants of Sarvanātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) years 193 and 197 129, 134, 139
 Maṇṭarāja of Kēraḷa, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
 Manu, the traditional author or compiler of a code of law, 147, 168, 182; — instance of a certain verse being allotted to him, which is usually quoted as being written by Vyāsa in the Mahābhārata 99 n.
 Mārgasīrsha, one of the Hindu lunar months; a rare instance of its being intercalary 93
 mātaraḥ, the divine Mothers 48 and n., 51, 78
 maṭha, a religious college 208

Mathurā, the chief town of the District of the same name; the inscription of Chandragupta II., 25; — the image inscription of the (Gupta) year 133, 262; — the image inscription of the (Gupta) year 230 273
 Matila, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
 Mātrārya, a grantee 243
 mātṛās, the horizontal top strokes of letters; early instances of their development 43, 140
 Mātrichēṭa, the builder of an ancient temple of the Sun at Gwālīor 163
 Mātridāsa, a proper name, 38; — another person of the same name 163
 Mātrīśarman, a grantee, 105; — another of the same name 243
 Mātrīśarmārya, a grantee, 243; — another of the same name 243
 Mātrīśiva, Uparika, the additional Dūtaka of the grant of Sarvanātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 197 134
 Mātrīṭula, a proper name 163
 Mātrivishṇu, Mahārāja, 90, 160; — in conjunction with his younger brother, Dhanyavishṇu, he caused the Era pillar, with the inscription of Budhagupta of the (Gupta) year 165, to be set up, 90; — the temple of Vishṇu, in front of which is the boar with the inscription of Tōramāṇa, was finished by Dhanyavishṇu, for him, after his death 161
 Maukhari, a tribe, clan, or dynasty (see also Mukhara), 14, 15, 206, 221, 223; — the Maukharis were defeated by Damodaragupta, 206; — they had previously defeated the Hūṇas, 206; — an instance of the great antiquity of this tribe, 14; — intermarriage of the Maukharis with the Guptas of Magadha, 14, 187; — and with the Thākuri rulers of Nēpāl 187
 Mayūtrākshaka, a minister of Viśhvārman 78
 Mētharauli, or Mēmharauli, a village in the Dehli District; its name is a corruption of Mihirapurī, 12, 139 and n.; — the posthumous pillar inscription of Chandra 139
 Mēru (see also Sumēru), a mountain which is supposed to form the central point of the Hindu world 77, 163
 Mēsha-Samkrānti (see also abdapa), 'the entrance of the Sun into the sign Aries;' this is the starting-point of the year adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre for his processes, 145 n.; — and it is the commencement of the Saka year, taken as a solar year for astronomical calculation, 101 n.; — the figures for the abdapa, obtained by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, are for the apparent, not mean, Mēsha-Samkrānti, 145, 147; — so also those for

- the *tithi-suddhi*, 148; — and those for the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra* . . . 149
- metres used, in this series of records: — in original passages: —
- Āryā 59, 61, 81, 82, 83, 89, 154, 159, 162, 202, 203, 276, 285, 294
- Drutavilambita 82
- Gīti 49
- Harinī 82
- Indravajrā 49, 59, 60, 61, 71, 82, 83, 92, 153, 258, 259
- Mālinī 53, 61, 82, 152, 153, 154, 162, 229, 250
- Mandākrāntā 6, 76, 83, 154, 225
- Pushpitāgrā 53, 152
- Ruphirā 259
- Śālinī 154
- Śārdūlavikrāntā 6, 44, 54, 70, 75, 76, 81, 141, 153, 163, 202, 203, 204, 223, 224, 227, 229, 230, 263, 276.
- Sikharinī 152, 154
- Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh) . 35, 54, 83, 84, 92, 147, 150, 153, 193, 197, 203, 204, 205, 236, 245, 276, 281, 285, 286, 294
- Sragdharā 6, 44, 67, 146, 149, 153, 154, 202, 203, 204, 222, 225, 230, 276
- Svāgatā 229
- Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā . 59, 60, 81, 83, 152, 153
- Upēndravajrā 49, 81, 82, 259
- Vaitāliya-Aupachchhandasika 59
- Vamsastha 49, 60, 61, 82, 259
- Vasantatilaka 20, 61, 74, 76, 81, 82, 83, 153, 178, 203, 204, 285
- in standard benedictive and imprecatory verses: —
- Indravajrā 194, 198, 296
- Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh) 96, 104, 108, 115, 119, 122, 127, 133, 137, 167, 179, 180, 194, 198, 238, 247, 289, 296
- Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā . 115, 180
- Vasantatilaka 194, 198, 295
- Mihira, a tribe or clan, among the Hūṇas, to which Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula belonged, and identical with the Maiktrakas, 12; — the name is probably preserved in the name of Mēharaulī . 12, 139 n.
- Mihirakula, of the Mihira tribe or clan among the Hūṇas, king of Śākala in the Pañjāb, and the final overthrower of the Early Gupta power, 10, 11, 12, 148, 150, 163; — he overthrew Paśupati, 163; — he was subdued by Yaśōdharman, 148, 150; — his Gwālior inscription 161
- Mihiralakshmi, wife of Ravishēṇa . 290, 291 n.
- Mihirapurī, evidently the original form of the name of Mēharaulī 12, 139 n.
- Mihirēśvara, a form of the god Śiva, combined with the Sun 288, 290
- Mitrasvāmin, a grantee 120
- Mlēchchha, a tribe, conquered by Skandagupta 62
- Mōkhali, an early Pālī form of Maukhari . 14.
- Mōkshaśarman, a grantee 243
- months, lunar, names of the, as used in this series of records, in the other Gupta-Valabhi dates quoted for calculation, and in the Nēpāl inscriptions: —
- Āshāḍha (June-July) 81, 85, 25, 90, 120
- Āsvayuj (September-October) 183, 262
- Āsvayuja (September-October) 134
- Bhādrapada (August-September) 181, 34
- Chaitra (March-April) . 110, 117, 104, 115, 116, 124, 129, 278
- Jyāishṭha (May-June) 178, 183
- Jyēṣṭha (May-June) . 95, 180, 182, 47, 67, 191, 243, 298
- Kārttika (October-November) 104, 119, 183, 184, 77, 97, 112, 163, 259, 299
- Māgha (January-February) 114, 108, 109, 200, 268
- Mārga (November-December) 210
- Mārgaśīra (November-December) 93, 195
- Pausha (December-January) 179, 183, 139
- Phālguna (February-March) 91, 97, 182, 71, 160, 248, 254
- Praushthapada (August-September) 64
- Pushya (December-January) 263
- Sahasya (December-January) 87
- Śrāvaṇa (July-August) 184, 93
- Tapasya (February-March) 87
- Vaiśākha (April-May) . 180, 183, 171, 257, 291
- moon; mention of Rōhinī as a wife of the Moon, 286; — the moon as an emblem on seals 282
- Mōrbi, a village in Kāthiawād; the grant of Jāinka, of the (Gupta) year 585 expired; remarks on the reading and interpretation of the date, 21, 97, 58 n.; — examination of the date 97
- Mothers, the divine (see *mātaraḥ*) 48 and n., 51, 78
- muhūrta*, the thirtieth part of a mean day and night, a period of forty-eight minutes, 163; — the only *muhūrta* mentioned by name in dates in the Gupta era, is Abhijit, in one of the Nēpāl inscriptions 95, 182
- Muhūrta-Tattva*, an astrological work; its date is about A.D. 1498-99, 175; — a quotation from it in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 170
- Mukhara, a variant of Maukhari 230
- Mūlaśarman, a grantee 243
- mūlya*, 'an endowment,' equivalent to *akshaya-dāni*, 'a perpetual endowment' 33 and n., 71
- Muradvish, the god Vishṇu, as 'the enemy of the demon Mura' 286
- Muruṇḍa, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta 14
- Muruṇḍadēvi, Muruṇḍasvāmini, wife of Jayanātha of Uchchakalpa 128, 132, 138

Nachnê-kt-māī, a village in the Jasô State; the inscriptions of Prithivishêṇa 211

Nāga race or tribe; a possible allusion to a defeat of the Nāgas by Skandagupta, 62 and n.; — and by Tivaradêva, 298 and n.; — the *Mahārāja* Mahēśvara-nāga must have been of this race, 283; — other chiefs of this race are probably to be found in Ganapatināga, Nāgādatta, and Nāgasêṇa, who were conquered by Samudragupta; . . . 12, 13

Nāgabhaṭṭa, a proper name 283

Nāgadatta, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13

Nāgadêya *santaka*, an ancient division in the territories of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa, 120; — it is not to be identified with the modern Nāgaudh . . . 94 n.

Nagara *bhukti*, an ancient territorial division in Bihār 218

Nāgarjuni Hill, in the Gayā District; mentioned as a part of the Vindhya range, 227, 228; — the cave inscriptions of Anantavarman 223, 226

Nāgasari, an ancient village or tank in Baghêlkhand 105

Nāgasarman, a grantee, 105; — another of the same name, 243; — and a third of the same name 243

Nāgasêṇa, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 12, 13

Nāgasin̄ha, *Mahābālādūdhikr̄ita*, the *Dātaka* of the grant of Hastin of the (Gupta) year 191 109

Nāgaudh or Nāgaundh, the name of a State in Baghêlkhand; it is possibly derived from *nāgavadha* or *nāgabandha*, but is certainly not to be identified with Nāgadêya, 94 n.; — inscriptions from this State . . . 93, 100, 106, 110, 112, 121, 125, 129, 132, 135

Nāgavatsasvāmin, a grantee 199

Nāgpur Provincial Museum, inscriptions from the 191, 196

Naigama, 'an interpreter of Vêdic quotations and words' 156

'nail-headed' characters . . . 19 and n., 106

nakshatra, 'a lunar mansion,' 163; — the grouping of the *nakshatras* for naming the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, according to the heliacal-rising system, 162, 163; — a variation by Garga and Parāśara, as quoted by Utpala, from the usually accepted grouping, 163 n.; — the longitudes of the ending-points of the *nakshatras*, according to the equal-space system, by which each *nakshatra* represents the exact twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic circle; according to the Garga system of unequal spaces, governed by

the same primary division; and according to the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, governed by the moon's daily mean motion, and, introducing the additional *nakshatra* Abhijit, 165; — the proof that we must apply one or other of the unequal-space systems in dealing with the records of the Early Gupta period, 166; — and that one or other of them was in use, or both of them were, up to A.D. 862. . . 107 n.; — Dhanishthā was the first *nakshatra* for the Five-Year Cycle of the Vêddānga-Jyautisha; and it seems to have been taken by Varāhamihira as the first *nakshatra* for the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter according to the mean-sign system, 173 n.; — the only *nakshatra* mentioned by name in dates in the Gupta era, is Rôhinī, in one of the Nêpāl inscriptions 95, 182

Nālanda, or Nālandā, an ancient Buddhist site in Bihār; an apparent mention of it 210

namas, 'reverence,' an invocation connected with the names of gods, &c., at the commencement of inscriptions; it usually governs a dative case, 96, 104, 108, 115, 259; — but there are instances in which it is used with the genitive 46 n., 47

names, proper, the abbreviation of, 8 n.; — the only available instance of variation in the first and distinctive part of a king's name, 183; — special terminations of proper names in this series of records; and in the Nêpāl inscriptions, as far as the contents of them are quoted: —

āditya; with Bāla, Dharma, Krama, Mahēndra, Prakāṣa, Śīla, Vikrama.

āditya; with Dêva.

anka; with Vikrama.

arka; with Bhāṣa, Udyôta.

ārya; with Bappa, Bhôjakadêva, Dêva, Dêvasarman, Dharma, Gaṇa, Hariśarman, Īśvarasarman, Jyêsthāsarman, Kāṇḍa, Kumārasarman, Magha, Mahēśvara Mātri, Mātrisarman, Nandana, Rêvatisarman, Rôha, Rudra, Rudrasarman, Śarman, Skanda, Sôma, Sômasarman, Svāmīdêva, Svātisarman, Varasarman.

āryā; with Bhadra.

bala; with Gôśûrasin̄ha, Hari, Indra, Vishṇu.

bhata; with Dêra, Dhru, Dhruva, Hari, Pulinda, Skanda, Vishṇu.

bhaṭṭa; with Nāga.

bhaṭṭā; with Jaya.

bhaṭṭaka; with Tīla.

bhaṭṭi; with Vatsa.

bhūti; with Dhruva, Rudra.

bôṭa (see 31 n.); with Ranka.

chandra; with Rāma, Suraśmī.

chôfa; with Mâtri.
dôsa (see 11 n.); with Ajagara, Bhu-jariga, Dharmā, Śvara, Mâtri, Śiva, • Varāha, Vishṇu.
datta; with Abhaya, Bhaga, Bhāskara, Bhava, Dhruva, Divākara, Gauri, Hara, Nāga, Nara, Paṇa, Phalgu, Ravi, Śarva, Shashthi, Sūrya, Svāmin, Vasu, Vibhu.
dēva; with Ādityasēna, Bālāditya, Bābpa, Bhōjaka, Dēvagupta, Dharmā, Dhruva, Harsha, Jaya, Jivitagupta, Kaudrava, Kumāra, Mahādēvi, Mahi, Māna, Nanna, Narēndra, Ōgha, Rudra, Rukhara, Samkara, Śasānka, Śhāditya, Śiva, Skanda, Svāmin, Tivara, Udaya, Vasanta, Vijaya, Vishṇu, Vṛisha, Vyāghra.
dōf; with Ajjhita, Bhāgya, Bhōga, Datta, Dhruva, Ijjā, Kamala, Kōṇa, Kumāra, Muruṇḍa, Rāma, Śrīmatī, Vatsa.
dharman (see 145 n.); with Yaśas.
dinna (see 124 n.); with Varāha, Viki.
dōsha; with Bhagavat, Dharmā.
gōmika; with Chhōḍu.
gōmin; with Chhōḍu.
gōpa; with Vishṇu.
graha; with Bha or Bhā, Khara.
gupta (see 8 n., 11 n.); with Ananta, Bhānu, Budha, Chandra, Dāmōdara, Dēva, Dharmā, Hari, Harsha, Jishṇu, Jivita, Kṛishṇa, Kumāra, Mādha, Mahāsēna, Ravi, Samudra, Śiva, Skanda, Vishṇu.
guptā; with Ananta, Bhānu, Harsha, Mahāsēna, Prabhāvatī, Upa.
ila; in Matila, Rājyila, Saṅghila, Sōmila.
jaya; with Dhanam.
kāma; with Parachakra.
kārdava; with Amra or Āmra.
kīrtti; with Guṇja, Ravi.
kula; with Mihira.
kumbha; with Dōsha.
lakshmi; with Mihira.
mitra; with Akhaṇḍala, Buddha, Dēva, Durdhara, Hamsa, Pushya, Rishi, Sōrya.
ndga; with Bhava, Dēva, Gaṇapati, Kumāra, Mahāsvara, Śakti, Sarva, Skanda, Svāmin.
ndman; with Mahā (Mahat).
nandin; with Vishṇu.
ndtha; with Jaya, Śarva.
paksha; with Sāla.
pāla; with Sisu.
pālita; with Chakra.
pāti; with Paśu.
paṭṭa; with Dhara.
prakhśa; with Kuśala.
putra; with Daiva, Gautami or Gautamī, Sandhyā.

rāja; with Dēva, Gōpa, Jaya, Kōṇa, Maṇṭa, Nīla, Śatrughna, Sudēva, Tivara, Vyāghra.
rāta; with Amra or Āmra, Vyāghra, Yaśas.
sarman (see 11 n.); with Bhartri, Dēva, Dhruva, Gō, Gōṇḍa, Guha, Hari, Śvara, Jyēsthā, Kumāra, • Mūgha, Mâtri, Mōksha, Mūla, Nāga, Rēvati, Rudra, Śānti, Sōma, Su, Svāti, Vara, Varuṇa.
sēna; with Āditya, Ananta, Damshtara, Dhara, Dhruva, Guha, Hari, Kumāra, Nāga, Pravara, Pṛithivi, Ravi, Rudra, Sainjaya, Samudra, Siddha, Skambha, Sūra or Sūra, Ugra, Upa, • Varuṇa, Vasanta, Vikrama, Vira.
siddha; with Sana.
simha; with Drōṇa.
siṅgha; with Achala, Drōṇa.
sinha; with Bhrukunṭha, Nāga.
śiva; with Bhāra, Mâtri, Sūkshma
sōma; with Bhaṭṭi, Rudra.
svāmika; with Dhriti.
svāmin; with Agni, Ananta, Bappa, Bhava, Brahmadēva, Dēva, Divākara, Gōmika, Gōpa, Gōri, Gōvinda, Guhila, Jaya, Kumāra, Mitra, Nāgavatsa, Sarva, Savitri, Svāti, Vindu.
svāminī; with Hari, Jaya, Muruṇḍa, Śikhara.
trāta; with Hari, Sōma, Vishṇu, Yaśas.
tula; with Mâtri.
vādha; with Sarva.
vardhana; with Āditya, Harsha, Prabhākara, Rājya, Vishṇu, Yaśas.
varman (see 11 n.); with Achala, Āditya, Amśu, Ananta, Avanti, Bala, Bandhu, Bhīma, Bhōga, Bōdhi, Chandra, Chitra, Hari, Hastin, Isāna, Śvara, Jaya, Nara, Sārdūla, Sarva, Susthita, Vibhu, Visva, Yajña.
vatsa; with Bandhu, Nāga.
vishṇu; with Dēva, Dhanya, Hari, Indra, Mâtri, Varuṇa.
vriddha; with Vishṇu.

Nandanārya, a grantee 243
 Nandi, or Nandin, the bull, the vehicle of the god Śiva; a reference to him as an emblem on Śiva's banner 147
 Nandin, a king in Northern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
 Nannadēva, of the Pāṇḍuvarṇas, 293, 298; — his adopted son was Tivara-dēva, 293 and n., 298 and n.; — his son by birth was Chandragupta 293 n.
naptri, and *pranaptri*, as contrasted with *pautra* and *prapautra*, may fairly be rendered by 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' 97 p.
 Nara, a class of mythical beings, allied to the Gandharvas and Kinnaras 84
 Nārada, an ancient sage, the inventor of the lute 14

Nārada-Saṃhitā, an ancient astrological work, quoted in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter 170

Naradatta, *Bhōgika* and *Amātya* . 100, 105, 109

narādhipati, 'a chief ruler of men,' contrasted with *janēndra*, 'a lord of a people or tribe' 151 and n.

Naravaṛman, a Māva feudatory of Chandragupta II. or of Kumāragupta . 76

Nārāyaṇa, a Kaṇva or Kaṇvāyana prince, mentioned in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*; there is no foundation for the supposition that he is mentioned, as the Tushāra king Vishṇu, in the Tuśām rock inscription 270

Nārāyaṇa, the god Vishṇu, as 'he whose path or station is the waters' 161

Narēndradēva (Thākuri of Nēpāl) 186, 187, 189, 191

Narmadā, a river, the modern 'Nerbudda' (see also Rēvā) 90

Nashṭī, an ancient town or village in the Sukuli *dēśa* 32

Nātha, *Sāṃdhivigrahaika*, writer of the grant of Sarvaṇātha, of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 214 139

Nēpāla, a country, the modern Nēpāl; Samudragupta either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it, 14 and n.; — the chronology of the early rulers of the country, Appendix IV., 177 to 191; — their dates, 189; — the double government of the country, during this period, by the Lichchhavis of Mānagriha and the Thākuri of Kailāsakūtabhavana, 188, 189; — later instances of the same system of double government, 188 n.; — the earliest eras in this country were the Gupta era, used by the Lichchhavi rulers, 95, 96, 184, 188; — and the Harsha era, used by the Thākuri rulers, 95, 96, 184, 189; — the tradition of the *Vamsāvali*, that Vikramāditya came to Nēpāl and established his era there, refers really to the introduction of the Harsha era, 184, 185; — but, under the name of the Nēwār era, an offshoot of the Vikrama era, according to its southern reckoning, was introduced in A.D. 880, . . . 74, 184; — and, in more modern times, the Vikrama era itself, from Northern India 76

Nēwār era; an era used during a certain period in Nēpāl; its years being taken as current years, it commenced in A.D. 880, with the epoch of A.D. 879-80, . . . 74, 75; — the peculiarity of it, is, that it is an offshoot of the southern Vikrama era, with Kārttika śukla 1 as the initial day of each year, and with the *Amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, 74, 75, 76; — the epigraphical names for the era, 74 n.; — examination of certain dates recorded in it

Newton, Mr.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters 43

nichōchcha-māsa (see also *kēndra*), 'the anomalistic month,' the period in which the moon comes from perigee or apogee to the same point again; its duration is 27 days, 33 *ghaṭīs*, 16.56. *palas*, or 27 *tithis*, 59 *ghaṭīs*, 33.36 *palas*, which figures, and not the practical equivalent of 28 *tithis*, are taken as the governing quantities for Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Table for the *tithi-kēndra* 149 and n.

nickname (*paribhūta-nāman*), an instance of a 290

Nihilapati, an official title, requiring explanation 291

Nīlarāja of Avamukta, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta . 13

Nimāḍ District, an inscription from the . 219

nirayaṇa, 'destitute of precession of the equinoxes' 146

Nirmaṇḍ, a village in the Kāṅgra District; mentioned as the ancient Nirmaṇḍa *agrāhāra*, 290; — the grant of the *Ma-hāsāmānta* and *Mahārāja* Samudrasēna 286

nirvāṇa, 'annihilation of human passion,' a stage in the Buddhist practices, anterior to *parinirvāṇa* or complete annihilation of personal existence by absorption into the all-pervading spirit . 264, 277

North-West Provinces, inscriptions from the 1, 25, 36, 39, 40, 42, 45, 52, 65, 68, 228, 249, 262, 264, 266, 267, 271, 272, 273, 281, 284

numerical symbols (see also dates); the dates up to which they continued to be used, 209 n.; — instances of the use of them in combination with decimal figures, 292 n.; — a possible instance of the vocalisation of numerical symbols, 73 n.; — forms of numerical symbols illustrated in this series of Plates, —

one	34, 91, 107, 261, 264, 287
two	19, 22, 34, 165, 264, 266
three	4, 19, 30, 34, 48, 107
four	4, 19, 30, 34, 117
five	19, 34, 48, 89, 165, 172, 192, 261, 263
six	19, 209, 287
seven	19, 91,
112 (see 274 n.),	172, 209, 266, 274, 292
eight	4, 37, 41, 46, 236, 253
nine	46, 110, 197, 255, 266, 274
ten	37, 46, 110, 117, 165, 197, 236, 255, 287
twenty	46, 112, 192, 253, 263
thirty	48, 261, 263, 266, 274
forty . . . . .	. . . . . 172
fifty . . . . .	. . . . . 165
sixty	89, 209, 274
seventy . . . . .	. . . . . 117
eighty . . . . .	. . . . . 22, 37

ninety 30, 41, 91, 107
 one hundred 46, 89,
 91, 107, 117, 261, 263, 266
 two hundred 165, 273, 274
 four hundred 172, 253
 eight thousand 236
 numerical words; the earliest epigraphical
 and other instances of the use of
 them, 78 n.;—an instance of the use of
 them in a date in the Nêwâr era . . . 75 n.

ocean; an invocation of the ocean, with
 a reference to the legend of the sons
 of Sagara, 155;—the western ocean,
 148, 157;—the southern ocean, 141;—
 the oceans enumerated as four in number,
 27, 44, 51, 54, 86, 90, 160, 221, 257,
 290;—the verge of the four oceans is
 the marriage-string of the earth, 86;—
 their waters are the couch of the god
 Vishnu, 90;—rivers spoken of as the
 wives of the ocean, 64;—reference to
 the submarine fire 297, 298

Ôghadêva, *Mahârāja* (of Uchchakalpa),
 119, 123, 128, 131, 138;—his wife was
 Kumâradevî 119, 123, 128, 131, 138

Oldenberg, Dr. H.; views expressed by
 him on the Gupta era and connected
 matters 56

ôm, an invocation used at the commence-
 ment of inscriptions, books, &c., and
 represented throughout this series of
 records by a symbol, not by actual
 letters, 46 n., 47 and n., 93, 115, 119,
 128, 131, 138, 160, 163, 167, 180, 199,
 205, 212, 223, 225, 227, 257, 277, 279,
 282, 296;—it is not of very frequent
 use in Buddhist inscriptions; but there
 are instances 46 n., 47, 277, 279, 282

Ôpâni, an ancient village in the Mapi-
 nâga *pôtha* 116

pâdachârin, 'moving on feet; personi-
 fied' 169 and n., 181

pâddanudhyâtâ, 'meditating on the feet';
 a technical expression for the relations
 of a feudatory to his paramount sover-
 eign, 17 and n., 25;—of a subordinate
 to a feudatory *Mahârāja*, 235;—of a
 son to his father, 17 n., 51, 119, 123,
 128, 131, 132, 138, 181, 182, 186, 188,
 189, 217, 221, 232, 290;—of a son to
 both his parents, 17 n., 195, 199, 298;—
 of a nephew to his 'uncle', 185;—of a
 grandson to his grandfather, 187 n.,—
 and of a younger to his elder brother,
 17 n., 181, 182, 232;—it is used also

in respect of the worship of gods, 17 n.,
 111;—an instance in which *pâda* is
 omitted 17 n.

pâdapadmôpajivin, 'subsisting (like a
 bee) on the water-lilies that are the
 feet'; a technical expression, of very
 common occurrence in southern inscrip-
 tions, but of rather rare use in northern
 records, for the relations of a feudatory
 to his paramount sovereign 98 n.

pâdapiṇḍôpajivin, 'subsisting on the
 cakes that are the feet,' a technical
 expression to denote the relation of
 officials to a feudatory *Mahârāja*,
 rendered by 'feudatory' . . . 98 and n.,
 195, 109, 116

pâdâvarta, a particular land-measure 170 and n.

Padmâ, the name of a community of
Chaturvêdins 71

Padmâvatî, a proper name 260

padraka, 'common-land,' in Bhumbhusa-
padraka and Sîvakapadraka, 170 and n.;
 —used as the termination of the name
 of a village, in Pimpripadraka . . . 298

Pahlâdpur, a village in the Ghazipur
 District; the pillar inscription of Sîsu-
 pâla (?) 249

pala, a particular weight 71 and n.

pala, 'the sixtieth division of a *ghatî*,'
 equal to twenty-four English seconds . . 147

Palakka, or Pâlakka, a town or country
 in Southern India; in the time of Samu-
 dragupta, its king was Ugrasêna . . . 13

Palâsinî, a river flowing from the moun-
 tain Ūrjayat 64

pâlî, 'a bridge' 124 and n., 125

palimpsest grant, an instance of a . . . 126

Pallava, a tribe; a possible early record
 of them in Northern India 250

Pamvâ, an ancient village in the Pûrva-
 râshtra or Eastern Country 195

pañcha ānantaryāṇi, 'the five sins that
 entail immediate retribution' . . . 34 and n.

pañcha mahâpâtakāni, 'the five great
 sins' . . . 38 and n., 39, 40, 72, 120,
 124, 129, 134, 138, 171, 265, 269, 297

pañcha-mahâśabda, the sounds of five
 musical instruments, the use of which
 was allowed to persons of high rank
 and authority (see also *samadhigata-
 pañchamahâśabda*) 296 and n.

pañcha-mahâyajñaika, the rites of the
pañcha-mahâyajña or five great sacri-
 fices; enumerated as *bali*, *charu*, *vaiś-
 vadeva*, *agnihôtra*, and *atithi*, 170,
 190;—mention of the *bali*, *charu*,
 and *sattra*, i.e. *atithi*, without the
 others . . . 116 and n., 124, 129, 132, 290

pañcha-mandali, 'an assembly of five
 persons,' equivalent to the modern
Pañchâtî, *Pañchâyat*, or *Pañch*, 'a
 village-jury' 32 and n.

- Pāñchaka*, 'a committee' (see also *pañcha-mandalī*) 183
- Pāñchāṅga*, 'a Hindu almanac' in the Dekkan, and in some other parts, all *Pāñchāṅga* are now prepared from the *Graha-Lāghava* and the *Tithi-Chintā-maṇi* of Gaṇeśa Daivajña 146 n.
- Pāṇḍuvamśa*, 'the lineage of Pāṇḍu'; *Indrabala*, *Nannadēva* and *Tivṛadēva*, belonged to this lineage 298
- Pāṇini*, the grammarian; mentioned under the name of *Sāṁturiya* 183
- Pañjāb*, inscriptions from the 139, 269, 282, 286
- Parachakrakāma*, a *biruṭa* or second name of Jayadēva II. of Nēpāl 184, 187
- parābhya*, a correction in time, to be applied to the mean *tithi* 149
- paramabhāgavata*, a Vaishṇava sectarian title 28 and n., 38, 40, 41, 44, 51, 52, 54, 55, 116, 168, 195, 199, 217, 257
- Paramabhaṭṭāraka*; one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty, 17, 41, 182, 10 n., 17 and n., 25, 71, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 212, 217, 232; — its close connection with *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, 10 n., — an instance in which it is applied to a priest 17 n.
- ✓ *Paramabhaṭṭārīkā*; a title of the wives of paramount sovereigns 17 n., 212, 217
- ✓ *Paramadēvī*, a title of the wives of *Mahā-sūmantas* and *Mahārājas* 290
- paramādityabhakta*, a sectarian title of solar worship 28 n., 168, 232
- paramamāhēśvara*, a Śaiva sectarian title, 28 n., 167, 168, 169, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 217, 221, 240, 248, 290
- paramasaugata*, a Buddhist sectarian title 28 n., 232
- paramavaishnava*, a Vaishṇava sectarian title 28 n., 298
- Paramēśvara*, one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty, 41, 10 n., 151, 156 n., 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 217, 218; — its close connection with *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* 10 n.
- Paramēśvara*, the god Śiva, as 'the supreme lord' 185 n.
- paramount sovereigns, titles of; i.e. of sovereigns supreme in their own dominions, but not necessarily reigning over the whole of India 10 n.
- Parāśara*, the father of Vyāsa 139
- Parāśara*, an ancient astronomer, quoted by *Kishiputra*, and through him, as well as directly, by *Utpala*, for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 170; — and for a variation from the usually accepted grouping of the *nakshatras* 163 n.
- paribhūta-nāman*, 'a nickname'; an instance 290
- parichchēda*, a territorial term 105 and n.
- Parivṛājaka Mahārājas*, 8, 95 n., 97, 104, 109, 111, 115; — they belonged to the *Bharadvāja gotra*, 115; — they were feudatories of later members of the Early Gupta dynasty; and the extreme importance of their records lies in their proving that the Gupta dominion continued to A.D. 328 8.
- Pāriyātra*, a mountain 157.
- Parṇadatta*, Skandagupta's governor for *Saurāshṭra* 62, 63, 65
- Pārśva*, a Jain *Tīrthamkara*; mention of an image of him, with a hooded snake and an attendant female 259 and n.
- Pārtha*, a metronymic of *Yudhishtira*, *Bhīmasēna*, and, in particular, *Arjuna* 86, 93
- Pārthiva*, a tribal name, perhaps denoting the *Pallavas* 250, 251
- Pārvaṭī* (see also *Bhavanī*, *Dēvī*, *Gaurī*, and *Kātyāyanī*), wife of the god Śiva; mentioned as the daughter of *Himālaya* 147
- Paśupati*, the god Śiva, as 'the lord of animals' 184, 16
- Paśupati*, a king, overthrown by *Mihirakula* 163
- Pāṭaliputra*, an ancient name of the modern *Paṭna* in *Bihār*, 36, 37, 39; — it is perhaps referred to, under the name of *Pushpapura*, in connection with *Samudragupta* and the *Kōtas* 5
- Pa-l'cha*, see *Tu-lu-po-pat'cha* 40
- pathaka*, a territorial term 173 and n., 189
- Paṭna*, the chief town of the *Paṭna District* in *Bihār*; mentioned under the ancient names of *Pāṭaliputra*, 36, 39; — and of *Pushpapura* 185, and perhaps, 5, 12
- Paṭna District*, an inscription from the 47
- paṭṭa*, apparently a territorial term 104 and n.
- Paulomī*, the goddess Śachi, the wife of *Indra*, as the daughter of *Pulōman* 225
- Pausa*, one of the Hindu lunar months; a rare instance of its being intercalary 179
- pautra* and *prapautra*, especially as contrasted with *napṭri* and *pranapṭri*, are properly to be rendered by 'son's son' and 'son of a son's son,' instead of vaguely by 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' 15 n., 97 n.
- Pavarajjavātaka*, an ancient village in the *Beṇṇākārpara bhāga* 234 n., 248
- Peṇṭhāma bhukti*, an ancient division in the territory of *Tivṛadēva* 298
- pēṭha*, a territorial term 116 and n., 138
- Phakka*, a nickname 290
- phala-samśkara*, 'the equation of the centre' 149
- Phalgudatta*, *Amṛtya* and *Bhōpika* 124 and n., 129, 134, 139
- phuṭṭa*, a *Prākṛit* word 121, 125, 130
- pillars, inscribed 1, 42, 47, 52, 65, 88, 91, 110, 139, 142, 149, 249, 252, 279
- Pimparipadraka*, an ancient village in the *Peṇṭhāma bhukti* 29

- Pinākin, the god Śiva, as 'having the bow called Pināka' 154
- Pishṭapura, a town in Southern India, the modern Piṭṭapuram, 7 n., 13, 113 n.; — in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Mahendra 13
- ishṭapuri, or Pishṭapurikādēvi, a form, at Mānapura, of the goddess Lakshmi 113 and n., 116, 132, 138
- Piṭṭapuram, a town in the Gōdāvarī District, mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Pishṭapura 7 n., 13, 113 n. posthumous inscriptions 1, 91, 139
- Prabhālīkā, wife of Varuṇasēna 290
- Prabhākaravardhana, a king of Kanauj, or more properly of Thāṇesar, 232; — his wife was Yaśomati, 232; — his father was the Mahārāja Adityavardhana, 232; — and not Pushyabhūti or Pushyabhūti, or Śīlāditya of Mālava 15
- Prabhāṣjana, Mahārāja (Parivrajaka) 97, 104, 109, 115
- Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Dēvagupta, and wife of Rudrasēna II. 15, 240, 247
- Prakāśāditya, a king of Kāśī, 286; — his Sarnāth inscription 284
- Prākṛit language, an epigraphical mention of the 157
- Prākṛit names and words:—
- ajjaka* 187 n.
- Ajjhita* 119 and n., 123, 128, 131, 138
- bappa* 186 n.
- bāva* 186 n.
- boppa* 188 n.
- Ijjā* 217 and n.
- phutṭa* 121, 125, 130
- santaka* 118 n., 241 and n., 248
- uchchhanna* 255
- prandī*, 'a conduit' 180
- Prāṇjuna, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta 14
- prasasti*, 'an eulogy,' a technical term for an inscription on stone, 87 n., 201, 208, 286; — an exceptional instance in which this term is used to denote a copper-plate charter 87 n.
- Pratinartaka*, an official or family title, perhaps meaning 'a herald' 190 and n.
- pratīhī*, 'a gateway with a flight of steps' 43 and n., 45
- pratyaya*, *pratyāya*, 'a holding' 170 and n.
- Pravaragiri, the ancient Sanskrit name of the Barābar Hill 222, 223
- Pravarapura, the city from which Pravara-sēna II. issued his Chammak grant 240
- Pravarasēna I., Mahārāja (Vākātaka) 241, 248
- Pravarasēna II., Mahārāja (Vākātaka), 240, 247; — his Chammak grant, 235; — his Siwan grant 243
- Prayāga, an ancient name of Allāhābād 206
- Prinsep, Mr. James; his rendering of the date in the Kāhūm pillar inscription of Skandagupta, from which originated the idea of an era dating from the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty 35
- Prithivishēna, Mahārāja (Vākātaka), 235, 240, 248; — his Nachnē-kī-talāṭ inscriptions 233
- prithiyām* = *a-pratiratha* (compare *svayam* = *a-pratiratha*, applied to Chandragupta II.), an epithet of Samudragupta, 14, 27, 44, 51, 54, 257; — used partially on his coins, 14 n.; — applied also to Vijayarāja (Chalukya of Gujaraṭ) 14 n.
- Prithu, an epic king 20
- Prīti, 'affection,' one of the wives of the god Kāmādēva 85
- prose, inscriptions which are entirely in 21, 25, 29, 36, 39, 40, 45, 110, 208, 211, 213, 219, 231, 251, 252, 254, 260, 264, 266, 267, 269, 271, 272, 273, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282
- Pulikēsin II. (Western Chalukya); examination of the date of his Haidarābād grant of the Śaka year 534 expired, which proves that, up to A.D. 612, the *Pūrnimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights was used with the Śaka years, even in Southern India 79 n.
- Pulindabhaṭa, a grantee 138
- puṇḍarīka*, a particular sacrifice 254
- puraka*, 'a city'; this word is not justified by the only instance that is quoted for it 69 n.
- pūra*, as a termination of names of villages, in Brahmapūra, Kollapūra, and Vaṭapūra 248
- Purandara, the god Indra, as 'the destroyer of cities' 286
- Pūrnimānta*, the technical name for the scheme of the lunar months in Northern India, according to which arrangement the months end with the full-moon day, and the dark fortnights precede the bright, 70; — in astronomical works, however, it is always the *Amānta* arrangement that is actually taken for calculations, 148 n.; — even in Southern India, the *Pūrnimānta* arrangement was used with the Śaka years, for the civil reckoning, up to between A.D. 804 and 866, 79 n.; — on the other hand, even in Northern India, it was not used with the Nēwār era in Nēpal, 75; — but it was adopted there, when the Nēwār era was followed by the Vikrama era in its northern variety 76
- Pūrvārāshtra, the Eastern Country, subject to Jayarāja and Sudēvarāja 192 and n., 195, 199
- Pushyabhūti, or Pushyabhūti, a king mentioned by Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita*, in connection with the family of Harshavardhana of Kanauj; he has been wrongly assumed to be the father of Prabhākaravardhana 75

- Pushpapura, an ancient name of the modern Patna in Bihār, 185; — a town of this name is referred to in connection with Samudragupta and the Kōtas; but it may be Kanauj that is intended . . . 5, 12
- Pushyabhūti; see Pushpabhūti . . . 15
- Pushyamitra, a tribe, conquered by Skandagupta, 55; — the correct form of the name seems to be Pushyamitra, not Pushpamitra . . . 55 n.
- queen, widowed, selection of a successor to her husband by a . . . 12 n.
- rachita*, 'composed'; a technical term in connection with the composition of a record, as opposed to the writing and engraving of it . . . 87, 99 n.
- Rāghava, 'a descendant of Raghu'; a name in particular of Rāmachandra, but also applied to Aja, Daśaratha, and Lakshmana . . . 20
- Rāhula, a Buddhist teacher . . . 277
- Rajvataka, a hill near the mountain Ūrjayat . . . 64, 229, 230
- Rājādhirāja, a title of paramount sovereignty, properly obsolete in the Gupta period, but used in some metrical passages, both alone and in *Rājardjādhirāja* . . . 35 and n., 62, 151, 156 and n.
- rājakula*, 'of the royal household; a member of the king's household' 33 and n., 190
- ✓*Rājāmātya*, an official title . . . 218
- Rāja*, or more properly *Rājan*, a feudatory title . . . 189, 192, 197, 293
- Rājaputra*, an official title . 180, 182, 184, 218 and n.
- Rājasthānīya*, an official title . . . 157 and n., 170, 218
- Rājataranginī*, a historical poem, of which the principal part was written by Kalhana; Kalhana's statement regarding the equation between the Lōkakāla and the Saka era, 26 n.; — the early history of Kāśmīr, as deduced from this book, is to be adjusted by the now settled date of Mihirakula . . . 56
- Rajendralala Mitra, Dr.; views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters . . . 50
- Rājim, a town in the Rāypur District; the grant of Tivaradēva . . . 291
- ✓*Rājñī*, 'queen,' a title of the wives of paramount sovereigns . . . 212 and n., 217
- Rājputāna, inscriptions from . . . 251, 252
- Rājyamati, daughter of Harsha of Gauḍa, and wife of Jayadēva II. of Nēpāl . . . 287
- Rājyavardhana I., *Mahārāja*, an ancestor of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, 232; — the name of his wife, as read from the half-illegible Sōnpat seal, is given as Mahādēvi (but Dr. Bühler's reading of the grant discovered since then, shews that her name was Aparādēvi) . . . 232
- Rājyavardhana II., king of Kanauj, or more properly of Thāṇḍesar . . . 232
- Rājyavati, wife of Dharmadēva of Nēpāl . 182
- Rājyila, *Amātya* and *Bhōgika* . . . 120
- Rāma, an epic hero, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu . . . 77
- Rāmachandra, a proper name . . . 286
- Rāmadēvi, wife of Jayasvāmin of Uchchakalpa . . . 119, 123, 128, 134, 138
- raṇa-stambha*, 'a column of victory in war'; the Mandasōr pillars, with the inscriptions of Yasōdharman, are actual instances . . . 145
- Raṅganātha, a commentator on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; the date of his commentary is A.D. 1603-1604, . . . 175; — his remarks on a verse in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* in connection with the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter . . . 171 n.
- Raṅkabōta, a grantee . . . 123
- Rati, 'the pleasure of love,' one of the wives of the god Kāmadēva . . . 85
- ratna-griha*, 'a jewel-house,' a term which apparently denotes the great *Stūpa* at Sāñchi . . . 33 and n., 34, 262
- Rāvaṇi, wife of Vasudatta . . . 271
- Ravidatta, *Bhōgika* . . . 100, 105, 109
- Ravigupta, *Sarvadandandya* and *Mahāpratiṭhāra*, the *Dūtaka* of the inscription of Vasantasēna of the (Gupta) year 435 . . . 183
- Ravikīrtti, a proper name . . . 156
- Ravishēṇa, *Mahāśmanta* and *Mahārāja*, 290; — his wife was Mihiralakshmi . . . 290
- Rāypur, a town in the Central Provinces; the grant of Mahā-Sudēvarāja . . . 196
- Rāypur District, inscriptions from the . 191, 196
- regnal or dynastic years, which have furnished the origin of most of the Hindu eras, can come to be ordinarily quoted as expired years, only when the era has been adopted by astronomers for astronomical processes, 143; — instances of dates recorded in regnal years, 159, 161, 192, 197, 236, 244, 287, 293; — instances of dates recorded apparently in regnal years, but really in years of an era . . . 38 and n., 40, 41, 44, 71, 268
- Rehatsek, Mr. E.; his proposal for amending the translation of Albérūnī's words regarding the origin of the Gupta era . . . 28
- Reinaud, M.; his rendering of Albérūnī's statements regarding the Gupta and other eras . . . 23, 36
- Rēvā, a name of the river Narmadā . . . 156, 157

Révatiā, an ancient village in the Gayā
vishaya 257
 Révatiśāman, a grantee 243
 Révatiśarmāya, a grantee 243
 Ripughna, 'apparently a proper name,
 used to denote Śatrugna or another
 Purāṇic king or hero 260 and n.
 Rishimitra, a grantee 218
 Rishiputra, an ancient Hindu astronomer,
 quoted by Utpala for the heliacal-
 rising system of the Twelve-Year
 Cycle of Jupiter, 161 n., 170; — he
 himself quotes Atri, Parāśara, and
 Vasishṭha, in support of the same . . . 170
 rock inscriptions 56, 269, 283
 Rōhāya, a grantee 243
 Rōhinī, a wife of the Moon, 286; — the
 name of a *nakshatra* 95, 182
 Rōhitāsgadh, or Rōhitāsgadh, a hill-fort
 in the Shāhābād District; the seal-matrix
 of Sasāṅkadēva 283
 Royal Asiatic Society's Library, an in-
 scription from the 171
 Rudra, a proper name . . . 280
 Rudrabhōti, a grantee 170
 Rudradēva, a king in Northern India,
 conquered by Samudragupta 13
 Rudrāya, a grantee 243
 Rudrasārman, a grantee, 105; — another
 of the same name 243
 Rudrasarmāya, a grantee 243
 Rudrasēna I., *Mahārāja* (Vākātaka) . . 241, 248
 Rudrasēna II., *Mahārāja* (Vākātaka) . . 240, 248
 Rudrasōma, also called Vyāghra 67
 Rukharadēva, a grantee 105

 Śāba, another name of Vīrasēna . . . 27 n., 36
sa-brahmachārin, 'a religious student
 with (others who follow the same
śākhā)' 103, 108, 179, 256
 Sachau, Prof. E.; his rendering of Albē-
 rūn's statements regarding the Gupta
 and other eras 24
 Śachi, wife of the god Indra, mentioned
 under the name of Paulōmī 225
sādyaskra, a particular sacrifice . . 241 and n., 248
 Sagar District, inscriptions from the
 18, 88, 91, 158
 Sagara, an epic king, 21, 99, 105, 109, 116,
 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 155, 171, 190,
 195, 200, 291, 299; — mentioned
 with reference to the legend of the
 excavation of the bed of the ocean by
 his sixty thousand sons 155
sa-gōtra, 'belonging to the same *gōtra*
 with (the person from whom the *gōtra*-
 name is derived)' . . . 70, 96, 103, 108,
 114, 118, 166, 179, 193, 198, 236, 239,
 240, 245, 246, 256, 270, 295

'Sah,' or 'Sāh,' the imaginary family or
 dynastic name of the Mahākshatrapas
 of Saurāshtra, based on the custom of
 omitting superscript vowels in the le-
 gends on their coins 36 n.

Sahya mountains, a range in Western
 India; mentioned as one of the breasts
 of the earth 86 n., 184 and n.

Saiva inscriptions (for other instances of,
 Saiva worship, see *ātyantamāhēvara*,
atyantasvāmimahābhairavabhakta, and
paramamāhēvara) . . . 180, 182, 184, 35,
 43, 48, 146, 149, 266

Śaka, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta

Śaka era; an era of northern origin, com-
 mencing in A.D. 78, though usually re-
 presented as commencing in A.D. 79;
 according to the chief Hindu tradition,
 its starting-point was the defeat of a
 Śaka king by king Vikramāditya of Uj-
 jain, 142; — according to a later tradi-
 tion, it dates from the birth of king
 Śālivāhana of Pratihsthāna; but there
 is no proof of his name being connected
 with it before the thirteenth century
 A.D., 142 n.; — its real historical start-
 ing-point was the commencement of the
 reign of some particular king or kings
 of the Śaka tribe, 142; — a curious in-
 stance of confusion, by the Jain writer
 Śilāchārya, between the Śaka and the
 Gupta eras, 32 n.; — the difference in
 the scheme of the Northern and South-
 ern Śaka years, both commencing with
 Chaitra śukla 1, . . . 70, 71; — even in
 Southern India, the *Amūta* arrange-
 ment of the lunar fortnights was not
 used with the Śaka era, for the civil
 reckoning, till between A.D. 804 and
 866, . . . 79 n.; — for the civil reckon-
 ing, the Śaka year is luni-solar, com-
 mencing with Chaitra śukla 1, and it is
 sometimes used thus by astronomers;
 but also, for astronomical calculations, it
 is sometimes taken as a solar year, com-
 mencing with the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*,
 101 n., 137 n.; — a note on the epoch
 and reckoning of the era, Appendix I.,
 137 to 144; — instances of the use of
 apparently current years of this era,
 which have to be applied as expired
 years, 80 n., 107 n.; — quotations of
 the reckoning of this era, both by
 current and by expired years, from
 Hindu almanacs, which give its total
 duration as 18,000 years, 137 to 141,
 138 n.; — the present reckoning in
 Southern India is by current years;
 while the reckoning in Northern, West-
 ern, and Central India, is by expired
 years, 140, 141; — the habitual quotation
 of the latter reckoning has led to the
 mistaken idea that the era commenced
 in A.D. 79, . . . 141 and n.; — but it
 really commenced in A.D. 78, . . . 142;
 — the years of the era were originally

- regnal or dynastic years, and must have been used as current years, 142, 143;—the substitution of the Śaka era for the Kaliyuga era, for astronomical purposes, which would introduce the ordinary use of its years as expired years, seems to have taken place between A.D. 476 and 587 143, 144
- sākhā*, lit. a 'branch', a Vēdic school, following any particular recension of one of the Vēdas; names of *sākhās* mentioned in this series of records:—
- Aupamanyava 199
- Bahvricha 190, 257
- Chhandōga-Kauthuma 109
- Katha 105
- Maitrāyaṇīya 90, 160
- Rāṇyānīya 71
- Taittirīya 248
- Vājasaneyā 105, 195, 199
- Vājasaneyā-Mādhyaṇidina 97, 120, 298
- Vājasaneyi-Kaṇva 170
- Śakra, the god Indra, as 'the powerful one' 67
- Śākta or Tāntrika worship; apparent early instances of it (see also Vajrāvara) 48 and n., 74, 226
- Śaktināga, a grantee 128
- Śākya, the name of the tribe or family of Buddha, 277;—mention of Śākya *Bhikṣhus*, 272, 279, 280, 282;—and of a Śākya *Bhikṣhuni* 274
- Śālapakṣha, a *Balādāhikrīta* of Āḍityasēna of Magadha 210
- Śālituriya, a name of the grammarian Pāṇini 183 and n.
- Śālivāhana-Śaka, an expression that is frequently used to denote the Śaka era; but it is an anachronism for any period earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. 142 n.
- saṃ*, an abbreviation of the word *saṃvat-sara*, 'a year,' or of any of its declensional cases that can be used in expressing a date . 81, 84, 93, 22 n., 30 n., 32, 89, 167
- saṃadhigata-pañchamahāśabda*, a customary epithet of feudatory nobles, indicating that they are entitled to the privilege of the *pañcha-mahāśabda*, 296 and n.;—three instances in which the epithet is applied to paramount sovereigns, 297 n.;—an instance of the privilege being conferred on a feudatory by his paramount sovereign . 297 n., 298 n.
- *Sāmanta*, an official title, 41, 180, 182, 148 n., 223 and n.;—used in a non-technical sense 148 and n.
- Sāmanta-dēva, a Hindu king of Kābul; remarks on some of his coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era 57 to 60
- Samāsa-Samhitā*, an astrological work by Varāhamihira, quoted by Utpala in support of the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter . . 170
- saṃasta-rājakṛyānām=a-hasta-prakṣh-panīya* (see also *sarva*), a fiscal term 171 and n.
- Samatata, a country, Lower Bengal; Samudragupta either included it in his empire, or else extended his conquests up to the confines of it . . . 9 n., 14 and n.
- Śambhu, the god Śiva, as 'he who exists for happiness or welfare' . 36, 155, 240, 248
- Sāmdhivigrahika*, an official or military title, 16 and n., 120, 139, 171;—used in connection with *Kumārāmātya* and *Mahādāṇḍānyaka* 16
- sāmdhyā*, a period at the commencement of each of the four Hindu ages; the *sāmdhyā* of the Kaliyuga lasts for 36,000 years of men, and is still running 139 n.
- sāmdhyānśa*, a period at the end of each of the four Hindu ages; the *sāmdhyānśa* of the Kaliyuga is to last for 36,000 years of men 139 n.
- Samjayasēna, *Mahāsāmanta* & *Mahārāja*, 290;—his wife was Śikharasvāmīnī . 290
- Śaṃkara, also called Saṅghila, *Āsvapati* . 260
- *Samkaradēva* (Lichchavi of Nēpāl) 182, 186, 189
- saṃkrānti*, or *saṃkramaṇa*, 'the entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac,' the limits of the *punyakāla* or meritorious time for performing religious duties on these occasions, 178 n.;—the only *saṃkrānti* mentioned in this series of records is the *uttarāyana* (the winter solstice) 199
- Samksobhba, *Mahārāja* (Parivrājaka), 115;—his Khōh grant of the Gupta year 209 . 112;—an alteration in the reading of the date of this record, 76 n., 274 n.;—its importance in proving the *Pārimānta* arrangement of the fortnights in the Gupta year, 76;—examination of the date 117
- saṃrāj*, 'a paramount sovereign' . 147 and n.
- Samudragupta (Early Gupta), 17, 18, 11, 17 n., 21, 27, 44, 51, 54, 257;—his wife was Dattadēvī, 21 n., 27, 44, 51, 54;—description of his musical and poetical accomplishments, 11, 12, 14, 15;—the kings, tribes, and countries, conquered by him, 12, 13, 14;—Garuḍa-tokens, i.e. coins or banners bearing representations of Garuḍa, were given to him by feudatories, 14 and n.;—reference to a city named Pushpapura, apparently as his capital, 5, 12;—Āyōdhyā represented, in a spurious grant, as a camp of his, 256;—he was specially selected by his father to succeed him, 12 n.;—he specially selected Chandragupta II. to succeed himself, 12 n., 27 n.;—he may have had the *biruda* or second name of Kācha, 18, 27 n.;—he revived the *āsvamedha*-sacrifice, after it had been long in abeyance, 28 and n., 44, 51, 54, 257;—remarks on some of his coins, 12 ns., 14 ns., 15 n., 27 n., 28 ns.;—three of his customary

- epithets are applied to Vijayarāja (Chalukya of Gujārāt), 14 n.; — his Allahābād (or Kausāmbī) posthumous pillar inscription, 1; — his Eran inscription, 18; — his spurious Gayā grant of the year 9 254
- Samūdrasēna, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja*, 290; — his Nirmaṇḍ grant 286
- samvat*, an abbreviation of the word *samvatsāra*, 'a year', or of any of its declensional cases that can be used in expressing a date, 84, 91, 95, 97, 178 to 184, 22 n., 30 n., 47, 92, 108, 119, 180, 210, 257, 261, 267, 277, 289; — the use of this word is not really confined to the Vikrama era; and, joined with the name of the era, it gives a convenient method of quoting the years of any of the different eras 22 n.
- samvatsara*, 'a year' (see also *samvatsat*, and year) 95 n.; — the reason why the earlier years of Hindu eras are quoted by this term, or by the abbreviations *sam* and *samvat*, without any dynastic appellation 143
- samvatsaras* or years of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, by the heliacal-rising system, mentioned in records of the Early Gupta period: —
- Mahā-Āsvayuja 110, 117, 104, 115
- Mahā-Chaitra 114, 108
- Mahā-Māgha 119, 112
- Mahā-Vaiśākha 104, 95, 96
- Sanakānika, or Sanakānika, a tribe, conquered by Samudragupta, 8 n., 14, 25; — certain *Mahārījas* of this tribe mentioned by name 25
- Sanasiddha, a proper name 262
- Sāñchi, or Sāchi, a village in the Bhōpal State; its name is not derived from the Sanskrit word *sānti*, but is probably an alliterative vernacular word, 20 n., 260 n.; — in the Aśoka period, its name was Kākanāda, 31; — in the Gupta period, the name of the great *Stūpa* here was Kākanādabōṭamahāvihāra, 31, 261; — in the inscriptions it seems to be denoted by the term *ratnagriha*, 33 and n., 34, 262; — the modern popular name of the great *Stūpa* is *Sās bahā kī bīḍ*, 30 n.; — the inscription of Chandragupta II. of the (Gupta) year 93, . 29; — the inscription of the (Gupta) year 131, . 260; — a pillar inscription 279
- Sandhyāputra, a grantee 97
- Saṅghila, another name of Śaṅkara, *Āsvapati* 260
- Sanhārikā or Samhārikā, the imaginary name of a wife of Samudragupta . 18, 19, 1
- śankha* 'a conch-shell'; as an emblem on seals 191, 196, 292
- Sanskrit language, an epigraphical mention of the 157
- santaka*, a Prākṛit word meaning 'belonging to,' in *asmat-santaka* . 118 n., 241, and n., 248
- santaka*, *santika*, a territorial term . 118 and n., 120, 132
- 'Santāl' Parganās, a late inscription from the, mentioning Adityasēna of Magadha 212 n.
- Śāntīśarma, a grantee 243
- aptāṅga*, 'the seven' constituent elements of a kingdom' 242 and n.
- Śarabha king, mention of a, as the maternal grandfather of Gōparāja (see also Śarabhapura) 14, 93
- Śarabhaṅga, a proper name 33
- Śarabhapura, the town from which Jayarāja and Sudēvarāja issued their charters, 192, 194, 199; — it is not to be identified with Arvi, nor with 'Sambalpur' or 'Sambhalpur,' 192; — the *Rājās* of Śarabhapura (see also Śarabha king) 14, 194, 199
- śarad*, 'the autumn'; the importance of the use of this word in connection with the Mālava or Vikrama era 66 n.
- śaradhī*, 'a bow-string' 223 and n.
- Sarasvatī, wife of the god Brahman, and goddess of learning 208
- Śārdūla, Śārdūlavarma, a Maukhari chief 223, 225, 228
- Śarma, an abbreviation of the name of Dhruvasarma 9 n., 45 and n.
- Śarmārya, a grantee 243
- Śāringapāni, the god Viṣṇu, as 'bearing in his hand the bow of horn named Śāringa' 147, 183
- Śāringin, the god Viṣṇu, as 'possessing the bow of horn named Śāringa' 56, 87
- Śārnāth, a village in the Benares District; an image inscription, 281; — the inscription of Prakāśāditya 284
- Śarva, the god Śiva 163
- Sarvadandanāyaka*, a military title, of an officer next in rank below the *Mahāsarvadandanāyaka*; used in connection with *Mahāpratihāra* 183
- Śarvadatta, the *Dātaka* of the grants of Jayanātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) years 174 and 177 120, 124
- Sarvādhyaksha*, 'general superintendent,' an official title 241 and n., 248
- Śarvanāga, *Vishayapati*, a governor of Skandagupta for the Antarvēdi country . 71
- Śarvanātha, *Mahārāja* (of Uchchakalpa), 112, 128, 132, 133, 138; — his Bhumaiṅga pillar inscription, 110; — examination of its date, 119; — his Khōh grant of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) year 193, . 125; — his imperfect Khōh grant, without date, 129; — his Khōh grant, imperfect, of the year 197, . 132; — his Khōh grant of the year 214 135

- sarva-rājakyānām* = a-hasta-prakshēpanī-ya, (see also *samasta*), a fiscal term . . . 190
- sarva-rāj-śchchhētri*, an epithet of Samudragupta, 27, 44, 51, 54, 257; — it occurs also on the coins that bear the name of Kācha . . . 27 n.
- Śarvasvāmin, a grantee . . . 105
- Sarvaṭa, a proper name . . . 190
- Sarvavāṭha, *Divira*, a grantee . . . 123
- Śarvavāmin (Maukhari), 215, 218, 220, 221; — his Asrīgadh seal . . . 219
- Śarvavarman, *Mahārāja*, mentioned in the Nirmāṇ grant of Samudrasēna . . . 290
- śāsana*, 'a charter' (see also *tāmra-śāsana*), a technical term for a deed of conveyance on copper-plates, 99 n., 194, 199, 218, 240, 242, 247, 249, 296; — an illustration of functions connected with such a charter . . . 99 n.
- Śasānkadēva, *Mahāsāmanta*, 284; — his Rōhtāsgadh seal-matrix . . . 283
- Śāśātaneya, apparently the name of a *gōtra* . . . 123
- Sās-bahū kū bīḍā*, the modern popular name of the great *Stūpa* at Sāñchi; with which we have to compare *Sās-bahū kū dēhīd*, which is the modern popular name of the temple at Gwālior in which there is the inscription of Mahāpāla of the Vikrama year 1150 . . . 30 n.
- Satasahasrī-Samhitā*, the name of a section of the Mahābhārata, or of the whole poem . . . 139
- Satī*, popularly *Suttee*, see cremation of widows . . . 92 and n., 93
- Śatrughnarāja, a proper name . . . 241
- sattra*, 'an almshouse', 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 116 n., 265; — one of the five great sacrifices, usually called *atithi* 116 n., 124, 129, 132, 290
- Sātvata, a Vaishṇava sect . . . 271 and n.
- Śaulkika*, an official title . . . 52 and n.
- Saurāshṭra, the modern Kāthiawād country; mentioned under the name of Surāshṭrāḥ, and as subject to Skandagupta, 62, 63; — remarks on the coins of the Kshatrapas or Mahākshatrapas of Saurāshṭra . . . 36 n.
- Savitrīsvāmin, a proper name . . . 199
- śāyana*, 'inclusive of precession of the equinoxes' . . . 146
- Scindia's Dominions, inscriptions from 21, 34, 79, 142, 149, 150, 161, 258
- sculptures accompanying inscriptions on stone . . . 72, 269, 274
- seals of charters; emblems on them, 125, 164, 191, 196, 219, 231, 255, 292; — legends on them, 94, 101, 106, 112, 125, 164, 191, 196, 219, 231, 235, 244, 255, 292; — instances in which they are attached to the plates by rings, 94, 101, 106, 112, 117, 121, 125, 130, 132, 135, 164, 172, 191, 196, 235, 244, 287, 292; — instances in which they are attached to the sides of the plates by soldering, 69, 219, 231, 255; — an instance of a stone matrix for casting seals . . . 283
- seasons, references and allusions to the various: —
- Grishma, the hot season . . . 63, 64
- Hēmantā, the cold season . . . 86, 87
- Śarad, the autumn . . . 77, 158
- Śisāira, the dewy season . . . 77, 87
- Varshāḥ, the rainy season . . . 63
- Vasanta, the spring . . . 158
- selection by kings of their successors, and by a widow of her husband's successor . . . 12 n.
- Śēndapati, a military title 41, 167 and n., 168, 243, 249
- serpent-emblem on seals . . . 283
- Śēsha, the king of serpents, mentioned as supporting the earth on one of his hoods . . . 208
- Shāhābād (Ārā) District, inscriptions from the . . . 213, 283
- Shāhānushāshi, a dynasty or tribe, conquered by Samudragupta . . . 14
- Shāhi, a dynasty or tribe, conquered by Samudragupta . . . 14
- Shāhpur, a village in the Patna District; the image inscription of Adityasēna of the (Harsha) year 66 . . . 208
- Shashthidatta, a proper name . . . 156
- shōḍaśin*, a particular sacrifice. 241 and n., 248
- siddha*, 'a perfect one,' the epithet of a certain class of Jain saints; they are always invoked in the plural . . . 259 and n.
- Siddha, a class of supernatural beings 84, 206
- siddham*, 'perfection has been attained,' an invocation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 25 and n., 32, 35, 54, 61, 67, 71, 84, 154, 247, 252, 254, 262; — it is the remnant of some such expression as *siddham bhagavatā* . . . 25 n.
- Siddhānta-Sīrṇmani*, an astronomical work by Bhāskaraśāhārya; it was written A.D. 1150-51, . . . 156 n.; — its author's explanation of the rule for the Brahma-Siddhānta unequal-space system of the *nakshatras* . . . 166
- Siddhasēna, *Mahāpratihāra* and *Mahākshapaḥalaka*, the *Dātaka* of the grant of Śilāditya VII. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 447 . . . 190
- sign-manual at the end of a charter, indicated by the word *sva-hasta*, 171, 191; — actual representations of a sign-manual . . . 171 n., 191
- Śikharasvāmīnī, wife of Samjayasēna . . . 290
- Śilāchārya, a Jain writer, author of the *Achārāṅkād*, in which, in giving the date, he makes a curious confusion between the Gupta and the Śaka eras . . . 32 n.
- Śilāditya, a *biruda* or second name, given by Hiuen Tsiang, of Harshavardhana of Kanauj . . . 39, 40

- Śilāditya of Mālava, a king mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, 39, 40; — he has been wrongly assumed to be the father of Prabhākara-vardhana 15
- Śilāditya I. (of Valabhi), 41, 181, 183; — he had the *biruda* or second name of Dharmāditya 181
- Śilāditya II. (of Valabhi) 41, 185
- Śilāditya III., Śilādityadēva (of Valabhi) 41, 185
- Śilāditya IV., Śilādityadēva (of Valabhi) 41, 185
- Śilāditya V., Śilādityadēva (of Valabhi) 41, 187
- Śilāditya VI., Śilādityadēva (of Valabhi) 41, 188
- Śilāditya VII., Śilādityadēva (of Valabhi), 41, 189; — he had the *biruda* of Dhruvabhāta, i.e. Dhruvabhāta, 172 and n., 189; — his Allā grant of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 447 171
- Simha era, an era commencing in A.D. 1114, or perhaps in A.D. 1113; quoted in the Verāval inscription of the Valabhi year 945 85
- Simhala, one of the names of Ceylon; mentioned as conquered by Samudragupta 14
- Sindhu, the river Indus; mentioned as having seven mouths 141
- Sirpur, a town in the Rāypur District; mentioned under the ancient Sanskrit name of Śrīpura 293, 296
- Śīrṣṭr, a village in the Dhārvaḍ District; examination of the date of the inscription of Amoghavarsha I., of the Śaka year 788, which proves that the *Amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights was applied to the Śaka years, in Southern India, between A.D. 804 and 866 79 n.
- Śiśupāla, an epic king, 250; — probably the name of the king whose inscription is on the Pahlāḍpur pillar 250, 251
- Śiva, the god, 'the destroyer' of the Hindu triad (see also Bhūtapati, Hara, Īśa, Īśvara, Jayeśvara, Kapālēśvara, Mahādēva, Mahēśvara, Mihirēśvara, Paramēśvara, Paśupati, Pinākin, Śambhu, Śarva, Sthānu, Śūlapāni, Śūrabhōgēśvara, Svāmi-Mahābhairava, and Tripurāntaka; and, for his wife, see Pārvatī), 241, 248; — mentioned in connection with the *liṅga*, 180 and n., 182, 241, 248; — mention of the river Gaṅgā flowing through his matted hair, 16; — other references to his matted or braided hair, 87, 163; — mention of him as the father of Kārttikēya, 206; — a reference to his bull Nandi or Nandin, as an emblem on his banner, 147; — a reference to his destruction of Kāmadēva, 87; — spoken of as employing Brahman for creation, preservation, and destruction; and also as being himself the creator, with a necklace of skulls, a serpent round his neck, and the crescent moon on his forehead, 155 and n.; — other references to him as 'the creator,' 185 and n., 186, 290; — other references to the moon on his forehead, 87, 163, 206; — a probable early instance of his form, in combination with Pārvatī, as Ardhanaṛiśvara, 224; — a form of Śiva in combination with the Sun 288
- Śivadāsa, a proper name 112
- Śivadēva, *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the *Dātaka* of the inscription of Śivadēva II. of the (Harsha) year 143 (?) 182
- Śivadēva I., *Mahārāja* (Lichchhavi of Nēpāl), 177, 178, 189, 191; — he had the epithet of 'the banner or glory of the Lichchhavikula,' 177, 178; — notice of his Gōlmādhīśīl inscription of the (Gupta) year 316, 177; — the value of this record in proving the use of the Gupta era in Nēpāl, and in fixing the chronology of the early rulers of that country, 96, 177, 184; — notice of another of his inscriptions, the date of which is lost 178
- Śivadēva II. (Thākuri of Nēpāl), 182, 187, 189, 190, 191; — his wife was Vatsadēvi, 184, 187; — notice of his inscription of the (Harsha) year 119, 182; — and of an inscription of the year 143 (?), which is probably one of his records 182
- Śivagupta, *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the *Dātaka* of the grants of Sarvañātha of the (Gupta or Kalachuri) years 193 and 197 129, 134
- Śivakapadraka, the name of some land in the village of Antaratrā 170
- Siwanī, the chief town of the Siwanī-Chhapārā District; the grant of Pravaraśēna II 243
- Skambhasēna, a proper name 170
- Skanda, a name of the god Kārttikēya 51
- Skandabhāta, *Sāmdhivigrahika*, writer of the grant of Dharasēna II. of the (Gupta-Valabhi) year 252 171
- Skandadēva, *Yuvārāja*, the *Dātaka* of a Nēpāl inscription of the (Harsha) year 82 181
- Skandagupta (Early Gupta), 17, 51, 52, 55, 62, 64, 67, 71; — he had the *biruda* or second name of Kramāditya, 18; — mentioned as restoring the fallen fortunes of his family by conquering the Pushyamitras, 55; — as defeating the Hōpas, 56; — apparently as overcoming the Nāgas, 62 and n.; — and as establishing his fame in the countries of the Mlechchhas, 62; — remarks on two of his coins, 25 n., 46 n.; — his Bihār pillar inscription, 47; — his Bhitari pillar inscription, 52; — his Junāgaḍh rock inscription of the (Gupta) years 136, 137, and 138, 56; — his Kaḥāun pillar inscription of the year 141, 65; — his Indōr grant of the year, 146, 68; — a Śāñchi inscription of the year

- 131, perhaps of his time, 260; — a Mathurā image inscription of the year 135, of his time, 262; — a Kōsam image inscription of the year 139, of his time, 266; — a Gaḍhwa inscription of the year 148, perhaps of his time . . . 267
- Skandaguptabāta, apparently the name of an ancient village in Bihār . . . 51
- Skandanāga, a grantee . . . 128
- Skandārya, a grantee, 243; — another of the same name . . . 243
- skandhāvāra*, 'a camp,' in *jaya-skandhāvāra* . . . 217, 257
- Smara, the god Kāmadēva, as 'he who excites memory' . . . 85, 158, 169, 181, 223, 225, 278
- snake-emblem on seals . . . 283
- Sōmanāthadēvapattaṇa, or the city of the god Sōmanātha (Śiva), an ancient name of the modern Verāwal . . . 85
- Sōmārya, a grantee . . . 243
- Sōmasarmārya, a grantee . . . 243
- Sōmaṣṭāta, a proper name . . . 270
- Sōmila, a proper name . . . 67
- Sōmpat, a town in the Delhi District; the seal of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, or more properly of Thānēsar . . . 231
- sovereigns, paramount, titles of; i.e. of sovereigns supreme in their own dominions, but not necessarily reigning over the whole of India . . . 10 n.
- spashṭa*, an astronomical term, to be translated by 'apparent' . . . 145 n.
- spashṭa-tithi*, 'an apparent *tithi*;' the method of determining it from the mean *tithi* . . . 154
- spurious inscription, an instance of a . . . 255
- Sramana*, 'a Buddhist (and Jain) ascetic' . . . 32, 277
- śrēṇi*, 'a corporation or guild' . . . 71, 85, 86, 87
- śrī*, an honorific prefix to names, rendered in the case of paramount sovereigns and their wives by 'glorious,' of feudatories and other ordinary persons by 'illustrious,' of priests, teachers, &c., by 'saintly,' of gods by 'holy,' and of towns, &c., by 'famous;' generally *śrī* is used before consonants and *śrīmat* before vowels, but there are exceptions to this . . . 10 n.
- Śrī, the goddess Lakṣmī . . . 164, 206, 208
- Śrīgupta, an early *Mahārāja* mentioned by I-tsing; he is not to be identified with the *Mahārāja* Gupta (Early Gupta) . . . 8 n.
- śrīmat*, an honorific prefix to names, rendered in the same way as *śrī*; the use of it is not confined to feudatories, but it is applied in the case of paramount sovereigns also . . . 10 n.
- Śrīmatī, or Śrīmatīdēvī, wife of Mādhavagupta . . . 208, 217
- Śrīpura, the ancient name of Śirpur . . . 293, 296
- Śrīsāhikā, an ancient village in the Pūr-varāṣṭra or Eastern Country . . . 199
- Śrīvāpikā, a well at Śrīsāhikā . . . 200
- Sthānu, the god Śiva, as 'the immovable one' . . . 148
- sthapatisamrāj*, apparently meaning 'chief of architects' . . . 120 and n., 124
- Sthavira*, a Buddhist priestly title . . . 279.
- stone, inscriptions on, are usually denoted by the term *prastasti* . . . 87 n.
- Stūpa*, the technical name of a certain kind of Buddhist monument, 30 and n.; — in two records the term *ratna-griha* seems to be used to denote a *Stūpa*, 33 and n., 34, 262; — in the neighbourhood of Sāñchi, the popular term for a *Stūpa* is *biṭā* . . . 30 n.
- śu*, an abbreviation of *śukla* or *śuddha*, 'the bright fortnight;' used in connection with *dī* (see also under *ba dī*), 91, 97, 210, 277, 291; — used by itself 93, 191
- Sudarāṇa, a lake at Gīrinagara . . . 63, 64
- Śadēvarāja, or Mahā-Śadēvarāja, *Rāja* (of Śarabhapura), 199; — his Rāypur grant, 196; — reference to another grant by him, which requires to be re-edited . . . 14
- Sugata, a name of Buddha, as 'the one who has attained a good state' . . . 232 n.
- Śukra, the regent of the planet Venus, and the preceptor of the demons . . . 86
- Sūkshmaśiva, the engraver of the Aphaṣa inscription of Adityaśēna . . . 208
- Sukuli *dēśa*, an ancient territorial division in the neighbourhood of Sāñchi . . . 32
- Sulabhaka, a proper name . . . 290
- Śūlapāṇi, the god Śiva, as 'holding the trident in his hand' . . . 147, 149, 286
- Sūlisagrāma, an ancient village in the neighbourhood of Nirmaṇḍ . . . 290
- Sumēru, another name of the mountain Mēru, 86, 147; — mentioned as the abode of Indra, 278; — and as one of the breasts of the earth . . . 86 and n.
- sun; inscriptions of sun-worship, 68, 79, 126, 161, 208, 214, 288; — sun worship indicated elsewhere by the title *paramādityabhakta*, 168, 232; — invocations of the Sun as a god, 71, 84, 163; — worship of the Sun combined with that of Viṣṇu, 126; — and with that of Śiva, 288; — ancient temples of the Sun, at Indōr in the Bulandshahar District, 70; — at Mandasōr, 80; — at Āśramaka, 126; — at Gwālior, 162; — and at Dēd-Baraṇārka, 218; — an image of the Sun at Shāhpur, 210; — the Sun connected with Varuṇa in the name of Varuṇārka, 215; — the Sun mentioned under the name of Varuṇavāsin, 218; — mention of the chariot and horses of the Sun, 78, 163; — cows spoken of as 'daughters of the Sun,' 195 and n., 200, 299; — a symbol of sun-worship, or perhaps the wheel-emblem . . . 219 269

- Supushpa, a traditional and very early member, at Pushpapura, of the family of the Lichchhavis of Nēpāl . . . 185
- Śūrasūrya, a *linga* form of the god Śiva . . . 180 n.
- Suraguru, the regent of the planet Jupiter, as 'the preceptor of the gods,' 90 n., 157; — the day of Suraguru, *i.e.* Thursday . . . 81, 90
- Śūrasēna, or Śūrasēna, *Rājaputra*; his wife was Bhōgadēvi, sister of Amśuvarman . . . 180
- Surāshtrāḥ (or more usually Saurashtra) country, the modern Kāthiāwād; it was subject to Skandagupta . . . 62, 63
- Surāsmichandra, *Mahārāja*, a governor of Budhagupta for the country between the rivers Jamnā and Narmadā . . . 89, 90
- Sūryadatta, *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika*, the writer of the grants of Hastin of the (Gupta) years 156 and 163 . . . 99, 105, 109
- Sūryadatta, a grantee . . . 97
- Sūryamitra, a grantee . . . 218
- Sūrya-Siddhānta*, an ancient astronomical work; it is the text-book of the Saurapaksha school of astronomers, 145 n.; — according to it, the length of the solar year is 365 days, 15 *ghaṭis*, 31' 23 *palas*, 146; — and the length of the year of Jupiter, by the mean-sign system, is 361 days, 1 *ghaṭi*, 36 *palas*, 170; — its rule for determining the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the mean-sign system, 170; — its rule for determining the years of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by his heliacal rising in connection with the occurrence of *nakshatras* on new-moon days, 171; — comments on this rule by Raṅganātha and Dādābhāi . . . 171 n.
- Sūryavamsa, the Solar Lineage; there are no grounds for allotting the Early Guptas to this lineage, 19, 1; — but, according to tradition, the family of the Lichchhavis of Nēpāl did belong to it . . . 185, 188
- Suśarman, the founder of the family of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* . . . 115
- Susthitavarman, probably a Maukhari king, conquered by Mahāsēnagupta . . . 15, 206
- Suttee* (*Sati*), see cremation of widows . . . 92 and n., 93
- suvarṇa*, a particular gold coin or weight of gold . . . 265
- Suvarṇakalashaka, apparently an ancient village in Baghēlkhand . . . 125
- sva-hasta*, 'a sign-manual,' 171, 191; — actual representations of a *sva-hasta* . . . 171 n., 191 and n.
- Svāmīdatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta . . . 7 n., 13
- Svāmīdēvārya, a grantee . . . 243
- Svāmī-Mahābhairava, one of the terrific forms of the god Śiva . . . 241, 248
- Svāmī-Mahāsēna, the god Kārttikēya, as 'the commander of a large army' . . . 43, 44
- Svāmin*, a title of office or rank . . . 177
- Svāmināga, a proper name . . . 128
- svāmīnī*, 'a noble lady,' or perhaps an abbreviation of *Vihdrasvāmīnī* . . . 262 and n.
- sva-mukh-dījāḥ*, 'the order or command of one's own mouth,' an expression, connected with charters, used when a *Dātaka* is not employed . . . 100 n., 116 and n., 195, 200
- Svarbhānu, a name of Rāhu, the personified ascending node, as the causer of an eclipse of the sun . . . 97
- svasti*, 'hail,' an exclamation used at the commencement of inscriptions, 96 and n., 104, 108, 111, 119, 123, 128, 131, 138, 167, 180, 194, 199, 217, 240, 257; — used with a dative case at the end of an inscription, 88; — used as a neuter noun, meaning 'prosperity,' with *astu*, and governing the dative . . . 90, 161
- Svātisarmārya, a grantee . . . 243
- Svātisvāmin, a grantee . . . 105
- svayam=a-pratiratha* (compare *prithi-vyām=a-pratiratha*, applied to Samudragupta), an epithet of Chandragupta II. . . . 44, 51, 54
- Svayanibhū, the god Brahman, as 'the self-existent one' . . . 155 and n.
- 'Syalapati,' a Hindu king of Kābul; remarks on some of his coins, which have been supposed to bear dates in the Gupta era . . . 57 to 60
- Talāpura, or Tālāpura, an ancient town in the vicinity of Nirmaṇḍ . . . 290 and n.
- Talāpūṭaka*, an official title . . . 217 and n.
- Tamaśā, a river, the modern Tamas or 'Tons' . . . 126, 128
- tāmra-sāsana*, 'a copper-charter' (see also *sāsana*), a technical term for a deed of conveyance written on copper-plates, 99 n., 109, 116, 128, 132, 138, 195, 199; — an illustration of functions connected with such a charter . . . 99 n.
- tanaya-prāpta*, 'an adopted son' . . . 293 n., 298
- Tāntrika, or Śākta worship, apparent early instances of (see also *Vajrēśvara*) . . . 48 and n., 74, 226
- Thākuri rulers of Nēpāl; Thākuri is the name given in the Nēpāl *Vamsāvatī* to the family to which Amśuvarman and his successors belonged, 189; — their palace was Kailāśakūṭabhavana, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 189; — they used the Harsha era, 96, 184, 189; — instances of this, 178 to 184; — they seem to have had the government of

- the western portion of Nēpāl, 190; — the dates of the known members of this family, 189; — their intermarriage with the Maukharis, and with the Bhagadatta family 187
- Thomas, Mr. E.; the views expressed by him on the Gupta era and connected matters, with the result that he held it to be identical with the Śaka era 32, 36, 38, 51, 57
- Tilabhaṭṭaka, *Mahādāṇḍandya*, the superintendent of the work connected with the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudraguṇya 17
- tilamaka*, 'a water-course' 180, 181
- Tīrthaṃkaras*, early Jain saints, mentioned under the epithet of *ādikartṛi* 68 and n.
- Tishyāmratīrtha, an ancient place 28
- tithi*, 'a lunar day,' 32 n., 163; — an epigraphical quotation of the new-moon *tithi* or fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight, as the thirtieth *tithi* of the month, 110 n., — the astronomical meanings of the term *tithi*, 147; — one mean *tithi*, of time, is equal to 0.9843529572 of a mean solar day and night, 149 n.; — the mean *tithi* in a solar year are 371, and 3 *ghaṭis*, 53.4 *palas*, 148; — in general, the term *tithi* means the end of a *tithi*, not its beginning or duration; and the *tithis* are thus shewn in *Pañchāṅgas*, 148; — and so, for all ordinary purposes, the week-day of a *tithi* is the week-day on which that *tithi* ends; and consequently there may, in certain instances, be a nominal discrepancy between the resulting English and Hindu week-days, 156 n., — the *tithis* given in *Pañchāṅgas* are apparent, not mean, 148; — and they are intended to be given from apparent sunrise, 155; — the method of determining the apparent *tithi* from the mean *tithi*, 154; — a method of calculating the week-days, ending-times, and English dates, of *tithis*, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Appendix II., 145 to 159; — the ending-time of a *tithi*, thus obtained, may sometimes differ from the results obtained from the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works; but the difference will not amount to more than 5 or 6 *ghaṭis* 155
- tithi-bhōga*, 'the enjoyment or duration of a *tithi*' 153
- tithi-dhruva*, 'the constant of a *tithi*,' a term denoting the number of complete *tithis* that elapse from the commencement of Chaitra up to the *tithi* during which the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* occurs 152
- tithi-kēndra* (see also *kēndra*), 'the anomaly of a *tithi*, expressed in *tithis*,' 149; — the annual variation in the *tithi-kēndra* is 7 *tithis*, 9 *ghaṭis*, 42 *palas* 149
- tithi-madhyama-kēndra* (see also *kēndra*), 'the mean anomaly of a *tithi* expressed in *tithis*,' a term denoting the number of *tithis* that elapse, up to the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee 149, 150
- tithi-suddhi*, 'the subtraction of *tithis*,' a term denoting the number of *tithis* that elapse from the commencement of Chaitra up to the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, 148, 150; — when the *tithi-suddhi*, obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, is less than 19, there cannot be an intercalary month in the year 153
- Tivaradēva, or Tivararāja, also called Mahāsiva-Tivararāja, of the Paṇḍu-varṇa, 296, 298; — he had the title of 'supreme lord of Kōsala,' 296; — he was the adopted son of Nannadēva, 293, 298; — his Rājim grant 291
- 'Tons,' properly Tamas, a river in Bundelkhāṇḍ and the North-West Provinces; mentioned under the ancient name of Tamasā 126, 128
- Tōramāṇya, a king of the Mihira tribe or clan among the Hūṇas, and the father of Mihirakula, 10, 11, 12, 160, 163; — he came, in Eastern Mālwa, very shortly after Budhagupta, 10, 11; — remarks on the reading and interpretation of the date on his coins, 11, 12; — his Eraṇ hoar inscription 158
- Traikūṭaka, a tribe (see also Triakūṭa); the grant of the Traikūṭaka *Mahārāja* Dharasēna, and another Traikūṭaka grant, perhaps furnish early instances of the use of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era; but they may be dated in the Gupta era 9 n.
- tree-sculpture, with cow-and-calf, on an inscription stone 274
- Triakūṭa, the origin of the name Traikūṭaka, 234; — it has been identified with Tripura or Tripurī, the capital of the Kalachuris; but this point remains to be proved 9 n.
- Tripurāntaka, the god Śiva, as 'the destroyer of the demon Tripura, or of his three cities' 290
- T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu*, the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit name of the reigning king of Valabhī in the time of Hiuen Tsiang; it has been restored as Dhruvapaṭu, 39, 40; — and as Dhruvabhāṭa, 51; — the king in question has been identified with one of the Dhruvasēnas of Valabhī, 39, 47; — with Dharapaṭa, 41; — with Śīlāditya VII., 51; — with Dērabhāṭa, or one of the Dharasēnas, or one of the earlier Śīlādityas, 57; — and with Dhruvasēna II., 64; — there are difficulties in the way of finally determining his iden-

- tity; but the dates render it impossible that he should be Śīlāditya VII. of Valabhi 40
Tu-hu-po-pa-t'cha, and simply *Pa-t'cha*, the Chinese, form of the name of a king of Southern India, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, which has been restored as Dhruvapaṭu; there are difficulties in the way of establishing the identity of this king; but he cannot be Śīlāditya VII., or apparently any king of Valabhi 40
 Tumburu, one of the Gandharvas 14
 Tuśām, or Tuśām, a village in the Hissār or Hissār District; the rock inscription 269
 Tushāra king, a, of the name of Vishnu, is not mentioned in the Tuśām rock inscription 270
 Uchaharā, the capital of the Nāgaudh State; it is not to be identified with a supposed 'Udyāra' 93
 Uchchakalpa, an ancient city or hill, from which Jayanātha and Sarvanātha issued their grants, 117 n., 119, 123, 128, 131, 138; — the *Mahārājās* of Uchchakalpa, 8, 9, 10, 112, 119, 123, 128, 131, 132, 133, 138; — the dates of their records have been interpreted as being in the Gupta era, 8, 118, 121, 126, 133, 135; — but it is possible that they really are the earliest instances of the use of the Kalachuri era, and that these *Mahārājās* were feudatories of early Kalachuri kings 8, 9, 10
uchchahanna, a Prākṛit corruption of *utsanna* 256
 Udayadēva, *Yuvardja*, the *Dātaka* of the inscription of Aśiṣuvarman of the (Harsha) year 39 180 and n.
 Udayadēva (Thākuri of Nēpāl) 186, 188, 189, 191
 Udayagiri, a village and hill in the Śāgaḍh District; the cave inscription of Chandragupta II., of the (Gupta) year 82, . . . 21; the cave inscription of Chandragupta II., not dated, 34; — the cave inscription of the time of Kumāragupta, of the year 106 258
 Uddhava, an epic hero 156
udranga, a fiscal term, 97 and n., 104, 109, 120, 128, 132, 138, 170, 185, 189, 218, 290
 Udyōtārka, the writer of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of Samudrasēna 291
 Ugrasēna of Palakka or Pālakka, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta 13
ukthya, a particular sacrifice 241 and n., 248
 Undāna, a proper name 32
 Unnata, an ancient town or village 170
Upādhyāya, 'a sub-teacher,' the instructor in only a part of the Vēda, or in grammar and the other Vēdāṅgas 271, 282
 Upagupitā, wife of Śīsaravarman 220 n., 221
upakṛipta, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 242, 249
upanipātaka, a metrical form for *upapātaka* 72 and n.
upapātaka, 'sins of the second degree' 72 n., 120, 124, 129, 134, 138, 171, 291
Uparika, an official title, requiring explanation 52, 120, 124, 134, 218
uparikara, a fiscal term (add a reference to *Ind. Ant.* VII. 66, note), 97, 98 and n., 105, 109, 120, 128, 132, 138, 170, 189, 218, 257
Upāsaka, a worshipper of Buddha who is not a member of the priesthood, i.e. 'a lay-worshipper' 262
Upāsikā, the feminine of *Upāsaka* 262
 Upasēna I. and II., Buddhist teachers 277
 Upēndra, the god Vishnu, as the younger brother of Indra 182 and n.
 Uplēt, or Uplētā, a village in the Kaira District; mentioned under the ancient name of Uppalahēta 173, 189
 Uppalahēta, the ancient name of the modern Uplēt or Uplētā; mentioned as the chief town of a *puṭhaka* in the Khētaka *ahāra* 173, 189
 Ūrjayat, a mountain near Girinagara, now known by the name of Girnār 57, 64, 65
utkīrṇa, 'engraved,' a technical expression for the actual engraving of an inscription on copper or on stone 99 n., 148, 150, 158, 195, 200
 Utpala, a commentator on the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*; his quotations of early astronomers for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, 161 n., 170; — his quotation of Garga and Parāśara, as giving a variation from the usually accepted grouping of the *nakshatras*, 163 n.; — his quotation of the *Garga-Samhitā* for one of the unequal-space systems of the *nakshatras*, 164; — and of a verse by Garga, which seems to refer to the mean-sign system of the Twelve-Year Cycle 172
 Uttarakuru, the land of the Northern Kurus 260 and n.
va, an abbreviation of *vadya*, 'the dark fortnight,' or else a substitute for *ba*; used in connection with *di* (see also under *ba di*) 85
 Vāhlika, a tribe, conquered by Chandragupta 141 and n.
vaidila, a word requiring explanation 290
 Vainya, an epic king 77
 Vaishṇava inscriptions (for other instances of Vaishṇava worship, see *atyanta-bhagavad-bhakta*, *bhagavad-bhakta*, *bhūḡavata*, *paramabhagavata*, and

- paramavaishṇava*) . . . 23, 53, 58,
74, 89, 113, 121, 126, 268
- Vaiṣṇavī, perhaps a name of the earth
as the personification of the *śakti* or
female energy of Viṣṇu . . . 195 n.
- vaiśvadeva*, one of the five great sacrifi-
cial rites . . . 170, 190
- vaitastika*, a particular weapon; an ex-
act explanation of the term is re-
quired . . . 12
- vajapēya*, a particular sacrifice . 241 and n., 248
- Vajragrāma, an ancient village. in
Kāthiāwād . . . 170
- Vajreśvara, a god; Mr. Benall (*Journey
in Nēpal*, p. 78, note) takes the name as
one of the "early traces of the curious
juxtaposition of Hindu and Buddhist
cult that the Tantric system brought
into Nēpal" . . . 181
- Vākātaka, a tribe or dynasty, 15, 16, 235,
240, 241, 247, 248; — it may be the
name of a country also, but not in cer-
tain supposed cases, 234 n.; — it is de-
rived from an original form *vakūta*,
and is not to be identified with the
modern Bhāndak, 234; — the Vākātaka
Mahādājās, 15, 235, 240, 241, 247, 248;
— they belonged to the Viṣṇuvriddha
gōtra, 241, 248; — they intermarried
with the Bhārasivas, 241, 248; — their
date is determined by the marriage of
Rudrasēna II. with Prabhāvatiguptā,
daughter of Dēvagupta of Magadha . . . 15
- Vakkhalika, a proper name . . . 290
- Vakra, *Amātya* . . . 100, 105, 109
- Vakravaṇa, an ancient forest, or perhaps
town or village, in Baghēlkhaṇḍ . . . 125
- Valabhī, the ancient name of the modern
Wālā in Kāthiāwād, the chief city of
the Kings of Valabhī and their ances-
tors, 167; — the meaning of the name,
23 n.; — there is no authority for the
use by Reinaud and Sachau of the
forms Balabha, Ballaba, and Ballabha,
23 n.; — the Kings of Valabhī, and
their ancestors, 13, 167, 168, 169, 180
to 189; — their genealogy, 41; — it
was through their preservation of the
Gupta era that it came to acquire the
name of the Valabhī era, 23, 126; —
but they did not establish the era, 130;
— nor can they have introduced it into
Nēpal, 134 n.; — list of the charters
issued by them from Valabhī itself,
126 n.; — Hiuen Tsiang's remarks about
the reigning King of Valabhī in his
time . . . 40
- Valabhī era; the later name of the Gupta
era, due to its preservation by the Kings
of Valabhī, and used by Albérūnī in the
eleventh century A.D., and in epigra-
phical records of the thirteenth century,
22, 23; — Albérūnī distinctly states the
absolute identity of the Valabhī era
with the Gupta era . . . 31
- Valabhī-sam* and *Valabhī-samvat*, techni-
cal expressions, in the thirteenth century
A.D., for the Gupta era under its later
name of the Valabhī era . . . 22, 84, 91
- Valaka, apparently an ancient village in
Baghēlkhaṇḍ . . . 105
- Valatkaushan*, an official title, requiring
explanation . . . 257
- Vālavi *vishaya*, an ancient territorial
division in Bihār . . . 218
- valaya-yashṭi*, 'a boundary-pillar' . . . 112
- Vālugarā, an ancient village in Baghēl-
khaṇḍ . . . 109
- Vaṅga, a country, the modern Bengal or
the eastern parts of it, invaded by
Chandra . . . 141
- Vaṅgara, an ancient village in Baghēl-
khaṇḍ . . . 105
- vāpt*, *vāpikā*, 'an irrigation-well' . . . 170, 200
- vāra*, a 'week-day' (see also week-days),
which is reckoned by the Hindus from
sunrise to sunrise . . . 146, 147
- Varāhadāsa, a proper name . . . 156
- Varāhadinna, *Bhōgika* . . . 124, 129, 134 139
- Varāhamihira, an astronomer; he died A.D.
587, . . . 143 and n.; — his rules, in the
Bṛihat-Samhitā and the *Samāsa-Sam-
hitā*, for the naming of the years of the
Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter according
to the heliacal-rising system, 161, 170;
— his rule, in the *Bṛihat Samhitā*, for
the grouping of the *nakshatras* for that
purpose . . . 162
- Varāśarman, a grantee, 243; — another
of the same name . . . 243
- Varāśarmāya, a grantee . . . 243
- Vardhaki, a proper name . . . 170
- Varika, a tribe; mention of certain
chiefs of this tribe . . . 253, 254
- varsha*, 'a year;' the reason why the ear-
lier years of Hindu eras are quoted by
this term, without any dynastic appel-
lation . . . 143
- Vārta*, an official title . . . 180 and n.
- Varuṇa, the god of the ocean, 14, 28, 44,
51, 54, 63, 257; — mentioned as the
regent of the west, 63; — connected
with the Sun in the name of Varuṇārka . . . 215
- Varuṇāśarman, a grantee . . . 105
- Varuṇasēna, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahā-
rāja*, 289; — his wife was Prabālikā . . . 290
- Varuṇavāsin, a name of the Sun . . . 218
- Varuṇaviṣṇu, a proper name . . . 90, 160
- Vārūnikā, the ancient name of the modern
Dēō-Baraṇārka . . . 214, 215, 218
- Vasantadēva, a variant of the name of
Vasantasēna . . . 183 and n., 186, 189
- Vasantasēna (Licchhavi of Nēpal), 183,
188, 189, 191; — mentioned under the
name of Vasantadēva, 186; — notice of
his inscription of the (Gupta) year 435 . . . 183
- Vasishṭha, an ancient astronomer, quoted
by Kishiputra, and through him by Ut-

- pala, for the heliacal-rising system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter . . . 170
- Vāsu, *Grāmika* 112
- Vasudatta, a proper name 271
- Vasudēva, the father of Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Kṛiṣṇa 206
- Vasudēva, the god Viṣṇu, as Kṛiṣṇa, 'the son of Vasudēva' 115, 286
- Vāsula, the composer of the Mandasōr pillar inscriptions of Yaśōdharman . . . 148
- Vasuntarashandika, an ancient village in Baghēlkhand 97
- vāta, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 170 and n., 189
- Vatāpūraka, an ancient village in the Benṇākārpara *bhāga* 248
- Vatsabhaṭṭi, composer of the Mandasōr inscription of the Mālava year 529 . . . 88
- Vatsadēvi, daughter of the Maukharī Bhōgavarman, daughter's daughter of Ādityasēna of Magadha, and wife of Śivadēva II. of Nēpāl 184, 187
- Vēdas (see also *śākhā*), the earliest sacred books of the Hindus; mentioned as arranged by Vyāsa, 98 and n., 105, 109, 116, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 190;—mentioned as three in number, under the term *trayī*, 189;—indicated as four in number by the word *Chaturvēdin*, 71, 190, 242;—the only Vēda mentioned by name in this series of records, is the *Atharva-Vēda* 290
- Vēdhas, the god Brahman, as 'the creator' 156
- Veṇṅī, a town or country in Southern India; in the time of Samudragupta, its king was Hastivarman 13
- Verāwal, a town in Kāthiāwād, the modern representative of the ancient Sōmnāthpāṭan; mentioned under the ancient names of Dēvapattana, 91;—and of Sōmanāthadēvapattana, or the city of the god Sōmanātha, 85;—examination of the date of the inscription of the Valabhi year 927, . . . 90;—and of the inscription of Arjunadēva of the Valabhi year 945 84
- vernacular terminations, in *ashṭamu*, *dvasu*, and *samvatsaru* 292, 296
- Vibhudatta, *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika*, writer of the grant of Hastin of the (Gupta) year 191 109
- Vibhuvarman, *Vārta* 180
- Vidhātṛi, the god Brahman, as 'the arranger or creator' 90, 160, 251
- Vidura, an epic hero 156 and n.
- Vidyādhara, a class of supernatural beings 77, 78, 86, 205
- vihāra, 'a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent' 31, 32, 262, 274
- Vihāra, the ancient name of the modern Bihār in the Patna District; mentioned as 'the city of the glorious Yaśōvarman' 47 n.
- Vihārasvāmin*, a religious title 272 n., 279 n., 280
- Vihārasvāminī*, the feminine form of *Vihārasvāmin* 263 and n.
- Vijayadēva, *Yuvarāja*, the *Dādika* of a Nēpāl inscription of the (Harsha) year 145 183
- Vijayarāja (Chalukya of Gujarāt); three of the customary epithets of Samudragupta are applied to him in his Kaifra grant of the year 394 14 n.
- vijñāpi*, derivatives from, used in connection with the making of a grant by one person at the request, or on the advice, of another 177 and n., 178 and n., 190, 109, 116
- Vikidinna, a proper name 170
- Vikrama, a *biruda* or second name of Chandragupta II.; and perhaps also of Chandragupta I. 18
- Vikrama era; an era of western origin, commencing in B.C. 58, though usually represented as commencing in B.C. 57, and supposed to date from the beginning of the reign of king Vikrama or Vikramāditya of Ujjain; Mr. Fergusson's theory was that it was invented in the sixth century A.D., that its historical starting-point was in A.D. 544, and that it was referred to the earlier starting-point by ante-dating, 47, 55;—but the Mandasōr inscription of the year 529 proves that it existed before that time, under the name of the Mālava era, 68;—and, in Central India, it was known by this name at least up to the ninth century A.D., 66 n.;—an instance of the use of this era, with the name of Vikrama, in Central India, in the eleventh century A.D., 22 n.;—the name of Vikrama may have come to be connected with it through Chandragupta I. or II., 37 n.;—the difference in the scheme of the southern and northern Vikrama years, 70 and n., 71;—use of the word *śarad*, 'the autumn,' in the reckoning of this era, 66 n., 158;—this word may be used in the sense of 'a year' generally; but its original meaning is that of 'the autumn'; and the use of it with the Vikrama era is significant, in helping to show that the original scheme of its years is that still used in Gujarāt and Southern India, with Kārttika śukla 1 as the initial day of each year, and with the *Amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights; and this reckoning of the era was followed, in Central India, at least up to the ninth century A. D., 66 n.;—the statement of the Nēpāl *Vamśāvali*, that Vikramāditya introduced his era into Nēpāl, refers really to the introduction of the Harsha era, 184;—but, under the name of the Nēwār era, an offshoot of the Vikrama

- era, with its original characteristics, was introduced there in A.D. 880, . . . 74, 184; — and, in more modern times, the Vikrama era itself was introduced there, from Northern India, with Chaitra śukla 1 as the initial day of each year, and with the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement of the fortnights, 76; — instances of the use of expired years of this era, distinctly specified as such, 129; — of the use of both an expired and a current year, 22 n.; — and of the use apparently of a current year, which has to be applied as an expired year, 85; — quotations of the reckoning of this era, both by current and by expired years, from Hindu almanacs 137 to 141, 138 n.
- Vikramāditya, a *biruda* or second name of Chandragupta II.; and perhaps also of Chandragupta I. 18
- Vikramāditya, also called Harsha, a king of Mālwa or of Ujjain, mentioned in the *Rājataranginī*, allotted by Mr. Fergusson to the sixth century A.D., and held by him to be a real person in commemoration of whom the Vikrama era was invented and named . . . 47, 55, 56
- Vikramānka, a *biruda* or second name of Chandragupta II. 18
- Vikramasēna, *Mahāsarvadaṇḍāyaka*, the *Dātaka* of one of the inscriptions of Aṃśuvarman of the (Harsha) year 34 178 and n.
- Vikramasēna, *Rājaputra*, the *Dātaka* of a Nēpāl inscription of the (Gupta) year 535 178 n., 184
- vimsatima*, 'twentieth'; two instances of the use of this form, not in composition 134 and n.
- Vindhya, a mountain range in Central India, 156, 157, 190, 230; — mentioned as one of the breasts of the earth, 86 n., 184; — and as constituting both the breasts, 185; — mentioned as extending up to, and including, the Nāgārjunī Hill 227, 228
- Vindusvāmin, *Mahābalādhyakṣa*, the *Dātaka* of one of the inscriptions of Aṃśuvarman of the (Harsha) year 34 . . . 179
- Viniyuktaka*, an official title . . . 169 and n.
- Virasēna, also called Śāha, a minister of Chandragupta II. 36
- Virasēnadantika, a proper name . . . 170
- vishaya*, a territorial term . 32 n., 52, 80, 84, 161, 173 n., 218, 257
- Vishayapati*, an official title . . . 32, 69 n., 71
- Vishṇu, a proper name 190
- Vishṇu, the god, 'the preserver' of the Hindu triad (see also Anantasvāmin, Ātmabhū, Chakrabhrit, Chakradhara, Ghakrapāni, Chitrakūṭasvāmin, Dāmōdara, Gadādhara, Gōvinda, Hari, Janārdana, Kṛishṇa, Mādhaba, Madhusūdana, Muradvish, Nārāyaṇa, Śāringa-pāni, Śāringin, Upēndra, and Vāsudeva; and, for his wife, see Lakshmi), 61, 65, 76, 77, 78, 142, 164, 195, 200, 208, 270, 298, 299; — mentioned by the epithet *bhagavat*, without the use of his name, 40, 41, 123, 124, 129, 269, 270; — mentioned as the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe, 90; — as the younger brother of Indra, 50, 182; — as the four-armed god, 90; — as having the form of a boar, 160, 161; — as the man-lion, 188; — as the supporting pillar of the three worlds, 160; — and as the troubler of the demons, 90; — reference to his overthrowing the power of the demon Bali, 62; — mention of him as carrying the discus, 65, 78, 207; — and the club, 78; — mention of his bow of horn, Śāringa, and his sword, Nandaka, 207 and n.; — mention of his jewel, *kaustubha*, and his garland of water-lilies, 87; — references to his vehicle and ensign, the bird Garuḍa or Garutmat, 14, 62, 90, 298; — mention of the waters of the four oceans as his couch, 90; — an allusion to his slumber during the four months of the rainy season, 77; — the earth spoken of as 'belonging to Vishṇu, or as being Vaishṇavi, the female energy of Vishṇu,' 195 and n., 200, 299; — an instance of the worship of Vishṇu connected with that of the Sun 126
- Vishṇubhāta, a proper name 78
- Vishṇudāsa, *Mahārāja* (Sanakānika) . . . 25
- Vishṇudēva, a grantee 105
- Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchī, a king in Southern India, conquered by Samudragupta . . . 13
- Vishṇugupta, Vishṇuguptadēva (Gupta of Magadha), 217; — his wife was Ijjādēvi 217
- Vishṇugupta, *Yuvarāja*, the *Dātaka* of the inscription of Vishṇugupta of the (Harsha) year 48 180
- Vishṇunandin, a grantee 128
- Vishṇupada, the ancient name of the hill on which the Mēharauli inscribed pillar stands, or stood . . . 140, 142
- Vishṇutrāta, a proper name 271
- Vishṇuvardhana, a king of the Mālava country, 155; — he had the paramount titles, but seems to have been to a certain extent subordinate to Yaśodharman, 151; — his Mandasār inscription of the Mālava year 589 . . . 150
- Vishṇuvardhana, *Rāja*, of the Varika tribe, 253, 254; — his Bijayagadh inscription of the (Mālava) year 428 . . . 252
- Vishṇuvṛiddha *gōtra* included the Vākātaka *Mahārājas* 241, 248
- Viśvanātha, the god Śiva, as 'the lord of the universe' 85
- Viśvavarman, a Mālava feudatory of Kumāragupta, 7, 74, 77, 86; — his Gangadhār inscription of the (Mālava) year 480 72

Vōṭa santika, an ancient division in the territory of the *Mahārājās* of Uchchakalpa, 132

Vr̥ṣhadēva (Lichchhavi of Nēpāl) 182, 186, 189, 191

Vyāghra, *Mahārāja* (of Uchchakalpa), 119, 123, 128, 131, 138; — his wife was *Ajjhitadēvi* 119, 123, 128, 131, 138

Vyāghra, another name of *Rudrasōma* 27 n., 67

Vyāghradēva, a feudatory of *Prithivishēpa* 235

Vyāghrapallika, an ancient village in the *Maṇināga pāṭha* 138

Vyāghrarāja, of *Mahākāntāra*, a king in Southern India, conquered by *Samudragupta* 13

Vyāghrarāta, a *Varika* chief 254

Vyāsa, an ancient sage, 195, 200, 242, 249, 299; — mentioned as the son of *Parāśara*, 139; — as the arranger of the *Vēdas*, 98 and n., 99, 105, 109, 116, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 190; — and as the author of certain verses allotted to the *Mahābhārata* 120, 124, 129, 134, 139

Walā, a village in *Kāthiāwād*; mentioned under the ancient name of *Valabhi* . 165, 167

water-lily-emblem on the seals of grants 191, 196

Watson, Colonel J. W.; a tradition of the bards of *Kāthiāwād*, supposed to have an important bearing on the question of the Gupta era, brought to notice by him, 49; — but it is of quite recent origin, and of no value whatever 50

week-days (see also days of the week); the Hindu term for a week-day is *vāra*, 146; — it is reckoned by the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise, 146, 147; — consequently, the English and Hindu week-days are not identical for a period of 57 minutes, 8 seconds, at the end of the Hindu week-day, when, by the English reckoning, the following week-day has already commenced; and thus, as for all ordinary purposes the week-day of a *tithi* is the week-day on which that *tithi* ends, there may, in certain instances, be a nominal discrepancy between the resulting English and Hindu week-days, 150 n.; — a method of calculating the week-days of *tithis*, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables 145 to 158

wheel-emblem 219, 263, 269

Wright, Prof. W.; his rendering of *Albérūnī*'s statements regarding the Gupta and other eras 27

yad atra punyam &c., a formula in certain donative inscriptions 263, 272, 274, 279, 280, 282

Yajñavarma, a *Maukhari* chief 225, 227

Yama, the god of the dead, and the dealer of death, mentioned under the names of *Antaka*, 14, 21, 28, 44, 51, 54, 257; — *Kṛitānta*, 28, 44, 51, 54, 157, 257; — and *Kāla* or *Death* 223

Yamunā, the river, the modern *Jamnā*; mentioned under the name of *Kālindī* 89, 90

Yasastrāta, a proper name, 270; — another person of the same name 271

Yasōdharman, a king of Northern India, 13, 145, 148, 150, 151, 155; — the extent of his kingdom, 148; — mentioned as conquering lands which not even the *Guptas* and the *Hūṇas* could subdue, 148; — he had worship done to him by *Mihirakula*, 148, 150; — his duplicate pillar inscriptions at *Mandasōr*; 142, 149; — his *Mandasōr* inscription of the *Mālava* year 589 150

Yasōmati, wife of *Prabhākara* *vardhana* 232

Yasōrāta, a *Varika* chief 254

Yasōvardhana, a *Varika* chief 254

Yasōvihāra, an ancient monastery at *Mathurā* 274

Yaudhēya, a tribe, conquered by *Samudragupta*, 14; — the fragmentary inscription of a leader of this tribe at *Bijayagadh* 251

Yazdajird, a Sassanian king of Persia; there is an era, dating from his accession in A.D. 632, of which the four-hundredth year is used by *Albérūnī* as a gauge-year for the comparison of dates 24 and n., 30

year (see also *samvatsara* and *varsha*); years of Jupiter's Twelve-Year Cycle denoted by the word *samvatsara*, 104, 110, 114, 117, 119, 95, 102, 107, 111, 114; — years of eras denoted by the words *abda*, 104, 110, 114, 117, 83, 95, 102, 107, 114; — *samv.*, 97; — *samvatsara*, 25, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 60, 70, 92, 119, 123, 128, 134, 137, 180, 210, 263, 298, 273; — *varsha*, 31, 61, 67, 89, 259; — and *zatsara*, 75, 83; — regnal years denoted by the words *abda*, 162; — *samvatsara*, 194, 199, 240, 246, 296; — and *varsha*, 159; — the length of the tropical year is 365 days, 14 *ghatis*, 31' 972 *palas*, 146; — of the same, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is 365 days, 15 *ghatis*, 31' 523 *palas*, 146; — of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter by the heliacal-rising system, is roughly 400 days, 162; — and of the Twelve-Year and the Sixty-Year Cycles by the mean-sign system, is 361 days, 1 *ghati*, 36 *palas* 170

<i>yōga</i> , 'the addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon,' an astrological element	146	of the Mahābhārata, 99, 105, 109, 116, 120, 124, 129, 134, 139, 171, 195, 200, 241, 248, 299; — referred to as 'the king of justice'	168
<i>Yōga</i> , one of the systems of philosophy	271		
<i>Yudhishṭhira</i> , an ancient hero, of the time		<i>Yuvarāja</i> , an official title	180, 181, 183



ERRATA.

INTRODUCTION.

- Page 36, line 15, for Mr. Blochmann's, read Mr. Kay's.
106, note 1, line 3, for Kādamba, read Kadamba.
117, line 3, for navô-ttarê, read nav-ôttarê.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

- 6, Text line 5, for ôchchhri, read ôchchhri (chchhri).
" " " 9, for sadriśāny, read sadriśāny.
" " " 17, for parākkram-ānkasya, read parākkram-ānkasya.
7, " " 20, for mähābhāgyasya, read mähābhāgyasya.
20, " " 20, for kula-vadhuḥ, read kula-vadhu(dhū)ḥ.
" " " 21, for ôrijitam, read ôrijitam.
" " " 26, for paribriṇṇan(ṇ), read paribriṇṇan(ṇ).
26, " " 1, for ôchchêttuḥ, read ôchchêttuḥ.
27, note 4, in lines 1 and 13, for ôchchêttiri, read ôchchêttiri; and in line 1, for ôchchêttā, read ôchchêttā.
28, note 6, line 4 from the bottom, for Purāṇa, read Purāṇa.
31, Text line 3, for jivita=sādhanaḥ, read jivita-sādhanaḥ.
35, " " 3, for rmanah, read rmanah.
43, " " 6, for shaṇ-avatê, read shaṇ-avatê.
48, note 1, line 2, for Visvavarman, read Viśvavarman.
59, Text line 4, for Âpi, read Api.
" " " 11, for an-upaskritair, read an-upaskritair.
60, " " 15, for Athā, read Atha.
61, " " 27, the word Guptānām should be in the thick type.
73, line 4, for appratimēna, read appratimēna.
74, Text line 8, for a-sahyatamāñ, read a-sahyatamāñ.
75, " " 19, for (? śhṭhā), read (? śhṭhā).
" " " 23, for tritīyam, read tri(tri)tīyam.
76, " " 39, for śrimān, read śrīmān.
83, " " 17, for ābhiramam read ābhirāmam.
96, " " 12, for pramukhānām, read pramukhānām.
115, " " 14, for khaṇḍa, read khaṇḍa.
118, " " 6, for ādin, read ādin.
" " " 7, for Kaṇva, read Kaṇva.
146, " " 4, for drishṭa, read drishṭa.
153, " " 4, for ôdapan, read ôdapān.
" " " 7, for udûḍham, read udûḍham.
" " " 10-11, for garimnas, read garimnas.
" " " 12-13, for visambvā(va)dītā, read visambvā(vā)dītā.
154, " " 17, for dēśam, read dēśam; and for ḍimbari, read ḍimbari.
" " " 18, for Dharmmadô, read Dharmmadô.

- Page 154, Text line 19, *for* khātayām, *read* khānayām.
 156, line 27, *for* mighty, *read* mighty.
 162, Text line 4, *for* vṛishashya, *read* vṛishasya.
 165, " " 3, *for* didhitir, *read* dīdhitir.
 166, " " 14, *for* vad=apāst, *read* d=apāst.
 173, " " 5, *for* triṇa, *read* triṇa.
 193, line 6, *to the word* TEXT *attach the note-reference* 3.
 194, Text line 11, *for* ātisra(sṛi)shtaḥ, *read* ātisra(sṛi)shtaḥ.
 " " " 19, *for* Shashthim, *read* Shashtim.
 203, " " 10, *for* pariṇāyitavan, *read* pariṇāyitavān.
 204, " " 23, *for* lakshmlvan, *read* lakshmlvān.
 " " " 24, *for* āhō, *read* āhō.
 237, " " 13, *for* Chakra, *read* Chakra.
 238, " " 25, *for* atisṛishtaḥ, *read* atisṛishtaḥ.
 245, " " 1, *for* Dṛishtaṁ, *read* Dṛishtaṁ.
 250, line 35, *for* Oldhausen, *read* Olshausen.
 254, Translation, line 2, twice, *for* ana, *read* and.
 280, No. 74, Text lines 2 and 3, *the note-references should be* 3 *and* 4.
 290, line 12, *the word* Mihiralakshmi *should be in the thick type*.
 294, Text line 1, *as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, for* sūtra[h*], *read* stambha[h*]; *and cancel the latter part of note* 4.
 296, Translation, line 9, *for* thread, *read* pillar, *in accordance with the correction in the Text*.

I have not had the opportunity of examining the final printed sheets as thoroughly as I could have wished; and doubtless some other instances of oversight on my part will be discovered, in addition to the present corrections, most of which I owe to the kindness of Prof. F. Kielhorn. Some suggestions by him for altering my readings and translations, will be considered in the *Indian Antiquary*; since, to include them here, would further delay the issue of the book.

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